

1383.1/B.

2 Vols F15



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44584

M E M O I R S

Of the R E I G N of

Q U E E N E L I Z A B E T H,

From the Year 1581 till her D E A T H.

I N W H I C H

The S E C R E T I N T R I G U E S of her C O U R T,

And the C O N D U C T of her F A V O U R I T E,

R O B E R T Earl of E S S E X, both at Home and Abroad,

A R E P A R T I C U L A R L Y I L L U S T R A T E D.

From the Original Papers of his intimate Friend,

A N T H O N Y B A C O N, Esquire,

And other Manuscripts never before published.

By T H O M A S B I R C H, D. D.

Rector of the United Parishes of St. Margaret Pattens and St. Gabriel Fenchurch,
and Secretary of the R O Y A L S O C I E T Y.

*EPISTOLÆ magis in proximo, & ad vivum, negotia solent repræsentare, quam
vel ANNALES vel VITÆ.* BACON. de Augm. Scient. l. viii. cap. ii.

V O L. II.

L O N D O N,

Printed for A. MILLAR, in the S T R A N D.

M D C C L I V.

M E M O I R S

OF THE LIFE AND DEATHS

OF
ROBERT DODD, ESQ., late of the
City of London, and
of the County of Middlesex.



Printed by A. MILLAR, in the Strand.

TO THE HONOURABLE CHARLES YORKE,
IN TESTIMONY OF THE REGARD
DUE TO HIS EXCELLENT AND AMIABLE QUALITIES,
AND FROM A JUST SENSE
OF THE HONOUR AND ADVANTAGE OF HIS FRIENDSHIP,
AS WELL AS FROM AN AMBITION
PUBLICLY TO DECLARE AND PERPETUATE IT,
THIS SECOND VOLUME
OF
MEMOIRS OF THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH
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MEMOIRS

OF THE

Reign of Queen ELIZABETH,

From the Year 1581, till her Death.

B O O K VII.

THE new league offensive and defensive between England and France was now, on the 16th of May 1596, after many difficulties, concluded and sign'd by the queen's commissioners, the lord Treasurer, lord HUNSDON, lord BUCKHURST, lord COBHAM, sir JOHN FORTESCU, and sir ROBERT CECIL, on the one side, and the duke DE BOUILLON, and monf. DE SANCY on the other; assisted during the course of it by monf. D'ANCEL, who, after having been employ'd in several negotiations in Germany, was design'd by the French king to go ambassador to the princes of the empire, and monf. DU VAIR, master of the requests, and lately promoted to be of the council to that king, who happening to be in England for his own pleasure, and without any public commission, yet was very serviceable to the French commissioners in the management of the treaty^a. The English commissioners open'd it with high complaints of France for not having perform'd the conditions of former treaties; which the French endeavour'd to excuse, by alledging, that the king their master had executed them to the utmost of his abilities, tho' not to the degree, which he desired. These altercations being past, and the particulars of the supplies demanded being enter'd upon, the English urg'd the queen's loan of 1,500,000 crowns to HENRY IV, and her prodigious expence in the assistance of the Low Countries, in men, money, and provisions sent to Ireland, in the late unsuccessful expedition to the West-Indies, under

^a THUANUS, Tom. v. l. cxvi. cap. xi. p. 609.

HAWKINS and DRAKE, and in the vast armament preparing against Spain; and insisted so strongly, that her majesty was incapable of supplying the succours requir'd by France, that the French appear'd several times determin'd to break off the treaty and depart^b. But the queen unwilling to suffer HENRY IV. to be forced by his necessities to a peace with the enemy, lent him 20,000 crowns on the security of the duke DE BOUILLON and mons. DE SANCY, and consented to the nineteen articles following^c: That all former treaties should be mutually confirm'd, and a new league offensive and defensive against the king of Spain be now made: That all other princes and states, who were desirous of defending themselves against the ambition and tyranny of Spain, should be invited to accede to this league: That as soon as the affairs of the king and queen would permit, an army should be form'd at the common expence of them and their allies, to invade the king of Spain and his dominions: That neither the king nor queen should treat of peace with the king of Spain, or any other person employ'd by him, but by mutual consent express'd under the hand of the said king or queen; nor should any truce or cessation of arms be made without such consent; and that after the expiration of the truce in Bretagne, no new one should be made by the king without comprehending in it the queen and her dominions: That as France was now attack'd by the king of Spain, the queen should send to its assistance 4000 English foot, to be paid at a rate to be settled in an instrument to be affix'd to this treaty, and these troops to be employ'd by the king in Picardy and Normandy: That these 4000 English should serve the king only six months in that year, and then return to England; and that if they should be wanted longer, it should be left to the conscience of the queen, to be determin'd as the situation of England should permit: That she might increase the number of these troops, if the rebellion in Ireland should be suppress'd, and no commotion break out in any of her other dominions: That the 4000 foot should be receiv'd into the pay of the king from the time of their landing in France till the day of their departure, and during their stay there to be muster'd every month, and to be paid according to the number so muster'd: That the queen should from time to time supply those, who should be wanting to complete that number of 4000: That she should advance the money for their payment monthly, which money should be repaid by the king after six months, as a security for which he should send to England four hostages, men of rank and quality: That if the king should have occasion for a greater number than these 4000 foot, and the circumstances of England would permit, he should be allow'd to levy there three or four thousand more at his own expence: That the English soldiers should be subject to the authority of the king's officers, and be punish'd by them; but that the English captains should be present and assist upon such occasions: That if the queen should be invaded, the king should, in two months after the demand, assist her with 4000 French foot, to be sent to England at his expence, and serve six months in a year, but not to be employ'd beyond 50 miles within that kingdom; and to be paid by her from the time of their landing, according to a rate annex'd to this treaty: That these French soldiers be subject to the authority of the queen's officers, and punish'd by them, but that the French captains should assist on such occasions: That the king should

^b Ibid. l. 610 — 612.

and Vol. x. fol. 257. See likewise THUANUS,

^c ANT. BACON'S MSS. Vol. xi. fol. 65, 81, 37, p. 613. and METEREN, fol. 393.

keep up and supply the said number of 4000 French foot : That the king and queen should allow powder and other warlike provisions to be exported freely out of each others dominions, as their own exigences should permit : That a free commerce should be granted mutually to their subjects, and the armies and forces of each assisted with provisions and other necessaries ; and that neither the king nor his successors should permit any subject of England to be injur'd in person or goods by inquisitors, or in any other manner, on account of the religion now establish'd in England : And that, if any person should by any authority attempt this, the king should by his royal authority forbid and prevent him, and procure satisfaction to be made to the party injur'd.

There was likewise a private treaty agreed to on the 10th of May^a, that only 2000 English should be sent to France, and that they should serve only at Boulogne and Monstreuil, except the king should be in person in Picardy, in which case they should serve him any where in that province : That the said 2000 soldiers should remain in the service of the king, in those towns only, for six months after their landing in France, unless the queen should consent to a longer period : That the king at the end of the said six months should pay, or cause to be paid, to the queen in London, all the charges which she had been at in sending away, paying, and maintaining the said 2000 soldiers, and all extraordinary charges ; for the payment of which the king was to give her an obligation : That after the first of March in the year ensuing, if the king should require a greater number of English troops, the queen should not be oblig'd to grant above 2000 more to complete the number of 4000 ; nor should that succour be granted, except the rebellion in Ireland should then be suppress'd. That if the king should not pay the queen her expences, at the end of six months, for the said 2000 soldiers, she should not be oblig'd by the former treaty, or the present agreement, to furnish him for the future with any more succours. The duke DE BOUILLON and monf. DE SANCY engag'd, that the sum of 20,000 crowns, lent them on the 7th of May, should be paid before the end of four months from that day ; tho' they had oblig'd themselves, by a paper under their hands, to pay it at the end of twelve months, and not before ; to which anticipation of the said payment they consented, in consideration of the great expences of the queen against the common enemy : That notwithstanding any preceding clause for the sending 2000 soldiers into Picardy, the queen would not consent to it, till she should understand, that the king was come thither with his army for the defence of his towns in that province.

Upon the conclusion of this league the duke DE BOUILLON and monf. DE SANCY left England^c, and return'd to France, accompanied with monf. DU VAIR ; while monf. D'ANCEL pass'd over to Holland with a copy of the treaty, and in the company of LÆVINUS CALVART, the Dutch embassador to the French king, at whose desire he had attended the negotiation of that treaty, which was not ratified till August following^f.

^a Vol. xi. fol. 37.

^c They were at Gravesend in their return to

France on the 18th of May 1596. ^f TRUANUS, p. 615.

Mr. BACON's indisposition, and his retirement on account of it to Twickenham lodge, having prevented him from waiting upon the duke DE BOUILLON and monf. DE SANCY during their stay in England, tho' he had been visited by the latter, he wrote to each of them letters ^g of excuse, with professions of his regard for them, and zeal for the interest of their king; and monf. DE SANCY, in his answer ^h, expressed great concern for mr. BACON's ill health, and regret for his absence from London, which prevented him from seeing and taking leave of him; and his desire to entertain a correspondence with him sometimes by letters.

The conversation, which the duke de BOUILLON had just before his departure with mr. REYNOLDES, the earl of Essex's secretary, was written immediately by the latter to his lordship in a long letter, dated May 18, 1596ⁱ, in which he related, that the duke had sent for him that morning, and told him, that he purposed to write to the earl a letter of great importance, which he desir'd might fall into no other man's hands, because he meant to deal freely in it with his lordship: but that he could not dispatch it till his coming to Gravesend. To which, in order to save himself some part of his labour, being not able suddenly to enlarge on every particularity by writing, he desired mr. REYNOLDES to add this, first, to clear him of all jealousy and doubt concerning any complaint or speech, that might be carried to his lordship. What might have escaped others before his coming or since, he knew not; but for himself, and monf. DE SANCY, since his arrival, he protested, that knowing his lordship's resolution, he had never sought to hinder his voyage, nor accused him of slackness or unkindness concerning his own negotiation. He said indeed, that he had no opinion or conceit of the expedition, which he had delivered to the earl in person; and would not deny, that he could have wish'd, that either it had not been undertaken, or that it might have been broken off without any dishonour, loss, or disappointment to his lordship. But finding him resolute, and that he had so far engaged his honour, fortune, and hopes in it, (which he thought the earl would never have done, without some greater reason and assurance of success) he would not do his lordship that wrong to go about to cross his honourable design, honouring him above all the lords in the world. He therefore desir'd the earl not to impute to him the humorous speeches of any discontented man in his train; for upon his honour he had never forgot himself and his love to his lordship so much, as either to seek to impeach the course of his enterprize (whatsoever it was) or give out unkind speeches, or complaints of any slackness in his lordship to advance the service of his master the French king; tho' he had not found any so great an impediment in his treaty with her majesty and the lords, as the infinite charges, which, she said, she had been at in the preparations for this voyage, and her weakness at home by reason of the absence of so many of her ships and subjects: with which reasons he had been check'd in every audience, and they were an excuse, why so little was granted. The duke, in order to give the earl some farther argument of his love, told mr. REYNOLDES, that tho' he had received letters from the king to solicit her majesty, and to press her to yield to some better assistance, with express charge to dissuade his lordship's voyage, and to remonstrate many inconveniences, that might arise from it, yet he had not insisted upon it any further than by shewing her the

^g Vol. XI, fol. 164 and 5.

^h Vol. XI. fol. 171.

ⁱ Vol. XI. fol. 75.

king's letter for his discharge, telling her, that he left it wholly to her consideration. Her majesty thereupon took occasion to accuse the earl of *opiniaftreté*, of wilfulness and rashness, alledging, that he would not be ruled; but that she would bridle and stay him. The duke answer'd, that her majesty, in his opinion, might easily govern his lordship, who was a man of such virtue, wisdom, judgment, and obedience, and whose actions were wholly destined to her service, and the good of her state: and no doubt this voyage would have a good issue under the conduct of so worthy a general. But that her majesty might not seek to rule him with an iron bridle, but with a golden bridle, not as the sovereign only, but as mistress also; which he spake also *en sousriant*. Well, saith she, *I will both rule him, and stay him*. Since that the duke found her in divers passions; and knew, that some underhand nourished her in them; and that there were divers factions; so that mons. CARON, the Dutch resident, going to speak with the queen, was advised by the lord admiral's brother before his access, that if her majesty us'd any speech concerning the voyage, and of the shipping furnished by the states, he should tell her, that he thought they would be content with what her majesty should ordain, and that he would assent to any good motions, which it would please her to propose, and give his best furtherance to it; which he said he knew the lord admiral his brother would well like of; for he desired to satisfy her majesty therein. On the other side mons. CARON communicating with sir ROBERT CECIL this motion, the latter utterly disliked it, and would in no case, that mons. CARON should make any shew of hope to procure the states assent for this great charge and expectation. And yet the duke had been told by some, who had credit, as he said, with the queen, and men of good intelligence, that she was resolved to stay the earl and the lord admiral, and the greater part of the fleet; and that some part of it should go, and be disposed for some other service. The author of this report appear'd to mr. REYNOLDES from circumstances to be mr. HENRY BROOKE, son of the lord COBHAM; and mr. REYNOLDES doubted much, that if the earl's expedition should be stayed, it would be turn'd into some *** voyage, and then his lordship would easily discover the plot; and the delay of the rest of the fleet minister'd this jealousy. The duke added, that the gentleman, his informer, told him, that the earl began to have some feeling of these things; and would be brought about and persuaded to alter his resolution. Upon which, to shew the earl's constancy, mr. REYNOLDES interpreted to the duke his lordship's last letter unto himself^k, which he had communicated before to mons. DE LA FONTAINE by his lordship's commandment, and particularly that part, in which the earl said, "that he was about to do more for the public and for all his friends, than they could hope for; and that he would either go thro' with it, or of a general become a monk at an hour's warning." In conclusion the duke desired mr. REYNOLDES to tell the earl, that no man living honour'd his lordship more than himself, as his brother and dearest friend; and that if in any thing he could do him service, his lordship should command his best means and life, as the person in the world, whom he most admir'd and reverenc'd. He earnestly desir'd the earl not to conceive any jealousy of him for any complaints, which he might hear: that he would do his best to satisfy the king concerning his voyage, or any other suggestions, which he might receive, tho' he knew, that he should find great

^k Of the 10th of May.

difficulty to give satisfaction concerning this voyage, whereby, it was pretended, all his majesty's affairs were hinder'd; and it would be the more difficult to do it, because the king made his reckoning, that they should have been by this means rather advanc'd; which he gather'd out of the earl's letters both to himself and to ANTONIO PEREZ. Mr. REYNOLDES told the duke, that it might be, that his lordship wrote, that it was for the general good; and that they in particular might receive the fruit thereof, when he had the commandment of such an army, and authority to conduct it at his pleasure; and Mr. REYNOLDES did not doubt, but that his lordship would make good whatever he had said. The duke observ'd, that at his last audience, the queen desired, that she might receive sometimes news from him, with continuance of all former correspondence. He asked her, to whom she should address his letters, now the earl was absent? She made choice of Mr. HENRY BROOKE, and directed, that they might be first sent to mons. DE LA FONTAINE to be delivered to Mr. BROOKE. After the duke had commanded Mr. REYNOLDES to take special care of his letters to the earl, and to recommend his best love and affection to his lordship, he said, that he would likewise send to his lordship by mons. DE LA FONTAINE's means, whenever any worthy matter should occur. Mr. REYNOLDES then told the duke, that the earl had expressly left him behind for these services; which he liked very well. The duke was at first doubtful to deal so freely with Mr. REYNOLDES in these things: "But, said he, you are my lord's secretary, and, I think, are acquainted with greater matters betwixt us."

"I have here, *says Mr. REYNOLDES to the earl*, delivered many particulars. "Your lordship knoweth, that the duke speaketh very thick, and I am very hard of hearing. This discourse was in a retired place from all the rest. I hope I have not erred in any principal point; for I did receive his speeches with all possible attention; and he desireth your lordship, that it may not come to the knowledge of any; and that his letters may be burned. Mine is of the same religion, and therefore it ought to burn for company."

Mr. REYNOLDES remarks, that in his other letter written that morning, he had advertis'd his lordship of a mischance, which had happened to mons. DE LA FONTAINE, and which he had since understood to have been very dangerous, he having been carried by the violence of the stream into the water-mill at London bridge, thro' the negligence of a young waterman. To save himself the better, he leapt out of the boat before he came to the fall of the water, and was carried thro' under the wheel and divers lighters as far as Billingsgate, before he was recovered; and there he was miraculously preserved. He was very sorely bruised in the forehead, but without any great danger of life, the skull being sound.

Sir ANTHONY STANDEN wrote the same day, May 18, from Exeter to Mr. BACON¹, acquainting him of his arrival there the day before, and that he was to go immediately towards Plymouth, whence he heard by such, as he met continually coming from that town, that there was no speech of the departure of the fleet, there being no kind of news of Sir WALTER RALEGH, whose stay seemed to stay all, and

¹ Vol. XI. fol. 1.

to put the earl of Effex to insupportable charges: “ And hereupon, says sir ANTHONY, do want no comments of divers senses, all to the best, as you may judge by the subject. I think they mean to make a fair riddance of us; or else they would not send us into fiery Spain in this manner in the Canicular. I never saw things proceed more backward, nor with less discourse or reason. By the late tempests hath been left a bark of sir ANTHONY SHERLEY’s, as here the report runs; another ominous toy, that likes me not.”

Sir ANTHONY’s friend, mr. ROLSTON, in a letter to him from Fontarabia of the 19th of May 1596^m, inform’d him of his having been prevented by the old pain of his side from returning to England, as he had intended; that being the third time since he had seen sir ANTHONY, that his disease had put him in no small danger to end his days: “ But God, says he, of his mercy hath yet reserved me; and I beseech him, that I may by his grace employ the small time I have to live in his service and the service of our dearest country. I mean, if it please God, in recovering a little more strength, to come, assuring myself of the noble favour of 123, and of other personages, by your good means.”

Mr. ROBERT NAUNTON, who was returned to England, probably with the duke DE BOUILLON and ANTONIO PEREZ, having written to the earl of Effex, his lordship on the 20th of May 1596, returned him the following answerⁿ.

“ Mr. NAUNTON, I thank you for your letter; but my thanks must be short. That, which concerneth ANTONIO PEREZ, I have answered in a letter to himself. For you I say, that tho’ I have care of him, I would have no inconvenience befall you. If you can in some convenient time dispatch your business, I will either send for you, if you do like to be a seaman, and direct you how you shall come well to me; or give you a task in any place, where you would most willingly be; for I would not have you rust. And so I rest

Your most assured friend,
E S S E X.

Mr. BACON in a letter to dr. HAWKYNS, dated the same day^o, acknowledg’d the receipt of one from him, accompanied with two from sign. JACOMO MARENCO, the one to the earl of Effex, and the other to himself. He likewise acquainted him, that the queen at the last, after many difficulties propounded and answer’d, was enter’d into a treaty of war offensive and defensive with France, and had accorded 4000 men to be defray’d for five months; but for money, had at present only advanced 6000*l*. the employment of the men being also restrain’d to Picardy, Normandy, and Bretagne: that the earl of Effex was royally accompanied at Plymouth: that there was daily expectation of Tyrone’s public submission and of quietness in Ireland: and that Scotland was very peaceable, the king being lately solemnly invited by his brother-in-law the king of Denmark to assist at his coronation; which he being not able to perform in person, purposed to send the earl of Crawford.

^m Vol. XI. fol. 70.

ⁿ Vol. XI. fol. 91.

^o Vol. XI. fol. 21.

The zeal of the earl of Essex for the prosecution of the expedition against Cadiz, having met with great opposition and many objections, which, after all the preparations for it, had almost dissuaded the queen from suffering the voyage to proceed, his lordship was obliged to write the following letter from Plymouth to the lords of the council*.

“ My very good lords,

“ Because my words shall not offend her majesty, I am resolved never to use argument to persuade or defend our journey, but to leave it to her majesty’s choice, whether she will break it, or have us proceed. Yet that your lordships may see, that I understand both myself and it, I have set down certain questions, for all the idle discourses and envious crosses of our journey to answer. What shall be done with the 30,000*l.* worth of victuals of her majesty already provided, since it cannot be sold to London nor to the ports, they themselves having provided more than they can utter? What shall come of the preparations of the city and the coasters; and how it may be hoped for, that upon the like summons they will shew the like readiness, since they shall see, that our alarms are but false, and our journies but dreams? The like may be said of them of the Low Countries: what account shall be given of the great sums of money already laid out for impressing and rigging the ships, that shall serve for victuallers and transporters; the most of which money Flemings have received? What my lord admiral and I shall do with the victuals we have provided for ourselves and our companions for five months; since it is not such sea-victual, as is used in ordinary journies? What shall be recovered of the money laid out at Flushing, for ships and all things necessary for the transporting of the soldiers, that come out of the Low Countries, since it is ten days since, that we sent one authorised and furnished for that purpose? What shall be answered to the states of the Low Countries, to whom the queen wrote so earnestly, using this motive, that her intended purpose was as well for their good as her own? And what shall be pretended to the world for this sudden change of counsel, since your lordships know what censure is given of *haud putaveram*? What shall be done to keep France from making peace with Spain; when we neither assist them against the invasion there, nor prevent invasions of our own countries; but like men, that are only strong in suffering, stand still, and bear off all with head and shoulders? How shall we prevent his sending of forces into Ireland, when, if nothing be done against him at home, he will weary us out with charge, and send till we are able to keep our fleet to impeach him no longer at sea? Lastly, what the insolent rebels of Ireland may think, when they both find themselves prosper, and see all our preparations but smoke, and our threatnings prove but wind?

“ If it be said, the queen may seem to do somewhat, and send her fleet, but stay her army; I am persuaded, that tho’ some ignorant soul both of sea-actions and of

* Certain letters written by the right honourable ROBERT late earl of Essex to the queen, the council, and others his honourable friends, with some of their answers to the same: with an addi-

tion of divers other letters of noble personages, gather’d out of the collected writings of many worthy gentlemen. By M. K. MS. in 4to. in my possession, p. 55.

“ the wars, may by the fire-side make such a proposition; yet there cannot any man
 “ be found so vain, that will undertake the action. But if there be, I would ask
 “ him, where he would save himself; or how he will get a port, if he have not a
 “ land-force to command the shore? Next, how he will distress, or burn the
 “ maritimes of Spain, if he go not to them where they are? or how he dare go
 “ into them, or shall be able to take such forts, as they make for their defences in
 “ the harbours? Lastly, when he hath spent his victuals, and must return, after
 “ he hath failed unprofitably up and down some few months, why shall not the
 “ Spaniard, that without impeachment prepares all that while, follow him; and
 “ when the English ships are laid up, execute any thing upon them, that
 “ they list?

“ But I have said enough. Thus much my duty to her majesty and love to my
 “ country did challenge of me. Of my own interest I will not speak, since every
 “ day I do more and more incline to the stoics opinion, and will, if I can attain unto
 “ it, bring myself to their temper.

“ I have written this to your lordships, because your lordships from the beginning
 “ have been acquainted with the counsel and proceeding of our journey. And so I
 “ rest at your lordships commandment,

R. ESSEX.”

Mr. YATES, who was waiting in France for the directions of Mr. BACON what course he should take, either of returning into his service in England, or pursuing a design of his own of attending sir CHARLES DAVERS to Italy, gave him in a letter from Roan of the 22d of May 1596 O. S. *, some account of the French occurrences, presuming, that Mr. BACON had already understood of the taking of Ardres *, and the death of mons. MONLUC, who, as it was reported at Roan, was kill'd in a sally against the enemy; upon which mons. BELIN made his composition, and surrender'd the place, bag and baggage safe; tho' this was wholly against the opinion, and contrary to the will of mons. BODENBOURG, the governor. Some said, that the occasion of their surrender was, that the enemy had turn'd their water from them, and so deprived them of their mills. But the commonly receiv'd opinion was, that mons. BELIN was too wise and provident for his own regard, to expose his person to the utmost danger or hazard, of which *l'escheté* BODENBOURG accus'd him to the king; and the charge appear'd the better founded, as he had made so absolute a composition, without waiting for a breach, mine, or any likely means, whereby the enemy could any way hope to possess themselves of the place.

A gentleman arriv'd at Roan from la Fere gave out, that the king had found there victuals and provisions for two months, left by the Spaniards. But it was generally thought, that the king had caused that report to be spread, on account of the good composition, which he had granted the place after seven months siege.

* Vol. XI.

* It surrender'd on the 23d of May, N. S.

METEREN, lib. XVIII. fol. 387. THUANUS, tom. I. l. cxvi. cap. viii. p. 603—606.

The king was marched with his army towards Montreuil; but what he would attempt, was unknown, till the Duke DE BOUILLON's return from England. The Duke DE NEMOURS was lately come to the king with 2000 foot and 300 horse; and the Duke D'ESPERNON daily expected. The king's hopes were greatly from her majesty and the States General, especially for munitions, of which he had little or none at all. The Duke DE MONTPENSIER earnestly persisted in his pursuit of the king's sister, who was not long since strongly solicited by the king in the duke's behalf. But she disavow'd him wholly, and said, that she would never marry him, tho' she were to live a maid during her life: upon which the king using somewhat of his authority, made her weep very bitterly. There were flying rumours, that the king of Spain was treating a secret intelligence of peace with the states, and that the cardinal of Toledo was to come to promote a peace between France and Spain.

The enemy's army extremely vex'd the king, and struck a great terror into the French; and whatever place, it was imagin'd, would be besieg'd by the Spaniards, was consider'd by the French as lost, before it was invested. Immediately upon the taking of Ardres, the enemy sent a drum to summon Boulogne to surrender, and to threaten it with their cannon upon refusal. Which the French king took as a great bravado, and proper to have been used only against a burgh or slight-walled village.

Sir ANTHONY STANDEN, in his letter from Plymouth of the 23d of May 1596^b, inform'd mr. BACON, that the ships were all arrived in that haven, and now no more was to be done but to embark the army, which was to be begun on the Wednesday following; so that within six days after, if the wind should serve, they might be under sail. “ The army, *says he*, is very fair, as by a third thereof yesterday in
“ battle I saw to my content, as well for the armour as the countenance and
“ promptness of the men. They might be some 4000 at the least; so that I take
“ we shall be 12,000 good men embarked here. Sir ANTHONY SHERLEY departed
“ hence the 21st in the morning with five ships only, the rest being shrunk, and these
“ had come to nothing neither, if the earl of Essex with both purse and credit had not
“ in time supplied. Thus falls it farther with people, that presumed, and with all, that
“ without experience enter into matters, namely those of the sea, wherein this poor
“ gentleman hath been notably cut-throated and consumed. I would fain have
“ spoken with him, but came too late. By the judgment of most, he is gone to
“ run a desperate course, his first intent being utterly alter'd and frustrated.”

Sir WALTER RALEGH came to Plymouth two days before the date of this letter, and brought with him CH. CHESTER. Before his coming sir ANTHONY STANDEN found there two of mr. BACON's kinsmen, sir EDWARD and mr. ANTHONY COOKE, the first a follower of sir WALTER RALEGH, between whom and the lord marshal, sir FRANCIS VERE, “ yesternight, *says Sir ANTHONY*, at table
“ in drink, in the presence of my lords generals and the Flemings of the Low
“ Country fleet, there passed some words, the matter being taken against the marshal
“ by ARTHUR THROCKMORTON, a hot-headed youth, who desbored in such

“ words, as my lords commanded him from the table: so that for all this voyage
 “ I see already the fire kindled, that must consume us inwardly, this scandal-stone
 “ being the subject of the quarrel.” He afterwards remarks, that tho’ the quarrel
 was between ARTHUR THROCKMORTON and the lord marshal, RALEGH was the
 cause; adding, “ I rejoice, that you are rid of the Arragonefe [ANTONIO PEREZ]
 “ which by mr. FULK GREVILL, arrived here two days ago, I understand; who
 “ tells me he is gone with the duke DE BOUILLON.”

Sir ANTHONY wrote another letter to mr. BACON the next day^c, taking notice,
 that thro’ the haste, that was made from above, the lords generals intended to be
 under sail by Saturday at the farthest; and that the rich apparel, which the night
 before was shewn there at Plymouth, was beyond all the sights, which he had ever
 seen, for at least five hundred gentlemen were covered over with silver and gold
 lace. “ The matter, *says he*, between the lord marshal and sir WALTER RALEGH
 “ hath been by the generals accommodated; but ARTHUR THROCKMORTON still
 “ prisoner, and dismissed from the army. This night will both the lords generals
 “ lie aboard, to give beginning and example. They had jointly yesternight a
 “ letter from her majesty of license to depart, besides comfortable encouragement.
 “ But ours in particular had one fraught with all kind of promises and loving
 “ offers, as the like since he was a favourite he never had.”

Mr. ROLSTON not being yet able, on account of his ill health, to set out upon his
 return towards England, wrote from Fontarabia on the 24th of May 1596, in a
 letter to mr. BACON^d, that the king of Spain had been of late extremely sick in a
 monastery near Toledo called Seca, and from thence was gone to Toledo, where he
 still remained very weak, which had stopped the prince’s journey to Lisbon. The
 ships in port Passage were ready, and had provision, but wanted artillery, which
 was to come from Lisbon, and expected daily. The soldiers were yet in Old Castille.
 Of mariners there was store, such as they were. There was come provision of
 powder to the value of 1000 quintals, and 100 quintals of match. An account was
 brought of the death of sir FRANCIS DRAKE of the bloody-flux; which greatly
 contented the Spaniards. Some time before, certain Irishmen, who had been in
 prison in Madrid three years, were sentenc’d, one, whose name was capt. BUTLER,
 and who was chief of the rest, to be hang’d; one TAYLOR to pay 100*l.* and never
 to depart from Spain; and two others to be whip’d about the town with 200 stripes,
 and to be sent to the galleys for some years. Mr. ROLSTON was of opinion, that the
 king of Spain had rather hear of a good peace than of war; “ as more at large, *says*
 “ *he*, if God please I meet with you, you shall know, and if my strength will permit
 “ me, very shortly.”

Dr. HAWKYNs in his letter from Venice of the 24th of May 1596^e, complain’d
 to mr. BACON, that an old proverb was verified in him, that the good man is ever
 the last in understanding the misfortunes of his own household. “ Sir GRIFFITH
 “ MARKHAM, *says he*, hath assured me, by letters written both to my lord of Rut-
 “ land, and others written to Florence by my most honourable good lord’s own

^c Vol. XI. fol. 2.^d Vol. XI. fol. 59.^e Vol. XI. fol. 130.

“ hand, that his lordship was already departed general in this great voyage by sea;
 “ whereof I could hitherto receive nothing from yourself. Yet the *reconciliation*
 “ mention’d in your letter of cypher gave me some cause of suspicion.. And altho’
 “ the enterprize must needs be honourable to himself, and glorious to our nation,
 “ yet it is scant fit, that such a pilot should be absent from the stern in these trouble-
 “ some times. And for myself, *res est solliciti &c.* esteeming it my greatest unhap-
 “ piness not to be *in eâdem navi, in eâdem fortunâ*, where all hopes of this my poor
 “ life consist. I beseech you, sir, let me be advertised of these in particular by your
 “ first without fail, that accordingly I may dispose of myself, who by reason of some
 “ necessary defences of her majesty and our nation, taken upon me both publickly
 “ and privately against the Spaniards, who swarm here in Venice, and are at this
 “ present stronger in faction than ever before, find myself in some danger, without
 “ either her majesty’s letters of credence to the signory, or my lord’s private letter
 “ to some one of the grandi here for my better protection.—These letters of cre-
 “ dence, besides my security of negotiating here, would purchase mine acquaintance
 “ with the grandi, by whose conversation I might understand many particulars of
 “ estate, which I now want.” Among other articles of intelligence he mentions,
 that a gentleman, sent from the French king to the Turk, departed from Venice three
 days past. “ What office he may do there I cannot, says he, guess; but I assure
 “ you, I understand the credit of the French is of late greatly decayed in that
 “ court.”

Mr. TYNDALE, a gentleman, who had been obliged to the earl of Essex, wrote about
 this time from Paris a letter ^f to his lordship’s secretary, mr. REYNOLDES, concerning
 the state of France at that time. He conceived from the disposition of that nation and
 the bent of things, that the king was far from the end of old business, and towards the
 beginning of new; for all their late reconciliations and compositions had their considera-
 tions private, respecting particulars, general respecting the cause, so that, instead of
 one, mr. TYNDALE expected two leagues shortly in France; “ for absolutely, *says he*,
 “ the one must sink, if the other swim: and to a man and means, which are almost
 “ as before, there seems to want but an occasion apt to stir a public affection; a thing
 “ easier than is thought, and cannot want a head, if once on foot, worse than the
 “ former. I feel no way to prevent this, and work the king’s certain good, but a
 “ full force to constrain, which I perceive not, but with a mischief in likelihood,
 “ breeding greater danger. Yet without this he will be in time forced against his
 “ inclination, honour, and profit, unless some alteration in Spain by death, faction,
 “ or conquest.”

Mr. TYNDALE mentions the king’s being gone to Ardres, and prays, that he
 might come in time, and that while he warr’d in those parts, he might
 not lose elsewhere; and that those, who wish’d well to the public, wish’d, that his
 forces were increas’d in Bretagne, the fortune of which would be follow’d by many
 places in Normandy. “ Spanish practices, *says he*, lurk, and work almost ocularly
 “ entertain’d, which any disaster will discover with a mischief. ’Till then the wiser

^f Vol. XI. fol. 94. This letter is dated the date, since it appears from it, that Ardres was not
 27th of May; but there must be a mistake in the then taken, as it was on the 23d of that month, N. S.

“ will keep close; yet some will play the fools. The king sees, yet seeth not, con-
 “ strained first to what importeth most. So as the end of one action beginneth
 “ another; whereby an everlasting trouble seems decreed upon this state to keep the
 “ same unsettled, and the king occupied, Spain’s policy in this concurring with
 “ the desire of those, who rule in this realm. Had nature made the king as fit for
 “ counsel, as inclined to arms, he had not continued to credit his crown to their
 “ devices, that work their own good by his harm. And surely such are the disso-
 “ lutions of clergy, corruption of justices, insolence of governors, subtilties of trea-
 “ surers, disorders in all degrees, as I judge it is rather a special providence from
 “ above, than any the reasons of human counsel, that holds that monarchy on foot.
 “ The reformation depends upon peace, and it upon an universal union; which the
 “ three cabals, mafs, laws, and finances joined hinder by all devices. My best
 “ hope of this state, I protest, is, that it may temporise, but never recover but by
 “ the means aforesaid. In the mean time I wish Calais had no haven easy enough
 “ to spoil, ere they be provided of shipping, and we willing; and instead of a
 “ present siege, that all forces united may make a general ravage in Flanders and
 “ Artois with fire and sword, and continued the next year would force the country
 “ to a mutiny, or the Spaniard to a reasonable peace, making him unable to live at
 “ home, and unfurnished to invade elsewhere. No doubt and in reason of war
 “ they desire to see our forces joined to the siege of a town, that freely they may
 “ gather in their harvest, the necessariest provision towards maintenance of war.
 “ Some affectioned Spanish do fear the reconciliation of the Scottish lords unto their
 “ king by our means, whereby they might recover honour, and that faction decay.
 “ It is reported here these two days, that a chance of fire hath consumed all the
 “ powder at la Capelle, and done divers hurts. The king hath sent letters to 400
 “ persons in this town, requesting the present loan of 400,000 crowns; but they
 “ make their wants their answer. It would seem strange to those, who know not
 “ the reasons, how the king should want men for his wars, seeing the infinite multi-
 “ tudes of people; and that he lacks money for needful uses, considering the yearly
 “ general receipt riseth to almost six millions of sterling pounds.”

Mr. BACON on the 29th of May 1596, wrote to dr. HAWKYNs^s, desiring him to
 thank JACOMO MARENCO for his letter to him, and to excuse his not answering it,
 till he should hear from the earl of Essex concerning the business, upon which
 MARENCO had written to him; which mr. BACON was persuaded would be betwixt
 that and the next Saturday; promising to give special charge for the providing of
 those things, which MARENCO desir’d, in such sort, as he should have cause to thank dr.
 HAWKYNs for finding his recommendation so effectual. For the conveyance of the
 doctor’s letters, he wished it to be rather continued by the way of Colen than that of
 Antwerp, or in the French packet addressed to ANTONIO PEREZ, considering that
 he was returned to France from England the last week, utterly discontented, and
 determined not to make any long abode in the French court. He mention’d the
 league offensive and defensive concluded between the queen and the French king;
 and that it was, among other things, agreed, that neither of them should treat of
 any peace with Spain without the consent of each other; that 4000 men should be

sent over and defray'd for six months; so that the duke DE BOUILLON and monsieur DE SANCY had not lost their labour: that the court made full account that the matters of Ireland were appeased: and that the earl of Crawford was like to be sent embassador by the king of Scots to assist at the coronation of the king of Denmark.

Mr. FRANCIS BACON being at court, wrote from thence on the 30th of May 1596, to his brother the following letter^a.

“ Good brother,
 “ Yesternight sir JOHN FORTESCU told me, he had not many hours before im-
 “ parted to the queen your advertisements and the gazette likewise; which the queen
 “ caused mr. JOHN STANHOPE to read all over unto her; and her majesty con-
 “ ceiveth they be not vulgar. The advertisements her majesty made estimation of,
 “ as concurring with other advertisements, and alike concurring also with her
 “ opinion of the affairs. So he willed me to return to you the queen's thanks.
 “ Other particular of any speech from her majesty of yourself he did not relate to
 “ me. For my lord of Essex's and your letters, he said, he was ready and desirous
 “ to do his best. But I seemed to make it but a love-wish, and passed presently
 “ from it, the rather, because it was late in the night, and I mean to deal with him
 “ at some better leisure after another manner, as you shall hereafter understand
 “ from me.

“ I do find in the speech of some ladies, and the very face of the court, some
 “ addition of reputation, as methinks, to us both; and I doubt not but God hath
 “ an operation in it, that will not suffer good endeavours to perish.

“ The queen saluted me to-day, as she went to chapel.

“ I had long speech with sir ROBERT CECIL this morning, who seemed apt to
 “ discourse with me: yet of yourself *ne verbum quidem*, not so much as a *quomodo*
 “ *valet*?

“ This I write to you in haste, *aliud ex alio*. I pray set in a course of acquaint-
 “ ing my lord keeper what passeth, at first by me, and after from yourself. I am
 “ more and more bound to him.

“ Thus wishing you good health, I commend you to God's happy preservation:
 “ From the court this 30th of May.

Your entire loving brother,
 FR. BACON.”

Sir ANTHONY STANDEN being embarked on board the Due Repulse in Plymouth
 sound, wrote to mr. BACON on the same day[†], once again to take leave of him;
 “ our matters here, *says he*, growing now to a ripeness; for this day my lords the
 “ generals have given beginning to the embarking of their army, five regiments

^a Vol. XI. fol. 29.

[†] Vol. XIII. fol. 1.

“ whereof

“ whereof will before night be lodged in the ships. By Monday at night we hope
 “ to be under fail, if the wind serve, which must be a north east or north, and a
 “ little of the west. We have 300 green headed youths covered with feathers,
 “ gold and silver lace, at the least ten thousand soldiers, as tall handsome men, as
 “ ever I cast eye on, who being conducted by a lyon must work lyon's effects:
 “ Our navy in this port beautiful to behold, about 150 sail, whereof 18 of her ma-
 “ jesty's own, since her reign never so many before. Sir WALTER RALEGH's
 “ carriage to my lord of Essex is with the cunningest respect and deepest humility,
 “ that ever I saw or have trowed. My lord's demeanor as well with the meanest
 “ soldiers, as mightiest colonel, is such, as all receive contentment, as willingly
 “ embrace his empire, equity and justice shining indifferently on all, by which he
 “ hath wrought to himself a wonderful regard in this army. My lords and we have
 “ all lien on shipboard these three nights; and here is nothing but hast and away.
 “ Mr. LAWSON^k had yesternight ten pounds of my lord, which is a great matter,
 “ weighing the scarcity of coin, and the excessive charges of half a man the week
 “ the space of a whole month; and this to 10000 men. He spareth neither purse,
 “ body, nor spirit. What may be more required, I see not. God prosper him,
 “ and send us grace to meet, that at last we may talk of these matters, and to
 “ almighty God I leave you.”

CAMDEN^l agrees with this letter of sir ANTHONY STANDEN in the number of ships in the fleet, of which he observes twenty two were Dutch sent by the states general, who, according to the accounts of GROTIUS^m and METERENⁿ, furnish'd eighteen large ships of war, and six others for the carrying of provisions, ammunition, &c. the whole commanded by JOHN DE DUYVENVOORDE lord de Warmont, admiral of Holland, his vice-admiral being JOHN GERBRANTSSEN of Enckhuysen, and his rear-admiral CORNELIUS LENSEN of Flushing: But this Dutch squadron was to be subject to the command of the English generals, and in it were several men of eminent rank volunteers, particularly count LEWIS of Nassau. The exact state of both the army and fleet will appear from the following paper extant among those of mr. BACON^o.

May 1596.

The several regiments in the service upon the sea. The earl of Essex and the lord Admiral generals both by sea and land; lord THOMAS HOWARD vice-admiral, sir FRANCIS VERE lord marshal, sir WALTER RALEGH admiral.

The earl of Essex's regiment.

Capt. ALDERISH, capt. of his horse	100	Capt. LAMBERT, quarter-master	} 150
Capt. SAVAGE, capt. of his com- pany of foot	200	general	
Sir MATTHEW MORGAN, lieu ^t . col.	150	Capt. MEDCAKE GRANT, major	100
Sir GEORGE CAREW, master of the ordnance	150	Sir CLEMENT HIGHAM	100
		Capt. GORING	100

^k He was prefer'd from mr. BACON's service to be a captain in this expedition.

^l Annales ELIZ. p. 667.

^m Hist. de Rebus Belgicis, l. v. p. 256. edit. Amstelod. 1658.

ⁿ Hist. des Pays Bas, l. xviii. fol. 388.

^o Vol. xi. fol. 121.

The regiment by land of the lord admiral.

Sir WILL. WOODHOUSE, lieu ^t . col.	200	Capt. GILBERT	100
Capt. AYNARD, ferjeant-major	100	Capt. WAYMAN	100
Capt. WALBERTON, quarter-master	100	Capt. HAYNES	100
Capt. BACON	100	Capt. PAWLET	100
Capt. DIGGES	100		

Lord marshal's regiment [sir FRANCIS VERE's].

Capt. ROBERTS	100	Capt. HAYDON	100
Capt. DACRES	150	Capt. CONSTABLE	100
Capt. BAGNAL	100	Capt. VERE	100
Capt. CRANE	100	Capt. UPSHEARE	100

Sir JOHN WINGFIELD's regiment.

His own company	150	Capt. BARRET HARVEY	100
Captain HORACE VERE ^p , lieu ^t . col.	100	Capt. ARTHUR MORGAN	100
Capt. LAURENCE, ferjeant-major	100	Capt. HAVBRIDGE	100
Capt. RICHARD MANNEL	100		

Sir THOMAS GERARD's regiment.

His own company	150	Capt. COLLIER	100
Capt. THROCKMORTON, lieu ^t . col.	100	Capt. SALISBURY	100
Capt. FLOOD, ferjeant-major	100	Capt. MOLLINEUX	100
Capt. BILLINGS	100		

Sir CHRISTOPHER BLUNT's regiment.

His own company	150	Capt. THOMAS WILLIAMS	100
Capt. CHARLES BLUNT, lieu ^t . col.	100	Capt. FOLLIOT	100
Capt. BRETT, ferjeant-major	100	Capt. HARCOURT	100

Sir RICHARD WINGFIELD's regiment.

His own company	100	Capt. HOPTON	100
Capt. CUNEY, lieutenant col.	100	Capt. HENEAGE	100
Capt. JACKSON, ferjeant-major	100	Capt. TOLKERNE	100
Capt. SMITH	100		

Sir CONYERS CLIFFORD's, ferjeant-major general's, regiment.

His own company	150	Capt. DAVY	100
Capt. MERICKE, lieutenant col.	100	Capt. WILSON	100
Capt. DANIEL, ferjeant-major	100	Capt. * * * * *	100
Capt. WOLLEY	100		

Sir ANTHONY SHERLEY left behind him under several captains 448, which were dispers'd to several regiments; but their captains discharged, captain ERRINGTON, captain CROFTS, captain LOLHAM, captain BOOTH, captain PETHON.

^p Afterwards created by king CHARLES I. lord VERE, baron of Tilbury.

There are for land service 10000 foot, whereof the Dutch admiral will land 1000.

There are by sea 150 men of war, besides hoys and fly-boats, which carry horse, munition, and victual.

Preachers to the army.

The earl of ESSEX's chaplains,
Mr. SHARPE *,
Mr. HOPKINS,
Mr. ALABASTER †,
Mr. WHALLEY.

The lord THOMAS HOWARD's,
Mr. BRIAN.

Sir WALTER RALEGH's,
Mr. HUTCHINS.

The lord admiral's chaplains,
Mr. DOUGHTY,
Mr. PRICE.

The earl of SUSSEX's,
Mr. MAN.

ARTHUR THROCKMORTON committed for words against the lord marshal, but enlarg'd again.

There have been two executed, one a fugitive, and another a mutineer; and one lieutenant HAMMOND banish'd the army for felling his men."

The instructions given to the generals were to enquire, what preparations of war there were in the enemy's ships, or store-houses, intended to be sent against England, Ireland, or Calais; and to intercept and destroy them together with the said ships, but not to expose rashly her majesty's soldiers or ships to danger: to spare the women and children, when any town should be taken, and to offer no violence to any but those, who should resist: to reserve the spoils and plunder, in order to reimburse the charges of the expedition, and to reward those, who had deserv'd well in the service: that the counsellors should deliver freely their opinions in what they thought of importance, and not divide into parties, but that all resolutions should be taken according to the sentiments of the majority: that after the enemy's ships and preparations shall have been destroy'd, they should send some ships of war to intercept the Indian caracks, if they should have intelligence of their coming¹.

A declaration was likewise drawn up by the lord treasurer^r, to be publish'd by the generals in their names, representing the causes moving her majesty to this expedition in defence of her realms against the king of Spain, and her commandment

* LIONEL SHARPE, educated in King's college Cambridge, afterwards D. D. and chaplain to HENRY prince of Wales, rector of Malpas in Cheshire, and archdeacon of Berks. He died in 1630. Wood, Fasti Oxon. Vol. i. col. 211.

† Born in Suffolk, and educated in Trinity college Cambridge. He changed his religion for that of Rome after the expedition to Cadiz, but return-

ing to the church of England, became prebendary of St. Paul's, rector of Therfield in Hertfordshire, and D. D. He died in April 1640. Wood, *ibid.* col. 143.

¹ CAMDENI ELIZ. p. 668.

^r STRYPE's Annals of the church and state under the reign of queen ELIZABETH. Vol. iv. p. 260. N° cxciii.

to them to offend no manner of persons of any nation except the subjects of that king, or such as should manifestly aid him for the invasion of her dominions: Which declaration was to be printed in French, Italian, Dutch, and Spanish, and distributed into as many ports of Spain and Portugal, as conveniently might be.

The queen herself also compos'd a prayer to be used daily in each of the ships of the fleet^f; which she sent to them by the *sieur John de Conway*, as METEREN calls him^g. She drew up likewise another more private prayer for her own use, of which sir ROBERT CECIL having procur'd a copy, inclos'd it in the following letter to the earl of Essex^h.

“ My very good lord,
 “ I send you herein a worthy encouragement for you, that go forth, with an exceeding comfort for us, that remain; for there is nothing, that so much pleaseth the ears of the Almighty, as prayers; no prayer so fruitful as that, which proceedeth from those, who do nearest in nature and power approach him; none so near approach his place and essence, as a celestial mind in a princely body. And as his divine majesty hath an eye more singular to actions of princes; so hath he doubtless an ear more gracious to their prayers. Put forth therefore, my lord, with comfort and confidence, having your sails fill'd with her heavenly breath for your forewind. You have left alone in her sufficient wisdom at home for the security of the state, and godliness, which is great riches, both perfectly united in her royal breast. That, which was meant a sweet sacrifice for one, I have presumed (not of trust) to participate with two. It came to my hands accidentally. I dare scarce justify the sight, much less the copy. Consider herein my condition, and, if I may reap silence for my adventure, I will ever be found
 “ your lordship's humble to do you service.

Her majesty's prayer was in these words.

“ Most omnipotent maker and giver of all the world's mass, that only searchest and fathomest the bottom of all hearts and conceits, and in them seest the true original of all actions intended; thou, that by thy foresight dost truly discern, how no malice of revenge, nor quittance of injuries, nor desire of bloodshed, nor greediness of lucre, hath moved the resolution of our new set-out army; but a needful care and wary watch, that no neglect of foes, or oversurety of promise, might breed either danger to us, or glory to them. These being the grounds, thou, that dost inspire the mind, we humbly beseech thee with bended knees, prosper the work, and with the best forewinds guide the journey, speed the victory, and make the return the advancement of thy glory, the triumph of their fame, and surety of the realm, with the least loss of the English blood. To these alone petitions, Lord, give thou thy blessed grant. Amen.”

^f CAMDENI ELIZABETHA, p. 668.

^g L. xviii. fol. 388.

^h Certain letters written by the right honourable ROBERT late earl of Essex to the queen, the council, and others his honourable friends; with some of

their answers to the same: with an addition of divers other letters of noble personages, gather'd out of the collected writings of many worthy gentlemen, by M. K. MS. in 4^{to} in my possession, p. 51.

The fleet being almost ready to sail, the earl of Essex wrote to the queen the following letter in justification of the design of the expedition *.

“ My dear and most gracious sovereign,

“ When I dispatch'd sir CONYERS CLIFFORD, my mind was so afflicted, as to
 “ think, that I had in vain receiv'd so honourable a commission, and my body
 “ so overtoiled with embarking your majesty's army, as I could not write. But
 “ now that this ship of your majesty hath both given me rest, and taken in my
 “ company, I cannot but send your majesty a faithful account as well of what I
 “ think, as of what I do. Your majesty is by this time, I doubt not, with two
 “ sorts of persuaders: the one amazed with the enemy's good success, and possessed
 “ with a general fear, would wish your majesty to do nothing: the other, of a
 “ self-loving humour, would have your majesty lose all your royal sea and land
 “ forces, to serve their turns. Against the first I will use memorable arguments,
 “ as that princes, that are one in war with another, when they do buckle and fight,
 “ they must suffer much: that wars being made as much by reputation as force,
 “ heed is to be taken how we suffer an enemy to grow great, without seeking to im-
 “ peach, or to diminish him: that they are not so soon overcome, that lose a
 “ battle, as they, that by not following their actions, do confess a yielding. But I
 “ know, as your majesty confutes this sort of men, so your princely magnanimity
 “ will not have patience to hear them; therefore I will pass them over. When I speak
 “ against the other, I beseech your majesty to forget, that I and my friends are engaged
 “ to the uttermost of that we are worth: but let reason weigh against reason, and not
 “ passion. Princes do ever prefer one action before another, because it is more honour-
 “ able, more profitable, more safe, or more agreeing with the present state of their
 “ affairs. In points of honour, when you shall compare the two actions, you have
 “ this difference, that in the former action you are but a coadjutor, after the
 “ fashion of Switzerland or petty common states: In this other you make war like
 “ a mighty prince of yourself. In that a foreign prince directs the war, disposeth
 “ of the lives of your subjects, and shall have the honour of the success. In this the
 “ counsel, execution, and glory of all successes are your own, and none can rob
 “ you of any part of them. Lastly, to embrace that, would be thought an ir-
 “ resolution; to follow this other, strength of mind and royal constancy or mag-
 “ nanimity. For matter of profit, what question can there be betwixt making of
 “ war by sea and land in a rich country in the trade of the Indies, where any one
 “ of many such successes, as we may promise to ourselves, shall enrich a state;
 “ and fighting with men, that have nothing to lose but their clothes, or the earth
 “ and stones, with which they are fortified? Or how shall he be thought a good hus-
 “ band for your majesty, that should engage you in a new action, the charge where-
 “ of will be infinite, and is all to come; and persuade your majesty to leave that
 “ you are in hand with, wherein all your greatest care is past already? The safety
 “ and danger of both these enterprises will best appear, when the places where, and
 “ the persons, against whom the war is to be made, have been considered. In
 “ France and Flanders you shall attempt towns strongly fortified and provided
 “ of all things, and encounter the most disciplin'd troops, that are this day in

* Certain letters written by the right honourable ROBERT earl of Essex, &c. p. 23.

“ Christendom. On the coast of Spain your troops shall possess ports unguarded,
 “ and, if you please, take towns unfortified, and meet with none but *Besoygneyes*,
 “ who rather will quit every place than fight, or make a shew of fighting, to give
 “ your majesty great glory, when resistance to any great purpose they can make
 “ none. Lastly, of points of conveniency of state there is difference, as that by
 “ our journey your majesty shall weaken the king of Spain, and give him a blow
 “ by sea; which being done, he cannot be fearful to your estates: you shall assure
 “ Ireland, possess some place, which may (if it please your majesty) divert the war
 “ from those parts, and so much the more assure your coasts, as you shall be a long
 “ time able to make war against Spain: But by giving over, for his former action,
 “ you shall see him, ere a year be passed, command both the broad and narrow
 “ seas; you shall hear, ere summer is past, that Ireland is lost; you shall spend all
 “ your own and your subjects wealth to get fisher-towns; and, if you fail of them,
 “ and lose your charge and your army, he, that is not impeached all the while,
 “ will come against you, and put your state in hazard of a conquest. Therefore I
 “ hope the comparison is plain, and the story is easy: but any manner of delay
 “ would both overthrow your majesty’s service, and undo us all; for now our pur-
 “ ses are empty, our victual almost spent, and the freight of shipping and the con-
 “ tenting the * * * till they set sail, will amount it an insupportable charge.

“ Your majesty’s humblest servant,
 E S S E X.”

The earl wrote likewise a very elaborate letter to the lords of the council, dated on the 1st of June, to the same purpose^b, which was printed by dr. WILLIAM RAWLEY in a collection of lord BACON’s letters^c at the end of his *Resuscitatio*; but the postscript is there wanting, in which the earl desires their lordship’s pardon for using of another hand for that transcript; “ for I have, *says he*, been forced to
 “ go from ship to ship to make our loiterers go out of the harbour; and have made
 “ my hand unable to write so long a letter.” The publishing this, and some other letters of the earl, among those of lord BACON was occasion’d probably by a notion of the editors of the works of the latter, that he used to lend his pen to his patron, who, it is certain, did not want any such assistance, and could not have had it upon many and most important occasions, which requir’d the earl to write some of the most finish’d of his epistolary performances, the style of which is not only very different from, but likewise much more natural, easy and perspicuous than that of his friend, who acknowledges * it to be *far better than his own*.

The earl sent this letter on the 31st of May to his secretary, with these directions about the delivery of it^d.

“ REYNOLDES,

“ I send by my cousin GREVILL a letter to my lords of the council, which you shall
 “ deliver †, but not till the wind hath so served as at least a week, as you may

^b Vol. xi. fol. 175. ^c P. 101. edit. 1657. fol.

* Letter to the earl of Devonshire.

^d Original letters to ROBERT earl of Essex, collected by JOHN CASTLE, in the possession of the

right honourable CHARLES earl of Egremont.

† It was deliver’d to the lords of the council at Greenwich on the 6th of June. See the earl of Essex’s Apology.

“ judge

“ judge us to be in Spain. Then deliver it at some time, when you find them all
 “ fitting. I have also sent by him certain articles, which I have drawn for the
 “ distinction of all mens places, and the duties, that every man in his place is to do.
 “ Of both you may take a copy, and impart it to such of my friends as you think
 “ good, but especially to mr. ANTHONY BACON.

From before Plymouth, weighing anchor
 to be gone this last of May.

Your loving master,

ESSEX.”

The *articles* mention'd in this letter were probably those, in the drawing up of which, sir FRANCIS VERE tells us*, that himself assisted his lordship. “ During the army's stay, *says he*, at Plymouth (which by the contrary winds was near a month) it pleased my lord of Essex to give me much countenance, and to have me always near him; which drew on me no small envy, insomuch as some open jars fell out betwixt sir WALTER RALEGH, then rear-admiral of the navy, sir CONYERS CLIFFORD, serjeant-major general, and myself, which the general qualified for the time, and ordered, that in all meetings at land I should have the precedence of sir WALTER RALEGH, and he of me at sea. With sir CONYERS CLIFFORD, tho' there were grudging, there could be no competition; yet being a man of haughty stomach, and not of the greatest government or experience in martial discipline, lest ignorance or will might mislead him in the execution of his office, and to give a rule to the rest of the high officers (chosen rather for favour than long continuance in service) to the better directing of them in their duties, as also for the more readiness in the general himself to judge and distinguish upon all occasions of controversy, I propounded to my lord of Essex, as a thing most necessary, the setting down in writing what belonged properly to every officer in the field: which motion his lordship liked well, and at several times in the morning being together, his lordship, with his own hand, wrote what my industry and experience had made me able to deliver; which was afterwards copied and delivered severally to the officers, and took so good effect, that no question arose thereon during the journey.”

A copy of these orders is extant among the manuscripts of the Harleian library*, under the title of *Sir FRANCIS VERE's notes of directions, how far every man's office in the army doth extend, and duty the officer is to do.*

The fleet set sail on the 1st of June 1596 from Plymouth, but was driven back by a contrary wind, which becoming favourable the next day, it proceeded in its course to Spain†.

The resolution of the earl of Essex to attend this expedition in person gave great concern to dr. HAWKYNs, who in a letter to mr. BACON from Venice of the 31st of

* Commentaries, p. 25.

* 160 b. 1. fol. 77.

† CAMDENI ELIZABETH. p. 668. METEREN,

fol. 388, says, that the fleet sail'd on the 13th of June, N. S. and GROTIUS, hist. l. v. p. 256, on the 23d, N. S.

May 1596^z, exprefs'd his apprehensions of his lordship's leaving the helm of state to others in these most dangerous times, when the enemy was determined to hazard the uttermost of his power and fortune against England. " This I speak, *says he*, not
 " by guess, but what I hear from the Spaniards own mouths, being daily amongst
 " them here, whose faction, being in these parts more strong now by far than ever
 " before, maketh them insolent, whose insupportable pride and intolerable bravados
 " I am alone inforced in public piazza to withstand and convince, sometimes with
 " reason, sometimes with scorn and disdain. Yea the secretary of the Spanish embas-
 " sador here within six days past was not ashamed in the assembly of divers, myself
 " not being present, to offer a wager of a good sum of money, that before this year
 " of 1596 were ended, there should be a king catholic established in England, the
 " same being promised, as he said, out of England. What their designs be in
 " general, you may conjecture, and I hope ere long to understand in more parti-
 " cular, having of late enter'd into another course of correspondency from Milan
 " and Rome both, the success whereof you shall hear of afterwards."

He doubts, that the English and French agents at Constantinople did but weak offices there; declaring, that peace in those parts would give Spain great advantages both of men and money against other parts, and that that kingdom would employ all her levies in Germany against England.

He mentions, that the laird of Ogleby in Scotland, who was lately come to Rome^h, said, that the fugitive Scots earls were about Bruffels, and BOTHWELL at Paris; and that the English catholics at Bruffels, upon the king of Spain's withdrawing his pension from them by reason of some discord with the jesuits, proposed to remove to Rome, whither there was lately come one WALPOLE out of Spain. Dr. HAWKYNs presum'd, that mr. BACON had heard of the division in the English college at Rome betwixt the rector and the scholars, which was now said to be newly compos'd, tho' some of them had left the college, and among them sir GRIFFIN MARKHAM's brother, who was one of the chief for the scholars against the jesuits. He went from Rome to study at Perugia. His brother sir GRIFFIN had been lately at Venice, but was now at Padua, and had desired dr. HAWKYNs to deliver his heartiest commendations to his very good cousin, as he stil'd mr. BACON, and promis'd to be ready to do all service to the earl of Essex; being sorry, as he pretended, that he was not present in the expedition, to be forwardest in presenting faithful service to his lordship.

Dr. HAWKYNs having received a letter from some English catholic, dated at Milan the 3d of June 1596, N. S.ⁱ transmitted a copy of it to mr. BACON. The writer of this letter mentions his having confer'd divers times with mr. FITZHERBERT* in order to know the truth of those things, concerning which the doctor

^z Vol. XI. fol. 174.

^h See above vol. i. b. vi. in the months of January and February 1595⁵.

ⁱ Vol. XI. fol. 163.

* NICOLAS FITZHERBERT, grandson of sir

ANTHONY FITZHERBERT, the great lawyer. He was educated at first in Exeter college in Oxford, but about the year 1572, left his country on account of religion and went to Italy, settling first at Bologna, and afterwards at Rome in the family

had enquired, and that mr. FITZHERBERT protested, that there had been no assembly held there for matters of Spain but merely by accident on occasion of the meeting of cardinal ALEXANDRINO, the duke of Feria, conde di Fuentes, and several Swiss colonels. The writer adds, that it was true, that the governor of Milan had, in the name of the king of Spain, demanded foldiers of the Swiss; but that he knew not the number of them, nor the place, whither they were to be sent. That there were laid up in the castle of that city, as mr. FITZHERBERT told him, thirty-thousand crowns; but for what use he knew not. That with regard to any enterprize against England, there was nothing at present reported, tho' great talk, that the king of Spain having Calais, he would shortly attack England.

Mr. BACON wrote to the doctor on the 5th of June ^k from London, whither he was returned from Twickenham lodge towards the end of May ^l, advising him to have a special care of the conveyance of his letters, and in any case not to send them inclosed in the French packet, since ANTONIO PEREZ was departed so extremely discontented. He informed him, that the earl of Essex certainly sail'd on the Tuesday before ^m, and was out of sight; adding, that he could not express the wonderful concurrence of prayers ecclesiastical, noble and popular, for his lordship's success. In another letter written the next day ⁿ, he acquaints dr. HAWKYNs of his having, according to the earl's directions, in his lordship's absence, sent an abstract of the occurrences contain'd in the doctor's, with the gazettes, to sir JOHN FORTESCU, who having imparted them likewise to the queen, and her majesty having commanded mr. STANHOPE to read the gazettes to her, observed to sir JOHN, that they were not vulgar, and returned thanks for them: "in regard whereof, *says he*, I shall not need to advise you to have a special care, that the party, who writes them, may be well encouraged to continue his diligent search and observation, and to better them and his hand, if it may be, seeing your gazettes are like henceforward to be graced with her royal audience." He mentions also, that in acknowledgment of the lord keeper's singular kindness to his brother FRANCIS, whom his lordship professed to love, and us'd as if he were his own child, he purpos'd to acquaint his lordship continually with the best advertisements, that he received on all sides from his friends beyond the seas. "But forasmuch, *says he*, as neither his lordship understands Italian, nor I myself have leisure to translate in time the gazette, I am most heartily to intreat you, that you would enlarge and enrich your letters in English with the chiefest points of occurrences therein contained, or that you can otherwise recover; assuring you, that you shall have your right, I mean, that his lordship shall both know your endeavours, and be well disposed to welcome and requite you hereafter with the mastership of the chancery." He adds, that things were at present still, the earl of Essex being not yet departed, "whom, *says he*, it pleaseth God in his absence to bless with her majesty's daily and fast remembrance of him, with as much favour as ever."

of cardinal ALAN, till the death of the latter in October 1594. He was drown'd in a journey from Rome in 1612. Wood Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 382.
^k Vol. XI. fol. 104.

^l Letter of mr. BACON to sir ANTHONY STAN-
DEN, of the 3rd of May 1596, vol. xi. fol. 5.

^m June 1.

ⁿ Vol. XI. fol. 105.

The same day he wrote an answer^o to a splenetic letter of lady BACON, that as from a mother sickly and in years he was content to take in good part any misconceit, misinterpretations, or causeless humourous threats whatsoever. “ Only this, *says he*, I
 “ may with reason, and must for once, upon the warrant of a good conscience, remon-
 “ strate unto your ladyship, that your son’s poor credit dependeth upon judgment
 “ and not upon humour; and that your ladyship cannot utter any thing in your
 “ passion to your son’s lack, so long as God gives him the grace to be more careful
 “ in duty to please and reverence your ladyship as his mother, than your ladyship
 “ seemeth many times to be towards me as your son.”

Mr. DAVIS FOULIS, embassador from the king of Scots in England, who had very great connexions with mr. BACON as well as with the earl of Essex, and communicated frequently his own letters from Scotland to the former, imparted to him one written to himself from Edinburgh by mr. JAMES ORD on the 31st of May 1596^p. In this letter it was mentioned, that the king’s will was, that his embassador should certify the queen, that the manner of BACLUGH’s *riding into England* had been misrepresented to her majesty: that it had been consider’d before the king and his council by way of commission, according to the band of amity and treaty of peace betwixt the two crowns concluded, and then the wrongs to be redressed: that the king was resolved, saving his honour and the discontenting of his people, to satisfy her majesty’s will in that particular, if reason could satisfy her: that BACLUGH alledg’d, that on the day when the wardens met to redress wrongs, WILLIAM ARMSTRONG of Kynmouth was taken two miles within Scotland, by the number of five or six hundred armed men; and that he was able to verify this and more: that the king, in order to have BACLUGH delivered, according to the petition of the English embassador, used these reasons, first in respect of the band of sincere amity and friendship betwixt the two crowns; secondly, of his natural right; thirdly, for the great advantages, which the common enemy had gotten by Calais; besides other daily attempts, whereby the state of England was much disquieted: yet that it was against the honour of a prince to take advantage of the time.

That it was wondered at, that her majesty should take it so high in head, without any justification, or that the party should have had such firm credit, without more diligent inquisition into the truth, considering, that it was undoubtedly expected, that it should be otherwise tried: that the embassador might boldly affirm this to her majesty: that the king stayed his sending to his embassador, till he should be advertised from him of the success of her majesty’s navy at sea, and in what state it stood: that the embassador conceived his master’s mind, what he meant to do or leave undone, after his instruction in that point: that all things proceeded soundly without alteration in Scotland: that the king dealt very honourably for BACLUGH’s delivery, and in council propounded and reasoned at length pithily, and more than the English embassador could alledge: that the king would have the queen half judge herein: and that the lord Scroope would be found the first in the wrong, when it should come to trial.

^o Vol. X. fol. 175.

^p Vol. XI. fol. 158.

Mr. ASTON likewise in his letter to the Scots embassador from Edinburgh of the 1st of June 1596^a, inform'd him, that, to deal plainly with him, he fear'd, that his expectation concerning the queen's satisfaction for BACLUGH's attempt would be frustrate, because the matter was so allow'd of all men in Scotland generally, that the king could not do the thing, which he would.

That the English embassador sought the delivery of BACLUGH, and to that effect gave in his demand to the king, who propounded the same to the whole convention or council, and took the reasoning thereof upon himself in the behalf of the embassador. But the delivery of BACLUGH was denied by them all.

That thus far was condescended to, that commissioners should meet, if it should please her majesty, and that, according to the qualification and verifying of the last, punishment should be inflicted: but whether this would be accepted or not, he knew not, but feared, that these matters would breed a farther dislike between the two princes, than either he or the embassador could wish.

That the embassador had discharged his duty faithfully.

That when he sent any letters of consequence, he would direct them to his brother or sir GEORGE.

That the secretary employed mr. JAMES BALLANTINE to the king with the first letter, which he wrote: that he got it back again to the secretary, and imparted the contents of it to BACLUGH.

That BACLUGH was in Edinburgh, and had now more friends than ever he had.

That the convention was ended, to which certain articles were given in by the ministers, desiring that the livings of the papist lords might be severely taken up, in respect that they had trafficked against the religion and the king's estate: and that provision might be found to supply every church with a minister; the king and church having well agreed therein.

That it was appointed, that the king should be at Dombarton on the 1st of August with sufficient forces to pass to the isles, if the lords came not in in the mean time, which he expected they would do.

That MACLEW was already come in, and made great offers of obedience to the king.

That all other matters in the convention related to coiners, custumers, and such like.

That JOHN LINDSEY was daily expected to be made secretary.

That the Danish ambassadors were daily look'd for, but not yet come.

That there was a commission for sending ambassadors to France; but the boroughs would not agree to any contribution to their charges; so that it was like to fail for that time.

That the king was gone to Lithgow, and before his departure spoke to the English ambassador, to whom he gave all the contentment and satisfaction, which he possibly could.

Mr. BOWES, the English ambassador in Scotland, wrote the next day, June 2 1596, to mr. DAVID FOULIS the Scots ambassador in England^r, that upon the receipt of his two several packets of the 22d of May, he had caused them to be deliver'd immediately according to his directions. He thanked him for his last courteous letter with the occurrents therein, in which respect he was unable to requite mr. FOULIS's courtesies, who was furnished with the novelties of Scotland by his friends there: "and of foreign news, *says he*, I am ignorant, otherwise than that " I am helped by your pains and favour; for the which I acknowledge myself " deeply beholden to you, and shall always be ready to honour and please you with " all pleasures in my power. That her majesty, my sovereign, may understand your " good devotion and like office done towards and for her, especially in this cause " touching the laird of BACLUGH, I have by my letters herewith acquainted the lord " treasurer with your commendable proceedings therein, like as his lordship shall, " I trust, both communicate the same to you, and also thank you for your good " will shewed." He mentions, that till the day before he could not receive the absolute answer of the king and convention to his demands exhibited for her majesty to the king for redress, of BACLUGH's fact at Carlisle; which answer he now sent to the lords of the council; and that he expected soon a letter from the king to the queen.

Dr. HAWKYNs in his letter to mr. BACON from Venice of the 5th of June 1596^r, took notice of his having translated the declaration of the generals sent against Spain into Italian, and attempted to get it printed in that language both at Venice and Padua: but finding that state unwilling to displease Spain, he must see, if he could with money purchase the hazard of it at the hands of some private printer, after which he would cause the copies to be dispersed, and sent to the princes of Italy, to manifest to them all her majesty's most principal intention. Among other news he observes, that the treaty between France and Savoy was in suspense, as also the marching of Spanish forces towards Narbonne. He desires to be advertised sometimes of the state of his particular affairs at home from his cousin HENRY YELVERTON* of Greys-Inn, and adds, that the earl of Rutland was newly recover'd from a long sickness and a dangerous relapse, and purposed shortly to come from Padua to Rome.

^r Vol. XI. fol. 124.

[£] Vol. XII. fol. 45.

* Afterwards attorney general, and one of the justices of the common pleas.

Dr. HAWKYNs sent to mr. BACON soon after the following letter, written, as appears, to sir GRIFFIN MARKHAM from an English Roman catholic at Rome^c.

“ Sir,

“ Your conceit of me is true: which, if any danger indeed be near, I will verify
 “ in shewing my allegiance by yielding my person to my country, and in manifesting
 “ my catholic faith by committing my neck to Tyburn. But alas! you see the
 “ *ultimum posse* of these Spanish drifts, which for this year must be spent in France.
 “ The next year they haply may shoot at England, if the rest can be placed in
 “ France, that it be not shaken. My heart doth rise at the sight of their castles,
 “ and would bleed, if I thought not they will fall. I stand aside not to be pulled
 “ into the stream by any means, even as a scholar of that poor frere, my master,
 “ that thinketh I have no greater * * to my spiritual attempts, than those pleasant
 “ studies of politics, wherein I have spent so much time. I thank you for your
 “ courtesy, but I hope little worldly friendship shall suffice me at my return. The
 “ memory of my good uncle filleth mine eyes daily with tears. He loved her
 “ majesty dearly, and so do I with as true loyalty as any of you all. Vouchsafe me
 “ some of your English news, and of mr. Wood’s answer. Of our sixteen cardinals^v,
 “ that lay this day upon their faces praying, what should I write, when all the
 “ world speaketh? The words could not be more quickly spoken of you, but are as
 “ easily forgotten of me. And for an honourable caring in these points, I think it
 “ sufficient, that you are a knight. And for carrying all human misfortunes, I will
 “ use only N. MORRICE, and if he be not enough, he shall have the help of a
 “ catholic. Can you write no one word of that good lord^w and of his virtuous
 “ sister? Send me word certainly how long you stay in Venice, and direct your
 “ letters to me to the post of Rome. If you think, that I can pleasure you or that
 “ young earl^x of such great hope, with any directory whatsoever, I will be ready.
 “ So I humbly commend me to your worship, betaking you to God’s blessed pro-
 “ tection.

“ Rome 7th of June, [N. S.]

Mr. BOWES, who had a frequent correspondence to mr. DAVID FOULIS, in his letter from Edinburgh of the 7th of June^y, acquainted him, that his last packet of the 31st of May, convey’d by the warrant of sir ROBERT CECIL to the post, had been brought to himself on the 4th of June, and that his packet directed to his brother THOMAS FOULIS was immediately deliver’d to him, who presented the letter of mr. DAVID FOULIS addressed to the king; upon which, and the progress of the cause pursued by BOWES for redress in the late *Attentat* of BACLUGH at Carlisle, his majesty wrote to the queen on that subject, as would appear from the king’s letter to mr. DAVID FOULIS himself. “ I have, *says mr. BOWES*, advertised to the lord treasurer
 “ and others, not only the address of the king’s letter to her majesty, and mine own

^c Vol. XI. fol. 147.

^y Created on the 8th of June. See D’OSSAT’S letter to HENRY IV. from Rome June 5 1596.

^w Probably the lord WILLOUGHBY of Eresby, who had one sister SUSANNA, first married to REGI-

NALD GREY, earl of Kent, and afterwards to sir JOHN WINGFIELD.

^x Of Rutland.

^y Vol. XI. fol. 122.

“ proceedings in that matter for BACLUGH, but also the good offices done by your-
 “ self, and your letters to the king’s majesty for the expedition of this redress for the
 “ benefit and contentment of both sovereigns, and for the which I trust you shall
 “ receive thanks by her majesty and by counsellors acquainted therewith. I pray you
 “ to let me understand your timely receipt of this packet to you, and of your good
 “ success in the negotiation of the contents thereof. I do right heartily thank you
 “ for your last letter to me in the packet mentioned; which favours and courtesies I
 “ can no otherwise requite than with continual readiness to yield to you all thankful
 “ pleasures in my power.” He then takes notice, that the Danish embassadors had
 been daily looked and provided for, and that it had been divers times inform’d by
 passengers coming to Scotland from Denmark, that these embassadors were on the seas;
 and that it was confirmed, that STENE BEAL was near the coast, and BERUEGO
 employ’d to her majesty. “ The repair, *says he*, of these embassadors to the places
 “ appointed, and the delivery of their negotiations, will readily quench the bruits
 “ of controversies supposed to be risen in Denmark by accidents; that which very
 “ short time will plainly discover.”

JOHN NEPER, baron of Marcheston near Edinburgh in Scotland, eminent for his
 excellent invention of logarithms, which he published in that city in 1614, drew up
 on the 7th of June 1596, an account of some other inventions of his. This paper
 is entitled, *Secret inventions profitable and necessary in these days for defence of this
 island, and withstanding of strangers, enemies of God’s truth and religion*. It is extant
 among mr. BACON’s papers ^z, and contains the following particulars.

First, the invention, proof, and present demonstration geometrical and algebraical
 of a burning mirror, which receiving of dispersed beams of the sun doth reflect the
 same beams altogether united and concurring precisely in one mathematical point;
 in the which point most necessarily it engendereth fire, with an evident demonstration
 of their error, who affirm this to be made a parabolic section.

The use of this invention serveth for burning of the enemy’s ships at whatsoever
 appointed distance.

Secondly, the invention and sure demonstration of another mirror, which receiving
 the dispersed beams of any material fire or flame, yieldeth also the former effect, and
 serveth for the like use.

Thirdly, the invention and visible demonstration of a piece of artillery, which shot
 passeth not lineally thro’ the army, destroying only those that stand in the random
 thereof, and from them forth flying idly as others do, but passeth superficially
 ranging abroad within the whole appointed place, and not departing forth of the
 place, till it hath executed its whole strength by destroying those, that be within the
 bounds of the said place.

Use hereof not only serveth greatly against the army of the enemy on land,

^z Vol. XII. fol. 38.

but also by sea it ferveth to destroy and cut down, by one shot the whole masts and tackling of so many ships, as be within the appointed bounds as well abreid as in large, so long as any strength at all remaineth.

Fourthly, the invention of a round chariot of metal made of the proof of double musket, which motion shall be by those, that be within the same, more easy, more light, and more speedy by much, than so many armed men would be otherwise.

The use hereof as well in moving ferveth to break the array of the enemy's battle, and to make passage, as also in staying and abiding within the enemy's battle. It ferveth to destroy the environed enemy by continual charge and shot of harquebuz thro' small holes, the enemy in the mean time being abased and altogether uncertain, what defence or pursuit to use against a moving mouth of metal.

“ These inventions, *says lord NEPER*, besides devices of sailing under the water, “ with divers other devices and stratagems for burning of the enemies, by the grace “ of GOD, and works of expert craftsmen, I hope to perform.”

Mr. YATES being at Dieppe wrote from thence to mr. BACON on the $\frac{1}{2}$ of June^a, that whereas an alarm had been raised in England, as well as at Paris and Roan, that the king of Spain had sent his embassadors to treat of an agreement with the French king, he was now able to affirm, that those, who were reputed to be the Spanish embassadors, were three knights of Malta sent from the grand master, a Spaniard, an Italian, and a Frenchman, who only desired of the king their accustomed livings and exhibitions, to be allowed, as formerly, for the continuance of their order.

The king had licens'd the greatest number of his horse for two months, and the admiral de Nassau with the states forces had taken their leave of the king, and only waited for shipping at St. Valery to return into their own country, so that most men imagined, that the king was not disposed to attempt any great enterprize that summer, notwithstanding his great provisions of powder and shot, which he caused to be prepared at Amiens and Abbeville. On the day of the date of this letter a gentleman arrived from the court, who said, that the nobility were gone to refresh themselves; and that there was not one prince at court but the count de St. Pol. The king went two days before to meet his mistress at a castle betwixt Montdidier and Amiens. The duke DE BOUILLON was still at court, but staid only for his leave. There was a report, that the enemy under colour of putting his men in garrison had made great marches, and sat down before Ostend. But the French hardly credited it, being much more apprehensive of Boulogne.

Dr. HAWKYNs in his letter from Venice of the 10th of June 1596 N. S.^b gives, among other news, an account of the surrender of Clissa in Dalmatia to the Turks on the 1st of that month N. S. which he concludes with remarking, that he now found,

^a Vol. XI. fol. 137.

^b Vol. XI. fol. 176.

what he ever thought from the beginning, whether by guess or discourse of reason, the great dependency of 123 [Venice] with 122 [the Turk] who had wrought this matter, to the utter extreme distaste of 116 [the pope] 117 [the emperor] 128 [the king of Spain] the effects whereof time would discover. Mentioning likewise the taking of a galleon of the great duke by prince DORIA, a wrong, which the former could not put up with his honour, he adds; “ a little more, and all Italy up in arms. There
 “ wanteth but a foreign mighty prince, such a one as CHARLES V. or FRANCIS I. or
 “ HENRY VIII. to set it on foot, to put the pope in hope to recover Naples and
 “ Sicily, to unite the rich princes of Italy, Venice, Florence, and Ferrara, the two
 “ first having *in contanti* 30 *millioni*, the third 20 *millioni*; the two first interested by
 “ the designs of Spain; the third for his investiture from Rome. France, if all
 “ were quiet at home, a fit subject, who with the purses of these three rich princes
 “ might find forces enough. There is present occasion like to be offered, the
 “ second attempt against Marseilles by Spanish DORIA, who goeth out with his
 “ gallies the 15th or 20th of this month towards Sicily, who, if no Turkish armata
 “ appeareth, is thought to turn his forces to Marseilles, who by the means of CASAUX’s
 “ son and VIGVIER, who are at Genoa, is thought to have intelligence in Marseilles.
 “ Evident signs thereof may be the late shooting an harquebuz at the duke of Guise,
 “ and, later than that, the killing of captain LIBERTADE, the same who slew CA-
 “ SAUX, who is said to be slain newly by CASAUX’s faction.”

Dr. HAWKYNs wrote again on the 12th of June N. S. ° hoping, that by this time the loss of Calais and the attempt at Bayonne had verified the Spanish design long ago signified in the intercepted letters, which he had sent to England. He mentions, that the duke of Mantua, while he was at Venice, told the French ambassador, what he had learn’d from his French secretary in Spain, that all the provinces of that king had offered to furnish and maintain for their king a yearly armada of eighty galleons at their own expence, if he would assure to them the Indian navigation: that the secretary for Spain had that day in the public piazza at Venice in the presence of many confess’d the design of the English expedition to be as well known in Spain as in England; with some other particulars concealed by the doctor in cypher. That JACOMO MARENCO’s letter was just come very seasonably, with some advertisements of importance, as that of the expected arrival of the Spanish Indian fleet about the middle of September in Seville. “ I could wish, *says he*, our fleet were fit for it to
 “ bestow the convoy. It seems they fear no danger now DRAKE is dead.” In another letter of the 14th of June N. S. ° he gave an account of the creation of sixteen new cardinals; that the cardinal of Medicis had passed thro’ Bologna on the Saturday fortnight before with great pomp as well as haste; and that the common voice ran, that the French king could do nothing with success till he had received his incoronation and unction from the pope by that cardinal, who was attended with a nuntio from the pope to that king, the bishop of Mantua, of the house of GONZAGA DUCALE, formerly page to the king of Spain; “ so that these two, *says dr.* HAWKYNs, with monf.
 “ PERRON * gone before, a principal leaguer, all joined together with divers
 “ others intrinsical with VILLEROY, &c. the king must needs work some great
 “ effects in France; of what sort, time will discover. In the mean time most here

* Vol. XII. fol. 47.

* Vol. XII. fol. 43.

* Afterwards cardinal.

“do *male ominari*, and the French proceedings hitherto be but ill colours.” He sends inclos’d a copy of the letter from Rome of the 7th of June N. S. inserted above, which he had just received, as the *first fruits of his correspondency* with that city in *another man’s person*; which being the first, was, he observ’d, *fuller of compliments than substance*. He remarks, that the preparation of DORIA could not be against the Turk, as was pretended, his fleet being but small, only 90 gallies; but that his design was thought to be against Marseilles, or some other place in Provence, the rather as it was now disarmed, the forces being gone with duke D’ESPERNON towards the French king. The people of Marseilles had lately dispatched a messenger to Genoa to confer with young CASAUX and VIGVIER, after which the bark return’d to Marseilles. The couriers of Spain went and came thro’ that city well rewarded, while the rest were abandoned or ill treated. Besides they had lately spread a rumour, that the duke of Guise was seeking to have Marseilles for himself, and that he was but an instrument for Spain; all which was said in order to prejudice the French. He recalls what he had written in a former letter, of the grand signior’s going in person to the war, which was contradicted by the advertisements of that week, it being now believed, that the persuasions of the sultana, the pleasures of his seraglio, the great scarcity of victuals and other provisions, the disobedience of his people, and the late invasion of the Persian, would stay him at home, and hinder his preparation for Hungary, his fleet being very inconsiderable; so that Spain might now attend wholly to France and other parts. Besides, the death of sir FRANCIS DRAKE, and the ill success of the English fleet in the West Indies, had so puffed up the Spaniards with pride, that they were become intolerable, envied of the most privately, but publicly flatter’d by all; “myself, *says dr. HAWKYNs*, the weakest, “yet boldest at our meetings to withstand with my best force their most insolent “vaunts and shameless bravaras, who would persuade the world here, that England “can no longer live now that DRAKE is dead; and who, with their double pistols, “sometimes are not ashamed to confess, that in the most and greatest princes courts “and councils, both christian and heathen, they have gained most strait intelligence.” The doctor, in the conclusion of his letter, desires to be informed what order was taken for his allowance at Venice, and that mr. BACON would continue his care of him, and complains of the expence of living in that city, where, tho’ he us’d extreme frugality, never a week passed, that did not cost him forty shillings chamber and diet for himself and his man, that state with enriching themselves making all the world cry out of them thro’ their most excessive imposts. He requests likewise mr. BACON to inform him in what circumstances sir JOHN HAWKYNs died, and what will and testament he had made; that admiral being probably his relation; and he wishes, that a good guard might be had of her majesty’s person during the earl of Essex’s absence.

Mr. BACON, in his letter to dr. HAWKYNs of the 12th of June*, acknowledged the receipt of two of his that week, one of the 18th, and the other the 24th of May, the contents of which having been extracted and ranged by himself in the best sort he could, had passed thro’ the hands of sir JOHN FORTESCU and the lord keeper, and came for the most part to her majesty’s ears. He express’d his surprise, that the doctor had not understood by his letters of the earl’s departure be-

* Vol. XI. fol. 102.

fore fir GRIFFIN MARKHAM's advice thereof, considering, that he had written it, as soon as it was certainly resolved; "for to abuse, *says he*, such a friend as you with uncertainties, I mean not; which is the only advantageous difference between my letters and others, that tho' they be short, yet you may ground upon their truth. For this present our still continueth without either flood or ebb, saving a little northern blast of late blown by the laird of BACLUGH, as valiant, well qualified, and well followed, as any in all Scotland of his degree. This laird, you are to understand, made a road to the city of Carlisle, and out of the castle (the lord SCROOP, lord warden, being there himself) rescued a famous rank rider, who had been wrongfully taken, as the Scots say, upon a day of truce, contrary to the laws and customs of the borders. With this bravado her majesty is highly offended, and hath demanded the delivery of BACLUGH. But the king's council and public convention have resolved the contrary. God knoweth what will become of the matter." He adds, that out of France since the duke DE BOUILLON's departure her majesty had heard in a manner nothing, having now neither embassador nor agent there. Only this was discours'd by some, that the French king being utterly discontented with that, which the duke DE BOUILLON had brought him from England, would not be half so diligent and respectful, as he had been heretofore to entertain correspondence with her majesty. "For my lord WILLOUGHBY, *says he*, I will not fail to send to his lordship so soon as I understand of his arrival: But I am very sorry to hear, that no man can tell what is become of him, nor whether he be dead or alive. For letters of credence, I am amazed, that you have not yet receiv'd those, which the earl had written to the duke of Florence, and a principal senator of Venice in your behalf, having caused mr. REYNOLDES, my lord of Essex's chief confident secretary, to charge and challenge CORSINO, to whom my cousin HENRY WOTTON had deliver'd them to be convey'd unto you; which if they should be gone astray, I assure you, CORSINO shall hear of it on both ears, and smart for it too."

Mr. ROLSTON's letter from Fontarabia of the 17th of June 1596^e inform'd mr. BACON, that since his last of the 24th of May there was nothing to advertise him, but that the king of Spain was well recovered of his sickness, and was at the Escorial, where the prince likewise was; and that the army in Port Passage would be ready within ten days at the farthest, if they did not change their determination. And by reason of the report of the queen's fitting out 150 ships with 5000 men, and having promised to succour the French king with 4000, the king of Spain was sending in his fleet 1000 soldiers and 400 mariners to Lisbon.

Mr. CECIL^f was just return'd from Rome to the court of Spain, and with him a Scots gentleman, who called himself DELAVIL; but what he pretended, mr. ROLSTON could not learn, nor what course CECIL would take. "But if it happens, *says he*, that I do stay any time, my best shall not lack to advertise you what I can learn in particular, altho' I am here almost as a prisoner, and may not pass to France from hence. But this matter doth not trouble me much, for I have friends."

^e Vol. XII. fol. 49.

^f Father JOHN CECIL.

An account was come to Fontarabia, that the fleet, which went out with sir JOHN HAWKYNs and sir FRANCIS DRAKE, was return'd home with a tun of silver and pearls valued at 50,000 crowns.

Don BERNARDINO DE AVILLANADA had taken one ship, and in it 16 gentlemen of rank, whose names mr. ROLSTON sent inclos'd, as they had been given to him. In Valladolid there was prisoner one SAMUEL WHARTON, taken for a spy from England, who had discover'd another, who went by the name of JAMES PARKER, his true name being JOHN BURREL.

Mr. ROLSTON was of opinion, that, if it pleased her majesty, a peace might be made with the king of Spain, who was credibly reported to desire it very greatly, and that he would not refuse any reasonable conditions, “ as more at large, *says he*, “ I will tell you, if it please God I do once go hence, where I do remain against “ my will. But no remedy but patience for a while. I do deem, that PARKER “ hath used some evil offices against me, for in September last hither was sent a “ relation from France to the serjeant-major here, wherein I was charged to have “ intelligence with you by name. But the author hereof I cannot know. And “ were it not, that at my last being at this court I did prevent the worst, I am “ certain it would go hard enough with me at this present. The king of Spain of “ late did send money to the earl of Tyrone and the other rebels in Ireland; but “ the quantity I know not.”

Dr. HAWKYNs wrote to mr. BACON from Venice on the $\frac{11}{11}$ of June 1596^s, rejoicing, that the earl of Essex had made choice of so honourable a judge * of his advertisements, “ who, *says he*, in his great wisdom will easily see the difficulty of “ finding the truth in this world of passionate reporters, every man here in his parti- “ cular affection being the forger of daily novelties.” Among other articles of intelligence he mentions a suspicion of prince DORIA's design against Marseilles; by an inhabitant of which city lately come from thence he understood, that LIBERTAD the consul, who was said to be kill'd, was alive, and had of late, in company with the duke of Guise, pass'd in a kind of triumph thro' all the streets of the city, and so terrified the Spanish faction both by words and blows, that they dar'd not more shew their faces, who before made their assemblies with banqueting together.

In another letter of the $\frac{18}{8}$ th of the same month ^h he mentions his having hap- pen'd upon an English copy, sent by some English merchant, of the queen's declaration concerning her expedition against Spain; which he had translated into Italian, the rather to try the affection of the state of Venice towards her majesty, whether they would suffer it to be printed in that city or not, tho' he had been already assur'd by monf. DE MAISSE, the French embassador there, that he would receive a flat denial, that state standing firm to do nothing, that might offend Spain publickly. He then observes, that monf. LESDIGUIERES's intelligence within Susa in Piedmont having been by ill hap discover'd, his purpose was prevented: that

^s Vol. xii. fol. 44. * See mr. BACON's letter to dr. HAWKYNs of 12 June 1596. ^h Vol. xii. fol. 46.

COUNT DE FUENTES was gone to confer with prince DORTA at Genoa, their design being supposed to be against Provence; if Marseilles should fail, then Toulon; if Toulon, then the Island of Hieres, which they hop'd to take unprovided: that the grand signor was going in person to the wars in Hungary: that the cardinal de Medicis was at Grenoble on the 18th of June, N. S. and at Shilliers two leagues from Susa was denied passage by mons. LESDIGUIERES's people there, but that at last the matter was agreed, and that general himself came to meet the cardinal with 400 horse. "Here is, *adds he*, great talk of the slackness of our armata very prejudicial in the opinion of all. Yea, the Spaniards give out for certainty, that it shall not go forth at all. Upon what grounds they speak, I know not; but they will seem to have over-good intelligence in England. They say a bullet of gold will easily pass from Calais to Dover."

Mr. BACON, who wrote almost weekly to dr. HAWKYNs, acquainted him in a letter of the 19th of June 1596ⁱ, that the French king had written a very kind letter to her majesty, promising his assent to whatever had been concluded by the duke DE BOUILLON in England, but desiring respite for signing of the articles till the constable of France should be recover'd from his sickness, and the greatest part of his council, which was then at Paris, should be come to him. He assur'd her majesty, that tho' he should hear the cardinal de Medicis, yet he would consent to nothing without her privity and liking.

The matters of Ireland, which were thought thoroughly pacified, were now become somewhat doubtful and troublesome, O DONNEL demanding the same advantageous conditions, which had been granted to Tyrone, who yet refused to present himself in person to the lord deputy.

The bishop of London, dr. RICHARD FLETCHER^k, died a few days before [June 16th] very suddenly, having sat in communion till six in the evening, and deceas'd at seven.

He then mentions, that there was *very certain advertisement* of the death of the lord WILLLOUGHBY of Eresby, tho' it afterwards prov'd to be false; but upon the supposition of the truth of it, he advis'd dr. HAWKYNs to entertain that nobleman's intelligencer at Rome, assuring him, that any reasonable charge disburs'd by the doctor for that purpose should be repaid him. He inform'd him likewise, that he was likely the next week to receive some letters of request and direction from the merchants of the Turkey company in London upon mr. BACON's particular conference with the chief of them, when they had been a few days before to visit him. Mr. BACON was told also the day before by a clerk of the council, that her majesty would commit to his conveyance and charge her picture, which was to be presented in the earl of Essex's name to the duke of Florence; which mr. BACON purpos'd to send first to dr. HAWKYNs, that upon so fit and honourable occasion he might, if he thought

ⁱ Vol. xi. fol. 101.

^k He was born in Kent, educated in Bennet college in Cambridge, made dean of Peterborough

in 1583, bishop of Bristol in 1589, thence translated to Worcester in 1593, and the year following to London.

proper, have access to the great duke jointly with mr. GUICCIARDIN, whom her majesty had named to be the presenter; yet mr. BACON was persuaded, that upon his letter and request mr. GUICCIARDIN would be very willing to associate the doctor with him in the delivery, and to grace him all he could. Mr. BACON concludes his letter with observing, that the earl of Lincoln was appointed to prepare himself to assist at the christening of the landgrave of Hesse's child.

Monf. DE LA FONTAINE having had several questions proposed to him in English some time during this month of June 1596, return'd answers to them in French to the following purpose¹.

The house of Valois and of Bourbon, have they a right to the crown?

It will be necessary to consult the genealogical tables.

The princes of the blood are the young prince of Condé, about eighteen years of age; the prince of Conti, governor of Touraine and Anjou, and in the absence of the king, chief of the council at Paris; the count DE SOISSONS, who often retires to his house; the duke DE MONTPENSIER, governor of Normandy.

The Peers of France?

The antient peers of France were the archbishop of Rheims and Langres; the bishops of Beauvois, Noyon, Châlons, and Laon; the dukes of Burgundy, Normandy, and Aquitain; the counts of Toulouse, Flanders, and Champagne.

At present, instead of the six last, a choice is made at discretion, who shall bear the title of antient peers, because the antient Seigneuries are reduced under the crown, or alienated.

The chief counsellors of state about the king, and who most inward with him?

All the princes of the blood are naturally counsellors of state, with the officers of the crown, as the constable, marshals, admiral, chancellor, secretaries of state, &c. and others called in by the king.

Those most intimate with the king at present are the duke DE BOUILLON, SANCY, VILLEROY, SCHOMBERG, and some others.

What factions among the princes, peers, and counsellors, and any other great commanders in that state?

There are no factions except the license introduced by the wars and preceding troubles, and the authority usurp'd by the governors of places.

¹ Vol. xi. fol. 156.

The provinces of France, by whom they are commanded? How the king possessed of them? What part the king of Spain hath in them, in their governors, or any towns of them?

The principal provinces are the Isle of France: the governor of which is the duke DE MAYENNE.

Picardy: the count DE St. POL for his nephew LONGUEVILLE.

Normandy: the duke DE MONTPENSIER.

Bretagne: the whole care of it is in the hands of St. Luc the lieutenant.

Touraine and Anjou: the prince of Conti.

Orleans, and Berry, and the county of Chartres: the chancellor in title, but mons. CHASTRE in effect.

Aquitain, containing Poictou, Xaintonge, Perigord, and Gascony, is only under the care of a lieutenant, as the marshal DE MATIGNON in Gascony.

Languedoc: the constable by his son-in-law the duke DE VENTADOUR.

Provence: the duke of Guise.

Dauphiné, is only under the care of the lieutenant ALFONSE CORSE.

Auvergne and Bourbonnois: the grand prior.

Lyonnois, * * * * *

Burgundy: marshal DE BIRON.

Champagne: the duke DE NEVERS.

Of all these provinces the king is intirely in possession, the king of Spain holding nothing except what he had taken in Picardy within two years past.

Particularly what the state of Bretagne is, and in what terms duke MERCOEUR standeth with the king?

The Spaniard is possessed of the port of Blavet, and the duke DE MERCOEUR, who is at present at truce with the king, holds Nantes, Dinan, Tongeres, Gennebaut, and some other places.

Particularly

Particularly what the state of Provence is, and the parts thereabout? In what terms they stand with the duke of Savoy?

All Provence is in a state of peace and obedience to the king, and at truce with the duke of Savoy.

What conditions the duke of Guise hath made for his reconciliation with the king?

The duke of Guise has obtain'd of the king some money for the payment of his debts, and the government of Provence.

What conditions the duke of Mayenne hath also made for his reconciliation with the king?

The duke of Mayenne has likewise obtain'd a sum of money, together with the government of the Isle of France, except Paris and St. Denis, and the government of Châlons for his son.

The duke de Espernon, in what state he standeth, and how affected?

The duke de Espernon is expected to come and serve the king with all the forces under his command, and perhaps is already arriv'd.

The pope, what inclination he hath to the French state, and how he carrieth matters betwixt the two kings of Spain and France?

The pope seems to desire the re-establishment of the state of France, but this by procuring the reconciliation and peace between the two kings, with a view particularly to oppose them to the Turk.

In what condition of favour or dis-favour the protestants stand with the king? or what strength they are supposed to have in that state?

The protestants have as much support from the king, as he is able to give them in this confusion of the state, and from those, who depend intirely on him. But they have for enemies a great number of the principal noblemen and the most considerable cities of the whole kingdom.

Their principal safeguard, humanly speaking, is in preserving the king's favour by good and faithful services.

Who are the chief men of reputation among the protestants? and on whom the protestants rely most for their safeguard?

Those of the greatest name amongst them are the duke DE BOUILLON, mons. DE LA TREMOÛILLE, CLERMONT, D'AMBOISE, LESDIGUIERES, MONTLOVET, DE RAMBOUILLET,

BOÜILLET, SANCY, BEAUVOIR, the vidam his son, LA FORCE, FAVAS, DU PLESSIS, the young ROHANS, LA VAL, CHASTILLON, with a great number of other noblemen and gentlemen throughout the kingdom.

Their forces are great in Dauphiné, Languedoc, and part of Guienne or Aquitaine. On this side of the river Some they hold few places.

How France standeth in correspondence of amity or otherwise with other states?

France has now none of its neighbouring states enemies, except the king of Spain, with whom several both within and without the kingdom endeavour to procure a peace and reconciliation.

The king thinks himself too weak, after such repeated destruction in his dominions, to sustain a war against so potent an enemy: And yet he sees, that his separate peace would be prejudicial to his neighbours, friends, and servants, and at last to himself. For which reason he has endeavour'd, and still endeavours, to procure a firm alliance with her majesty, his sister, and the states general, in which he knows that several other princes and states are ready to join, in order to continue an offensive and defensive war with their common forces; or, if it shall be found expedient, to make a general, assur'd, and more advantageous peace, by the common consent of the confederates.

What forces the king hath in the field in several places, or in garrison ready to be used for service?

The king's forces in Dauphiné and Provence may be about 8000 foot and 1200 horse; in Bretagne 4000 foot and 1000 horse; in Picardy 3000 horse, and more, if there be occasion, and 12000 foot, and the garrisons supplied. But the payment of them is the difficulty, on account of the ruin and general poverty of the whole people throughout France.

Monf. LE DOUX, who was sent abroad by the earl of Essex with the instructions inserted above, having left England with the baron de Zerotin, wrote to mr. BACON on the 22d of June 1596 from Middleburg^m, mentioning, that count MAURICE was preparing to obviate the designs of the archduke ALBERT upon Hulst, Axtel, and Ostend; that the count's soldiers were to depart that evening, as, it was thought, the count himself would that night from Middleburg: and that the archduke was at Newport four days before.

At the same time the baron de Zerotin returned his thanks to mr. BACON in an Italian letterⁿ for his civilities to him in England.

The same day mr. BACON wrote a letter^o to mr. THOMAS SMITH, clerk of the council, inclosing two gazettes, both which he had receiv'd at once that evening

^m Vol. xi. fol. 150.

ⁿ Vol. xi. fol. 159.

^o Vol. xi. fol. 134.

from dr. HAWKYNs, “ whose judgment, *says he*, hath hitherto so happily appeared
 “ by the choice of the advertisements. For his style and diligence, I refer unto your
 “ discretion, when you have perused them, the mentioning of them to her majesty, I
 “ myself having only seen and not read them. Yet I hope they will keep their credit,
 “ which they have hitherto found with them, that can far better judge of them than
 “ myself. You shall also receive a letter from JACOMO MARENCO to myself, which
 “ in respect of the person so recommended to my lord, and recompensed by his lord-
 “ ship, ought to carry some special weight with it; which notwithstanding I submit
 “ to your censure and disposition, desiring you to return it and the gazettes unto me,
 “ when you have done what you judge meetest to be done with them.”

Mr. SMITH in his answer, dated the same day^p, promised to present these papers to the queen at the first opportunity of access, which he could procure, and to “ wait
 “ on them, *says he*, with the best words, that I can devise to do you honour.”

HENRY IV. of France having thoroughly considered the late treaty made by the duke DE BOUILLON and monf. DE SANCY with the queen, wrote on the 4th of July 1596, N. S. from Abbeville a long letter^q, countersign'd by monf. DE VILLEROY, and address'd to monf. DE LA FONTAINE, who acted as his agent in England, informing him, that the constable and others lords of his council had unanimously approv'd of that treaty. That it was true, they could have been very glad, that the terms of it had been more vigorous and advantageous on both sides, in order the more effectually from that time to obstruct and incommode the enemy, who was going to strengthen himself every day, “ whereas we, *says he*, grow weaker, especially on my part, on
 “ account of the poverty of my people, and the public necessity and exigences of my
 “ kingdom.” That however he had not failed to order the ratification of the treaty, and had resolved upon swearing to the observance of it as soon as possible. For which purpose he had determined to send in a few days over into England the duke DE BOUILLON, charg'd with the said ratification, and sufficient powers for taking the queen's oath to it in the accustomed form. That he had chosen the duke from the confidence, which he had in him, and because he knew, that he would be very agreeable to the queen. That himself was going immediately to Amiens, whence he would dispatch the duke, and send with him the sieur DES REAUX, whom the duke would leave with the queen, to serve in the quality of ambassador, and whom he, the king, had appointed for that post, in order to discharge monf. DE LA FONTAINE the sooner of the burthen of his affairs, finding by the letters of the latter, that it was what he was desirous of; but assuring himself, that his service would still continue to be assisted by that gentleman.

The king then instructed him to advertise the queen of his abovementioned resolution, that she might prepare to send over the person, whom she should appoint to receive his oath to the treaty, and that this ceremony might be performed in both kingdoms at the same time, in order that they might immediately enter upon business in good earnest, as was necessary in order to defeat the designs of their common enemy, who finding him resolved to attack his forces on that frontier, if

^p Vol. XI. fol. 165.

^q Vol. XII. fol. 68.

they should make any attempt, had now retir'd; tho' apparently with an intention to invade Champagne, so that the king was obliged to separate his army, and to extend and lodge part of it on that side, in order the better to succour the towns of that province, if they should be attacked. The king had received advice, that the enemy was raising very considerable forces in Italy, Germany and Spain, with which he threatned the provinces of Languedoc, Provence and Guienne, and particularly the towns of Narbonne, Marseilles and Bayonne: which would oblige the king to new expences; who was however willing to hope, that the earl of Essex would cut out the enemy so much work where he was gone, that he would not be in a condition to do his neighbours the mischief, which he threatned.

The king upon this point directed mons. DE LA FONTAINE to assure the queen, that if the enemy should attack her, himself would spare nothing for her assistance; since her preservation would always be as dear to him as his own, thanking her for her promise of succouring his town of Boulogne, in case it should want it, and acquainting her, that he should rely upon having such succour ready, when it should be called for; and desiring, that she would impart to him the first news, which she should receive from the earl of Essex, to whom he wish'd all prosperity. That mons. DE LA FONTAINE should likewise inform her, that the cardinal of Florence, the pope's legate, was arrived in France, where he was received in the same manner with all others of that quality in the times of the king's predecessors. That the cardinal had sent to the king the bishop of Torcelli, a Venetian of the house of GRIMANI, to acquaint the king with his arrival, and to desire his satisfaction in it. That he had sent the cardinal's powers to the parliament to be examined in the usual form. That the queen might be assur'd, that the arrival of this legate should make no alteration in the treaty, which the king would most sincerely observe, whatever should happen, promising himself the same on the queen's part.

In the mean time the king could not but complain to mons. DE LA FONTAINE of some of his subjects of the reformed religion, who were endeavouring to intercept his money, and to provide for their own security, without relying any longer upon him and the promises, which he had made them, as if he were the cause of the delays and difficulties, which were made to the re-establishment of the edict of pacification of the year 1577, which he had so often order'd to be publish'd and observ'd. This conduct of theirs in acting such a part at this time, when he was engaged so deeply in a war against the king of Spain, under the disadvantages known to every person, was properly ruining his affairs: and indeed he could never have imagined, that such a resolution could have enter'd into the mind of men, who had so far and so frequently experienc'd his sincerity and good will, as those had and did every day, who were the cause of this. Not that he was ignorant of the reasons of complaint, which they had against some of the parliaments of the kingdom, who being transported with too much passion and animosity had hitherto refused to comply with the edict, tho' commanded by himself. But these men knew, that he was more offended and dissatisfied with this behaviour of these parliaments, than themselves, and in fact he had great reason; and assur'd mons. DE LA FONTAINE, that if he were not so much employ'd on the frontier, as he had been since it had pleased God to re-establish his affairs, he would have gone himself to those places, in order to make
himself

himself obey'd, rather than have suffer'd those of the reform'd religion to languish under the uncertainty of the said edict, with regard to which he would sooner or later give such orders, that they should have all reason to be satisfied, which he was assured they did not doubt of. “ This being the case, *says he*, are they excusable for the injury, which they do to their own reputation, and to my affairs, in taking such a resolution? I make you the judge of this. I declare to you, that the mere report of it would have been sufficient to have thrown my kingdom into greater confusion than before, if my other subjects were not animated towards me with more affection and obedience than the authors of this measure; for I do not accuse the general body of those of the religion. I have had too much experience of their affection, loyalty, and prudence to suspect them. These persons are some particular men, who have more desire to thrust their fingers into my revenues, and to make their own profit of the public discord, than to do service to their religion, or to those who profess it. I have consulted for the taking away the pretext, under which they shelter themselves, and removing all obstacles, that may delay the publication and observance of the edict every where, as it ought to be. I shall soon send commissioners to the places expressly for that purpose, which I am willing to acquaint you with, in order that if you hear the affair mentioned, you may know what my intention is, and by your prudence and credit moderate the violent spirits of those, who raise this report, as unseasonably, I assure you, as any thing, that has happened during my reign; it being infinitely agreeable to the factious of both parties. But I hope God will enable me to remedy this in such a manner, as shall prevent their making their advantage of it.”

Mr. ARTHUR JACKSON, the merchant, having received advice from Middleburg in Zealand concerning the fleet sent against Cadiz, sent immediately an account of it on the 24th of June^r to Mr. BACON, that a ship laden with wines had met that fleet on the 10th of that month in the morning athwart of the cape with the wind at north west, which, Mr. JACKSON observes, was fair to sail along the coast of Portugal; and that if the earl of Essex intended for the islands, he would not have gone so near that shore.

Mr. BACON on the 25th of June begins a letter to his mother^r with a pious reflexion on the weather, which had been at London extremely stormy and unkindly for the season; “ the changes whereof, *says he*, as they were used for threatnings by the prophets in antient time; so God grant they may work now in us as due and timely apprehension of God's heavy judgments imminent over us for the deep profane security, that reigneth too much amongst us.” He then informs her ladyship, that an account arrived at court the day before, that the French king and king of Spain, by the entremise of a Florentine cardinal sent into France from the pope, had made a truce for three months^t; and that the grand signor was for certain on horseback himself with 200,000 men, and likely to be an heavy scourge to christendom. “ To these two general points, *says he*, I will add a particular, which I know your ladyship will be content to hear for my special good lord of Essex's sake, whom God in his mercy guide and protect, to wit, that the countess of

^r Vol. XI. fol. 106.

^t Vol. XI. fol. 97.

^t This news proved false.

“ Northumberland, always reputed a very honourable virtuous lady, is brought to
 “ bed of a goodly boy; who, God grant, may resemble and inherit, as well his
 “ mother’s and his noble uncle’s, her most worthy brother’s, virtues, as his father’s
 “ antient nobility.”

Sir CHARLES DAVERS, who had afterwards the misfortune to lose his head for his share in the insurrection of the earl of Essex, took the opportunity of the return of Mr. YATES, who had lived with him for several months, from France to England, to write a letter on the 28th of June 1596 to Mr. BACON^a, “ to renew, *says he*, the
 “ acquaintance, which it pleased you to begin by your letters above twelve years
 “ past, you being then in Bourdeaux, and I a young scholar in Paris. The memory
 “ of this courtesy, and the report of your virtues, have since that time made me
 “ very much affect your more particular acquaintance and friendship, which I hope
 “ I shall enjoy, when it shall please the queen to permit my return. If in the mean
 “ time my service may be any way acceptable unto you, let your letters command
 “ me.”

This gentleman was descended of a noble family, his mother being daughter and one of the heirs of NEVILL lord Latimer by the daughter of HENRY earl of Worcester; his grandmother the daughter of the lord Mordaunt, and his great grandmother of the family of Courtney*. Having killed a man, he was concealed by the earl of Southampton, till he found an opportunity to escape to France, where he served in the wars with considerable reputation, and at last obtain’d her majesty’s pardon, who was with great difficulty induced to consent to it†.

Mr. BACON having receiv’d on the 29th of June 1596 from sig. BASADONNA a short letter with a long postscript from ANTONIO PEREZ, and one from JACOMO MARENCO, sent them to Mr. SMITH, clerk of the council, desiring^b, that if he should find an opportunity the next day to present to the queen ANTONIO’s dutiful protestations, he might hear from him, because he had been told for certain that day, that a post was to be dispatched to France on Wednesday, “ by whom, *says he*,
 “ I would be loth to miss to return some lines of encouragement to sig. PEREZ,
 “ knowing him, as you know I have cause to do, if her majesty in her royal wisdom
 “ do judge him worthy to receive the honour of her gracious acceptance.” Mr. SMITH in his answer of the same day^c promis’d, as soon as he should find an opportunity, to present the letters, tho’ there seem’d to be nothing in MARENCO’s more than what was in his first: “ for the preparation, *says he*, in Portugal (if I do not
 “ much forget myself) was mentioned in the former letter, with the like variety of
 “ opinions for the employment thereof, and England was not left out, with signifi-
 “ cation of the difficulty of such an attempt without the aid of foreign shipping.
 “ Nevertheless I will, as speedily as I can get access, deliver them to her majesty,
 “ that Mr. ANTONIO PEREZ’s devotion may come to her.”

Mr. BRUCE, probably that ROBERT BRUCE, who was one of the ministers at Edin-

^a Vol. XI. fol. 151.

* CAMDEN, p. 811.

† Ibid. p. 808.

^b Vol. XI. fol. 135.

^c Fol. 164.

burgh, wrote to mr. BACON from thence in the beginning of this month of June 1596 a letter^a, that tho' he conceived their amity most heartily well confirmed, yet in his opinion the situation of that time made it more necessary than ever, to make the fruits and good effects of that friendship appear, wherein, he protested, that he would do his utmost to render mr. BACON in exchange, according to his power, all such offices, as might advance the peace and safety of both their sovereigns. " Our state here, *says he*, is quiet, and our prosperity and good fortune in all good mens appearance here is necessary to yours: and therefore would be glad at all occasions after the departing of your navy to understand the success of the earl's expedition. He is gone to work to the regret of many, as we hear, that love him entirely well; and some have encouraged and advanced his preferment, to see it the cause of his confusion, which God defend. Always we think here, he might have been reserved *melioribus reipublicæ temporibus*. God grant he may return in safety with honour. We are moved here, that we have no _____ of your state, since we have lost for our loyalty towards you many of our greatest friends and favourers, for no demerit of our own than has been _____ for our garment and our poor crown with yours has been designed for a partage and dowry *a l'infanta* and her future spouse the cardinal of Austria. Our popish earls are now fallen in such terms with us, as, if they be not suffered to return in peace, and restored to their honours and living, they will be enforced instruments of our unquietness and trouble. There are men now very ready _____ to brangle the _____ He remains yet most steadfast. But it fears me, that if ye shall have no more care of us nor you shall in appearance, ye shall breed _____ and a care in us of ourselves, and that appertains us. In our unity consists our strength. And such, as seek to dissolve the same, be they with you or with us, are entered in the way to make oblation of both the countries to those heathen gods, whose idols as yet are little adored in this isle. I would be glad to understand of you the most especial points of this agreement and treaty betwixt you and France. As to the particular affairs of this state, I will recommend them to the deliverance of this bearer, whom, I trust, you credit, whose good and agreeable service to the earl is most hearty and acceptable to me."

The bearer of this letter seems to have been mr. HUDSON, to whom, after his return to London, mr. GEORGE NICHOLSON, secretary to mr. BOWES, the English ambassador, wrote from Edinburgh on the 3d of July 1596^e, to acquaint him, that the Danish ambassador was sailed from Scotland, and that the king's ambassadors, the lord Ogilvy, mr. PETER YOUNG, and the bishop of Aberdeen, were to follow to Denmark about the end of the next week, in order to be present at the king of Denmark's coronation on the 24th of August. That the borders grew worse and worse, and the honest men of the march most troubled; but that the troubles on the west borders were not yet so bad, as he feared they would be, tho' already bad enough. That BACLUGH's fact was still well thought of there, where busy people, and some of the eight commissioners of the exchequer, were plotting overtures rather to strengthen the king with men and money to bear out the matter against England, than to satisfy her majesty. That the day before, the English ambassador had much

^a Vol. XI. fol. 108.^e Vol. XII. fol. 30.

speech with the king, who the same day sent the earls of Mar and Orkney to the eight commissioners for conference about some means for satisfying her majesty, and redressing the disorders of the borders. “ Even now, *adds he*, they are about these
 “ matters with the eight, and, as I hear, have written to the king to come hither
 “ himself for these causes on Monday next, having themselves agreed on no means.
 “ This matter of BACLUGH was evil begun, worse proceeded in, but like to be worst
 “ in the end, unless God in the end prevent it.”

The same day mr. BOWES himself wrote to mr. HUDSON from Edinburgh^f, thanking him for his letters, excusing himself for want of leisure for not answering them then, which he proposed to do fully by the next opportunity, and desiring him to cause the inclosed letters to be delivered.

Soon after this WALTER STUART prior of Blantyre in Scotland, who had been lord privy seal, and was now treasurer, wrote to mr. DAVID FOULIS, the king’s ambassador in England^g, in answer to a letter of that gentleman of the 8th of July 1596; “ whereby,
 “ *says he*, I perceive, that neither the remembrance of his majesty’s good deserving
 “ in time past, nor the inconveniences, that may fall hereafter, can breed any change
 “ of the queen’s majesty’s hard usage of him. Indeed when as I consider how, for the
 “ constant love borne to her, the friendship of many hath been rejected by his
 “ majesty, I may think, that he hath better merited at her hands than this way to
 “ be moved, not without the impairing of his honour, to condescend to that, which
 “ exceeds the bounds of law, reason, or consuetude, as will be seen by his majesty’s
 “ answer to her last letter. The secretary and I find good, if you be not on your
 “ journey before the receipt hereof, that ye may while as ye hear what proceeds
 “ thereof, for and ye see not matters work better thereafter, ye may, according to
 “ the former instructions, make your retreat, so that his majesty may take some
 “ other resolution for his best; which I hope shall tend as far by God’s grace to his
 “ weal as her advantage. Or if she think fit by boast rather than good will, as may
 “ appear by her threatening letter, I remit the issue of that dealing, very inequitable
 “ amongst princes, to time and occasions.”

He then expresses his regret, that the false coiner should have been executed, before he had given some light into the abuses committed in Scotland in that way: and he remarks, that the inconvenience, that follow’d the transporting of money out of the country, was well enough foreseen, and good deliberation taken for the restraint of it: yet that the great scarcity of provisions had afforded occasion of excuse to the merchants, that they were not able to bring the same home by that means. But that now without longer delay, there was strict order to be taken for the stay thereof for the future. However, it would be esteem’d an acceptable office, if mr. FOULIS should try the bringers of money or quantities to be melted.

“ I will not omit, *adds he*, to give you hearty thanks, as well for your advertise-
 “ ments, as the remembrance of my memorial recommended unto you by your
 “ brother: in which doing, besides that you shall be no loser, you shall find me

^f Vol. XII. fol. 42.

^g Vol. XII. fol. 32.

“ your undoubted friend at all occasions, as your adoes shall come in my way.
 “ As to that particular of the pretents, I shall do my best to get you fatisfied
 “ therein by his majesty’s own particular good will and mine, altho’ it take not the
 “ present effect.”

With this letter was sent an extract of an act of the privy council in Scotland, dated at Edinburgh July 5, 1596^h, made on occasion of an act of the privy council of England, dated at Greenwich June 15 1596, requiring reformation of the act made by the king of Scots by advice of his states at Edinburgh the 25th of May.

It will be now proper to take a view of the success of the memorable expedition against Cadiz, undertaken upon the intelligence of the king of Spain’s preparations in that port against England; a measure, which, in sir WALTER RALEGH’s opinionⁱ, would, if the queen would have hearken’d to reason, have been pursued with equal good consequences in 1588, in the destruction of that king’s ships and preparations in his own ports, before he could have sent out his formidable armada.

Some days after the taking of Cadiz, sir ANTHONY ASHLEY, secretary of the council of war, being sent to England with an account of it, the earl of Essex wrote by him the following letter to his secretary mr. REYNOLDES^k, whom he had left at court for the management of his business there.

“ REYNOLDES,

“ You shall receive from CUFFE a relation of that is passed here. It is particular
 “ and most true. Keep it to yourself; only give monf. LA FONTAINE a sight of it,
 “ and let him draw out of it an abstract to send into France. Do the like to mr.
 “ BODLEY. Mr. ASHLEY knows of it; and if you confer with him, the effect of
 “ this or the like may be printed, which he is to procure, and you to solicit, and to
 “ compare that, which is to be printed, with this that you have. Deliver all the
 “ letters I send you safely, especially those to my lord Burgh and to mr. FULK
 “ GREVILL.

“ From Cales the 1st of July.

Your loving master,

E S S E X.”

“ Commend me humbly to my lord’s grace of Canterbury; and if he will procure
 “ a public thanksgiving for this great victory, he shall do an act worthy of him.
 “ Commend my service to my lord of Shrewsbury and my lady.”

The relation mention’d in this letter is probably the following one^l.

^h Vol. XII. fol. 33.

LEGH’s works, Vol. I. p. 274. edit. London 1751.

ⁱ Discourse touching a marriage between prince
 HENRY of England and a daughter of Savoy. RA-

^k Vol. XII. fol. 92.

^l Vol. XI. fol. 145.

On Saturday the 20th of June the fleet came to anchor at the bay of St. Sebastian, short of Cadiz half a league, where it was resolved, that the town should be first attempted that way, to the end, that both the galleons, gallies, and forts should not all at once beat upon the navy. Whereupon divers soldiers were embarked in boats to make descent on the west side of Cadiz. But the billows grew so high, as it was not possible to land the soldiers, who were there put back again to their ships; and in the end it was agreed, that they should enter the bay of Cadiz, which the next morning early was performed, six or eight ships going to the vanguard, and in them the two lords generals, the lord THOMAS HOWARD, sir WALTER RALEGH, the lord marshal, sir ROBERT SOUTHWELL, and one or two more gentlemen of name, the point at sea being that day assign'd by the lords generals to sir WALTER RALEGH. Under the walls of Cadiz lay twelve gallies with their prows towards the navy. There was a fort call'd St. Philip, that likewise play'd upon the grofs of the ships, besides the ordnance all along the curtain on the wall, and other culverin shot so placed, as they secured the channel. The Spanish shipping in the bay were the Four Apostles, St. Philip, St. Matthew, St. Andrew, and St. Thomas, two great galleons of Lisbon, three frigates of war, two argosies very strong in artillery, the admiral and vice-admiral of New Spain, with forty other great ships bound for Mexico and other places. After a long fight and great battery the English ships, being play'd upon from all sides, resolved to board the enemy; which they perceiving let slip their anchors, and run ashore. The Andrew and Matthew were recover'd by our men, before they could fire them. The Philip and Thomas were fired, and so were many of the rest. One of the argosies was taken, whose ballast was great ordnance. Another was burnt with the rest of the ships of war.

The Spanish navy being thus defeated, the generals prepared the same day to land their men, and to attempt the town, in which were of all sorts some 5000 foot burghers, 200 soldiers in pay, and some 800 horse. The horsemen came to resist the landing, but were beaten back, and the most of them went to the bridge, that led over to the main, and the rest to the town, who were so hardly pursued, that they were driven to leave their horses at the gate, which was shut against them, and to leap over an old wall into the suburbs, and were so hotly followed, that the earl of Essex perceiving an entrance that way forced an entry there, and the lord marshal beat open a port; and with their sudden fury was this town taken without the loss of any man of name except sir JOHN WINGFIELD, who was killed in the market-place. After the earl and lord marshal had entered the port, there was hurt sir EDWARD WINGFIELD, capt. BAGNALL and capt. MEEDKERK, with divers others.

The whole fleet of merchant ships bound for the Indies were gotten into the river of Port Real, and seeing no way but to be taken, the duke of Medina caused them all to be set on fire, being ships laden with merchandize to the value of three millions of crowns.

The lord admiral seconded the earl with a sea regiment of 1200 at the winning of the town.

The

The king of Spain received manifold loss hereby, his dreadful gallies shamefully beaten, his invincible galleons and apostles taken and burnt, his fleet of the Indies forced to destroy themselves; whereby there could be no relief sent thither this year; which since the conquest of those countries never failed; the greatest magazines, that had been seen, fired and wasted, the quantity of ships provisions being infinite.

Cadiz was the staple town for all the trade of the Levant and of the Indies. To it all the Flemings and Easterlings had recourse, and among all other profits to her majesty there is none of more consequence than the embarking the Flemings in this war; for by their cruelty used, and for that they were now invaders, there was a general imprisonment of all those of that nation. And whereas heretofore they only profess'd the desires of their antient liberties and matter of religion, they now had declared themselves enemies by overt invasion and by a public war.

There was in the low town a munition house worth 20,000 crowns, a custom house worth as much, besides a sugar house full of rich merchandize, the town being taken within four hours after the landing by surprize. The city next morning yielded upon condition to ransom only the lives of those, who were retired within it, for 120,000 crowns, leaving the sack and spoil to the mercy of the generals of all, that was either in town or citadel. There were fifty persons given pledges to the generals of those, who were within, until they should provide 120,000 crowns for ransom. The generals, notwithstanding that all was deliver'd to their mercy, suffered all the women above 2000 to go away with all their apparel and jewels.

The lord admiral's son was made captain of the St. Matthew, and sir THOMAS GERARD of the St. Andrew.

Another paper, intituled *The advantages, which her majesty hath gotten by that, which hath passed at Cadiz the 21st of June 1596*, was as follows^m.

Her majesty being threatned to be invaded, hath like a mighty and magnanimous prince sent her navy and army to offer her enemy battle at his own door.

Her majesty hath defeated and destroyed the best fleet, which the king of Spain had together in any place, and amongst those his ships of greatest fame, and in which all the pride and confidence of the Spaniards were reposed.

Her majesty carries home in triumph two of his principal galleons, whereof one the St. Matthew is thought to be equal with the St. Philip, that was burnt.

Her majesty hath defeated his fleet of gallies with so few of her ships, and when the gallies had such advantage. The captains of them confess'd aboard the *Due Repulse*, that forty gallies were not able to encounter one of her majesty's ships.

Her majesty hath inforced the Spaniards to deliver her poor subjects, that were captives in the gallies, and of her mercy let go thousands of Spaniards, that were her captives, and in her power.

Her majesty hath taken the strongest and fairest town of war, which the king of Spain had in all those parts, and carried it as soon as her army was brought to look upon it.

Her majesty had her army three days on land, and had no army nor force of the king of Spain, that durst look upon it, not even when part of her army went to the farthest part of the island ten miles from the town of Cadiz.

Her majesty hath gotten two goodly ships to strengthen her navy, which were never built for fourteen or fifteen thousand pounds.

Her majesty hath gotten at least an hundred pieces of brass ordnance.

Her majesty's men of war, both foldiers and mariners, are made rich and fit to go into any action or service, as well with more ability, as with greater courage.

The enemy hath lost thirteen of his best ships of war, two of which may serve to fight against himself.

He hath lost of the India fleet forty merchant ships, most Biscayans, all Spanish, good, strong, and well appointed ships.

He hath lost four other good merchant-ships, which were in the same harbour, and bound for the Levant seas.

He hath lost a town of greater importance to him than any, that he hath left, for strength, wealth, and goodness of the port, and the fitness of it to traffic with the West Indies.

He hath lost in the town all his sea provisions, which were infinite, and will not be gotten together again in many years.

He hath lost all means to succour his people in New Spain this year, or to receive any from them the next.

His merchants have lost in the fleet, that was burnt, twelve millions, and so much in the town, that almost all the great traders to the Indies in these parts will be bankrupt. And, above all things, he hath lost most in being now half-disarmed by sea, and in being discovered to be so weak at home.

Sir ANTHONY STANDEN wrote on the 5th of July an account of this important event

event to the lord treasurer*, and the same day sent a letter on the same subject to mr. BACON^a, in which he mentions, that he had the night before press'd the earl of Essex to write both to mr. BACON and to the lord HENRY HOWARD; which the earl smiling promis'd to do. Sir ANTHONY excuses his own brevity, on account of the haste of the bearer, sir ANTHONY ASHLEY, "who hath, *says he*, well fleshed himself in this place, and can sufficiently discourse of all." He represents the victory both by land and sea, as superior to all others for its suddenness and greatness, forty-five sail of great rich ships for the Indies consumed to ashes, and the goodly rich city sacked in the most miserable manner, and burned and consumed to the foundations, and prisoners for 120,000 crowns. "These lords, *adds he*, have created sixty-four knights, and sir WALTER RALEGH observes my lord general out of all. * * (we here esteem this general a great man; you there make what account you think good) owns, I say, you can lay no honour upon him, that he hath not deserved; for without him I know what, and with him I know what also. Well, all goes well, thanks to God. Good sir, impart this to my good lord H. HOWARD, and excuse me to his lordship. Capt. LAWSON and mr. GODE are both in health, and do both salute you; but their hard hap hath not been to get much, altho' the pillage was great, especially GODE, who is but a fantastical humorous fellow, and so no great scathe. Poor capt. LAWSON hath enough to do with him. Myself have gotten together 100*l.* which will be, I thank God, to pay so much I borrowed to furnish my voyage. I have, I thank God, had occasion to do GODE some service, and to my lord also some, whereby he hath received contentment. We are here in an extreme hot climate. God send us soon home, which, I doubt, will not be easily, for our designs, like a snow-ball, grow greater. All my hope is in my lord admiral; but in this none before he have done yet some other thing. His nephew my lord THOMAS hath triumphed the day of the sea-battle. I had under my charge forty-five principal hostages, who told me their king and people have received in this blow the damage of sixteen millions, besides his destruction of his navigation to the Indies for three years. Sir JOHN WINGFIELD and PRENTICE, your man's brother, were both slain in the place. Maintain us in your good favour, and attend to your health, that we may enjoy you at our return."

The names of the sixty-four knights mention'd in this letter were as follow•.

Sir SAMUEL BAGNAL,
Sir ARTHUR SAVAGE,
Sir GEORGE DEVEREUX,
Don CHRISTOPHER of Portugal,
Count LODOWICK of Nassau,
Earl of Suffex,
Lord Herbert,
Lord Bourk,

Sir W. HOWARD,
Sir HENRY NEVILLE,
Sir EDWIN RICH,
Monf. LEBBEN,
Monf. REGEMORTER,
Sir ANTHONY ASHLEY,
Sir HENRY LENNARD,
Sir RICHARD LAWSON,

* The original is extant in the Harleian library. See a passage cited from it by mr. OLDYS, life of sir WALTER RALEGH. fol. 105.

^a Vol. XII. fol. 99.

^o Vol. XII. fol. 56.

Sir HORACE VERE,
 Sir ARTHUR THROCKMORTON,
 Sir MILES CORBET,
 Sir EDWARD CONWAY,
 Sir OLIVER LAMBERT,
 Sir ANTHONY COOKE,
 Sir JOHN TOWNSHEND,
 Sir CHRISTOPHER HAYDON,
 Sir FRANCIS POPHAM,
 Sir PHILIP WOODHOUSE,
 Sir ALEXANDER CLIFFORD,
 Sir MAURICE BERKLEY,
 Sir CHARLES BLOUNT,
 Sir GEORGE GIFFORD,
 Sir ROBERT CROSSE,
 Sir JAMES SCUDAMORE,
 Sir PRICE LEE,
 Sir JOHN LEE,
 Sir RICHARD WAYNEMAN,
 Sir RICHARD WESTON,
 Sir JAMES WOTTON,
 Sir RICHARD RUDDALL,
 Sir ROBERT MANSFIELD,
 Sir WILLIAM MONSON,

Sir JOHN BOWLES,
 Sir EDWARD BOWES,
 Sir HUMPHREY DRUEL,
 Sir AMIAS PRESTON,
 Sir ROBERT REMINGTON,
 Sir JOHN BUCK,
 Sir JOHN SHELTON,
 Sir JOHN MORGAN,
 Sir JOHN ALDRIDGE,
 Sir WILLIAM ASHENDEN,
 Sir MATTHEW BROWNE,
 Sir THOMAS ACTON,
 Sir THOMAS GATES,
 Sir GILLY MERICKE,
 Sir THOMAS SMITH,
 Sir WILLIAM POOLEY,
 Sir THOMAS PALMER,
 Sir JOHN STAFFORD,
 Sir ROBERT LOVEL,
 Sir JOHN GILBERT,
 Sir WILLIAM HARVEY,
 Sir JOHN GREY,
 Sir BALDWIN METKIRK,
 Sir JARRET HARVEY,

Sir CHRISTOPHER BLUNT, who married the earl of Effex's mother, wrote to his lordship's sister the lady RICH, on the 5th of July, a letter from Cadiz concerning the success there *. “ Albeit, *says he*, the worthy desert of your noble brother will
 “ come to your hearing with greater expedition than these my letters may have
 “ access to your presence, yet to confirm the first report you shall hear thereof, and
 “ to witness, that above all things I desire to be held in friendly esteem of you, I
 “ have in brief set down to you as much, as were fit to be declared in as ample a
 “ discourse, as the worthiness of his acts hath deserved memory of that, which hath
 “ been done.”

He then observes, that after they had left the English coast, they failed three weeks before they discovered that, where the earl, their general, intended to put the army on shore; which time being spent at sea without any great conflict, they arrived at last at the isle of Cadiz, where they found sixty sail of the best ships and gallies of the king of Spain riding in the haven of the city of Cadiz. These the earl attempted with his own ship and about half a score more, as soon as the generals could agree, that it was time to fight. In a short space after our ships and the enemy's had interchanged some three or four thousand cannon shot, the enemy was by the help of God, and the valiant forwardness of our nation, made to know, that the loss must light on their parts, which presently came to pass. For after

* Vol. XII. fol. 138.

three hours fight, or thereabouts, four of the enemy's ships came into the possession of the English, or by their want of courage to fight any longer, were set on fire, the mariners shifting by swimming and running away to save their lives; this being done without the loss of many of the English, to the admiration of all, who beheld the action.

The earl immediately after this fight set some part of his army, to the number of 1600 men, on shore, himself being the first man, who put his foot on land; which gave such hope of victory to the English, that he thought himself happy, who might first hasten on shore, to come and take his part with his lordship's hazard. The earl himself, whose valiant forwardness had so dismayed the enemy, that they flew from shore towards the city without any blow, fighting followed in person, with 800 of his people, encouraging them by his own example to fight like men resolved to win; which wrought such power in them, that after the repelling of the enemies, who first defended their walls both with horse and foot, and now kept themselves within the town, they were so followed by the earl's direction, that it was presently enter'd and taken. Thus his lordship became a victor over the king of Spain's navy at sea, over the town, and whole island, within sixteen hours, the English having not lost in all their service above one man of quality, sir JOHN WINGFIELD, and not above one hundred men else.

“ This victory, *says sir CHRISTOPHER*, being discoursed unto you in the briefest manner I may, it resteth, now that fortune, very honour and wealth have accompanied the victors, that I may commend my duty unto you, and salute my lord your husband's absence with grief, who, I wish, had been a partaker of the glory those shall enjoy, that may challenge any interest to have been doers in this action.”

The army having continued about a fortnight at Cadiz, embarked and set sail on the 5th of July; on the 8th of which month the earl of Essex wrote the following letter to mr. BACON ^P.

“ SIR,
“ I pray you let this letter serve both to satisfy you, and to commend me to your brother FRANCIS; for I am so overwatched, and have so little time, as I must crave pardon of my friends, if I do not yield them full satisfaction. I must study as well to draw the company, that is with me, to do service, or to consent to have it done, as to execute it orderly.

“ The gallies are so watchful, the Spaniard so greedy to get some little advantage, wherewith to comfort himself for his great losses, our fleet so disorderly, and I so loth to receive the same affronts, that sir JOHN NORREYS and sir FRANCIS DRAKE did, as I do nothing but look out, and go from one side of the fleet to another. I had thought to have rested at sea after our land travels; but our small and undefensible ships do as much strive to lose themselves, as we to save them. Yet,

^P Vol. XII. fol. 109.

“ I thank God, we have not lost so much as a shallop, and I hope we shall not.
 “ For if the gallies see but one good ship to defend the lesser, they will none. The
 “ captains of the gallies being aboard my ship, when I redeemed the English
 “ slaves, confessed they would not with twenty gallies undertake to fight with her
 “ alone.

“ Let this paper deliver you my best wishes, and let all our country, and especially
 “ our particular friends, thank God for this great victory.

“ For all things else I refer you to REYNOLDES, who shall from time to time
 “ acquaint you with all he receives. I wish you all happiness, and rest

“ From the coast betwixt Andalusia and

Your true friend,

“ Algarva this 8th of July.

E S S E X.”

“ I once again pray you to commend me to your brother FRANCIS. If I go not
 “ a land to-morrow I will write to him.”

The lord admiral HOWARD wrote the same day a particular relation of the whole action at Cadiz in a letter ^a from on board the Ark to HENRY lord Hunfdon, lord chamberlain, whose daughter CATHARINE he had married, and who died probably before the receipt of this letter, on the 23d of the same month of July 1596, at the age of seventy-one. The lord admiral observes, that on Saturday the 19th of June, twelve leagues off Cadiz, in the morning by break of day, there was a bark of Waterford discover'd at a little distance from his ship, being newly come from St. Mary Port. His lordship shot at her to make her strike, but she made away with all the sail she could; however he took her within two hours. By the Irishmen it was learn'd, that between fifty and sixty sail of great ships were in the bay of Cadiz, together with twenty gallies. Of these ships there were fifteen, that were the king of Spain's men of war, the St. Philip, St. Matthew, St. Andrew, and St. Thomas. These were of the king's twelve apostles; two other great galleons, that were of Andalusia, five great galleons of Biscay, and four Levantisks, besides three principal pataches of 200 tuns each. The rest were all great ships laden for the West Indies with merchandize, and exceedingly well furnish'd with men and ordnance and wonderful riches.

On Sunday morning by break of day the English navy was within half a league of the bay of Cadiz, and might see this great Spanish fleet riding before the town under the two forts, and afterwards came to an anchor before the west end of the town, where the English generals intended presently to have landed their men; and tho' the gallies came out to hinder them, they were under little apprehensions of them. But the weather grew so foul and stormy, that when all those, who should have landed, were in the barges and boats, it was found necessary for the safety of them to lay

^a Vol. XII. fol. 36. Compared with a copy ters to ROBERT late earl of Essex, p. 74.
 of the same letter in my MS. intitled *Certain let-*

aside the design for that time, and to ship them again. It was then determined to have gone in to have fought with the ships and gallies; but before the anchors could be weighed (which was done with great difficulty in so high a sea) the night drew on; whereupon it was resolved to come to anchor in the mouth of the bay not far from their ships, with a determination to attack them the next morning in this manner; the lord THOMAS HOWARD, sir WALTER RALEGH, sir ROBERT SOUTHWELL, sir GEORGE CAREW, in four of the queen's ships, sir FRANCIS VERE in the Rainbow, and sir JOHN WINGFIELD in the van-guard. These two latter were to attend the gallies. Capt. ALEXANDER CLIFFORD and capt. CROSS with ten of the Low country ships and twenty-one other men of war, to have the first charge, and all the rest of the fleet to second them. In the morning the enemy seeing the English thus determined, anchored and went to Pontall all, except two of the gallies, which kept under the forts. The English ships went, according to the order taken, all the gallies still playing upon them, but to their own loss; for they were well pepper'd. Every man fought to anchor as near as they could to the enemy's ships; but the place being narrow, and great shoals on either side, there could but these ships come to an anchor conveniently; first, sir WALTER RALEGH; then the Lyon; next the lord THOMAS HOWARD. The earl of Essex with much difficulty got up near to sir WALTER RALEGH. The Rainbow rode hard by the Lyon, and the rest as near them as they could. The lord admiral with divers others rode just between the two forts, which all the time play'd hotly upon them, while they beat the two gallies under the fort notably. This fight between the ships continued battery to battery from seven of the clock in the morning till one in the afternoon. There could but five of the enemy's ships fight at once, by reason of the shallowness there; and their gallies were of small draught of water.

The enemy perceiving the resolution of the English, and being notably beaten, thought to have slip't thence to Port Royal; but they were driven on ground near the place, where they fought. Their men leap'd out like frogs, many of whom were killed, and the others with a train set the St. Philip on fire; which blew up suddenly before any of the English had enter'd her. The St. Thomas likewise was burnt a little before. But the St. Matthew, a very goodly ship, and the next to the St. Philip of all Spain, was taken with all her ordnance, and the St. Andrew also, both ships of 900 or 1000 tuns each. All the rest of their ships, except two argosies, one of which was burnt, and the other taken (tho' she must likewise be burnt, because she was unfit to be brought away) went to Port Royal, where they were secure from the English, as in a cage, whensoever they should be attempted; but the Spaniards themselves that night and the next day set them all on fire.

The whole number taken and burnt were fifty-seven sail, all of them great ones, for the three pataches were the least, and yet they were above 200 tuns each. On Monday the 21st of July about two of the clock in the afternoon the earl of Essex landed hard by the fort of Pontall, which the enemy gave over when they saw the English come. He landed 3000 men, with one half of whom he went towards the town, which was distant from thence three miles and upwards, all deep sandy way. The other half march'd with sir CONYERS CLIFFORD, sir CHRISTOPHER BLUNT, and sir THOMAS GERARD to Pont Suaco, at the farther end of the island, to break it
down,

down. As soon as the boats had landed them, they were used to land the sea regiments to second the earl; which was done presently by the lord admiral, the lord THOMAS HOWARD, sir WALTER RALEGH, and sir ROBERT SOUTHWELL, all landing with 800 men, and making a quick march after the earl, with whom were the lord marshal, the earl of Suffex, and sir GEORGE CAREW. His lordship's march was as fast as he could, and that of the lord admiral and the rest after him was not much less. The earl was encounter'd without the town with some horse and some foot; but he beat them back, tho' with some loss of his own men; and enter'd the town with wonderful bravery, himself being one of the foremost. The town was exceedingly strong, and full of men, strengthened with a great castle and several forts; and in fact each house in the town was like a castle. After the entry the fight grew very hot in the market-place, streets, castle, and forts. By this time the lord admiral and his companions came in, and reliev'd the earl with their shot, and furnish'd his men with powder, which they wanted. Having possess'd the market-place, the earl made there a strong guard; and by this time it grew somewhat dark. The earl, and lord admiral, with the principal of the men, went into the council-house of the town, situated in the market-place, where within an hour there came in many of the chief men of the town, and surrender'd themselves to them; and happy were those, who could first kneel down to kiss their feet. In an hour after their lordships made account, that they were sure of all; but the next morning, being Tuesday the 22d of June, those in the castle sent the corregidor and other principal men to declare, that they would surrender; as did also the captains of the forts. Before ten of the clock in the forenoon the earl's ensign was on the top of the castle, and the lord admiral's bloody ensign on the top of the fort next the sea, call'd the fort Philip.

Thus had God blest her majesty with honour and victory, and not above 300 men of all forts lost, nor among them any man of name except sir JOHN WINGFIELD, who was hurt first without the town, where he had behaved himself with great bravery, and yet would needs enter it with the earl, and in the market-place was shot in the head, and died immediately.

“ My lord, *says the lord admiral to his father-in-law*, I can assure you, there is
 “ not a braver man in the world than the earl is; and I protest, in my simple poor
 “ judgment, a grave soldier; for what he doth, is in great order and good discipline
 “ performed.

“ The number of gentlemen in the town was great, for the principal men of
 “ Xeres and those parts of Andalusia nearest hereabouts did put themselves in,
 “ for we were descried from Cape St. Mary (which we could no ways avoid) yea,
 “ and I think, from Cape St. Vincent.

“ This gentleman sir ANTHONY ASHLEY, the bearer, who hath behaved himself
 “ both wisely and valiantly, will shew you all the particulars, which it is possible
 “ for me to write. But I must not forget to let your lordship know, that all men
 “ did generally well, but the chiefest for the service done by sea, besides the earl,
 “ were the lord THOMAS HOWARD, sir WALTER RALEGH; and my son SOUTH-

“ WELL, who had the leading, and perform’d it notably. The place was so narrow, that altho’ many ships would have come up to them, yet they could not possibly, since the press was thick, that one of our ships was aboard another. The while, that the ships fought, the town and the forts play’d upon us at their pleasure.

“ This was all perform’d, and all things quieted in 24 hours, to GOD’s glory and her majesty’s honour and renown, which will spread over all these parts of the world.

“ The king’s loss is thus great: first, the loss of his ships, which was a great part of his strength. Then the goods laden into them for the Indies, which were burnt, confess’d to be worth eleven millions; the like whereof was never seen at one time before. If they had not been burnt that night by the express commandment of the duke of Medina, we should have had two millions of the merchants, for so it was agreed upon. Besides this the town is of wonderful importance, standing, as it doth, and of great strength, which we caused to be burnt on Sunday last, the day before we came away from thence, which was the 5th of this present July. The mercy and clemency, which hath been shewed, will be spoken of thro’ those parts of the world. No cold blood touch’d, no woman defiled, but have been with great care embarked and sent to St. Mary Port. All the ladies, which were many, and all the nuns and other women and children, which were likewise sent thither, have been suffered to carry away with them all their apparel, money and jewels, which they had about them, and were not searched for.

“ Having ended our business in Cadiz by Saturday the 3d day of July, the next day being Sunday aforesaid, we shipped our men, and set fire to the town of Cadiz and the forts, reserving nothing from the fire but the churches: and on Monday the 5th of July we set sail out of the port in a very circumspect order, to keep our small men, and such fly-boats, as carried soldiers, and were ill able to make defence, might be safely protected from any attempt, that the galleys in any calm weather might make against them, since which time we have made sail with slender winds and less adventures, as high as Cape St. Mary.”

The relation of the corregidor of Cadiz sent to the king of Spain concerning the taking of that city, was to this effect *, That on Saturday the 19th of June he was sent for by the president of the contratation, who was there dispatching the fleet and army, at whose lodging the corregidor was desir’d by him to call together the citizens and captains of the fleet, who being met, the president read to them the letters, which he had receiv’d from the contratation of Seville, the governor of the war, and other persons, importing, that 80 sail had been discover’d off Cape St. Vincent, where they had fought with a ship belonging to Spain; from which it was evident, that they were enemies. A consultation was then held about proper measures with respect to the fleet and city for the security of the whole; and it was

* Vol. xii. fol. 173.

agreed, that the galleons and frigates should stay in the channel, for any success in the van-guard, and the best ships in the battle, and the rest in the rear-guard, drawing themselves as near the Pontalls as they could; and to advertise the galleys to come. After this conference the corregidor having done what was necessary with regard to the city, sent advice to all the adjacent cities, towns and places, as far as Córdoba; and that afternoon there was a general muster of all the soldiers and inhabitants. But as the fleet and army were ready to depart, and in the former were many men of the city, by this means the corregidor could not find above 350 able men, with whom he made his guard till the next morning, when they discover'd near St. Catarina 180 sail, of the enemies, who founded the cattale and attempted to land; to prevent which the corregidor had fortified the place, and planted eight pieces of artillery, disposing his men in good order, so that the design of landing was laid aside.

The president and judges of the contratation perceiving the greatness of the force brought against the city, having determin'd, that the galleys should go to the Pontall, and the fleet towards the bridge and creek of the cattale, the corregidor thinking this resolution absolutely inconsistent with the defence of the city, and leaving the enemy a power of landing in any part of the terraque, which was the weakest of the city, went with the dean of the high church to the president, and protested against the resolutions as destructive to the safety of the city.

This was on Sunday in the night, at which time came in two companies of about 200 horse from Xeres, and another of 130 foot, but many of them unarmed; and the next day at noon came in two other companies of horse, one of Arcos, and another of Besele, of 100 horse in each; and after that two companies of Chirlana of 150 men without ammunition. These were all the succours, that came to the city, tho' there came many by the way of the port, and could have no passage; and all, that came, as well horse as foot, came as if it had been to a banquet. The companies of Xeres and Besele were sent by the corregidor to the Pontall with 300 harquebusiers, to prevent the enemy's landing; but the greatest part of both betook themselves the nearest way to the houses, like cowards and men unaccustom'd to fight. The corregidor then gave orders for forming a squadron of the rest of the soldiers in the gates of the wall, leaving the charge of them with PEDRO DEL CASTILLO, judge and officer of the contratation, and leading up himself the horse in the van-guard, who, when they came near the enemy, turn'd their backs, and notwithstanding all his endeavours to stop them, fled with such precipitation, that they broke thro' his squadron. He having in some measure form'd them again, the numbers of the enemy struck them with such terror, that they retreated into the city, the corregidor not being able to detain either the horse or foot; and having now no means to defend the wall, the bulwark being indefensible, and serving rather for a ladder to enter the city, he led them all back to the town wall and castle, in order to save the lives of so many people; only his own company and three others of Spaniards belonging to the city, to the number of about 400, having fought, the rest being rather an hindrance to action than of any service; and seeing, that in the castle and town there was no kind of defence, being destitute of artillery, ammunition for the harquebusiers, and victuals, they desired that they might capitulate for

for a surrender, which was agreed upon. The corregidor acknowledges, that at the sight of the Spanish forces he foresaw the event, which would follow, since they were incapable of resisting 180 sail of the enemy, who landed a great body of foot, among whom were many gallant gentlemen, and all such, as were equal to an attack of much greater difficulty, than that, in which they were engag'd. He complains, that the gallies, which should have prevented the enemy's landing, and defended the army and fleet, quitted the van-guard to save themselves, and left the rest unguarded; and that he had applied himself to DON JOHN PORTO CARRERO, who commanded the gallies, and requir'd him to exert himself with the proper resolution in their defence; but this commander regarded nothing but to save himself and the gallies. He concludes, with observing their present state, which was the greatest part of the women and poor people were embark'd, as the rest would; but that several persons of substance and quality were given as hostages, till the payment of the ransom agreed upon.

Such was the success of the expedition against Cadiz, in the advising of which the earl of Essex in his *Apology to mr. ANTHONY BACON* protested he had no more part, than the lord treasurer, lord admiral, or sir ROBERT CECIL, who were all privy to it from the beginning, and assented to it, as much as himself. "Her majesty," *says he*, did first arm for the defensive, upon the intelligence, that the king of Spain did both purpose and prepare to assail her, finding, that she strengthened the Low Countries and France against him, molested him in his Indies, choak'd him by sea: so that his council resolved that to be the shortest and easiest way to all his ends, to begin with England. And when her majesty was armed and ready to take the start, it was thought both a wise and a safe counsel not to lose so great a charge and so fair an opportunity. For the project of going to Cadiz, I have ever confess'd it was my lord admiral's, my colleague's. If any man will single me out to charge me alone with any thing, it must needs be, that when all the charge of preparations was past, the army levied, and marching to the rendezvous, the Low Country fleet, that was to join with us, in their way, that then I was as constant in the journey, as I had been all the while before, when I might have sold the honour of my sovereign, the security of my country, the contentment of our confederates, the hopes, and almost whole fortunes, of almost hundreds of my friends, that I had drawn into the journey, for some privy gain to myself." He then considers the objections, which had been made to this expedition. "If any man, *says he*, will use so base a speech, as that we offended the king of Spain so deeply by that journey, as that he is more implacable and farther from peace, I answer, *vane sunt sine viribus iræ*. We brought away and burnt his shipping, destroy'd his provisions, yea, put him to such charge and loss, as he shortly after played bankrupt with all his creditors. Let me ever see his strength decrease, tho' his malice increase, rather than believe in his faith and good nature, when his strength is great. If any man on the other side will object, tho' we had good hope, yet our designs were nought, for it drew the war to no end; I must confess, I neither performed what I purposed, nor thought that, which was done, sufficient. I purposed to dwell in a post of the enemy's, and to make a continual diversion of the wars: witness my letters to the lords of the council dated from Plymouth the 1st of June 1596, and deliver'd by my

VOL. II. I " secretary

“ secretary EDWARD REYNOLDES at Greenwich the 6th of the same month. And
 “ when I was possessed of Cadiz, I offered to stay with three or four thousand men,
 “ if the whole fleet would have furnished us but with three or four months victuals:
 “ witness the whole council of war. And by that means I doubted not, but to have
 “ brought the war in those parts to a short end, and to have made the king of
 “ Spain weary of seeking to dislodge me. But my letter was neither answer’d nor
 “ liked of, nor I at Cadiz able to feed myself and the men of war till a supply
 “ might have come.”

Sir FRANCIS VERE in his Commentaries ^b, in which he never fails to claim the chief merit of all actions, in which he was concern’d, after observing, that it had been long disputed, whether Cadiz should be held, tells us, that himself offer’d with 4000 men to defend it, till her majesty’s pleasure might be known; and that the earl of Essex *seemed to affect to remain there in person, which the rest of the council would not assent unto, but rather to abandon and set it on fire.*

The generals then consulted what design should be next undertaken, and it was long insisted on to put to sea, and wait there for the West-Indian fleet, which usually at that time of the year arrived on the coast of Spain. But this was wav’d on account of scarcity of provisions, and a resolution taken, to sail for England, and in their way to visit the ports of the Spanish coast, and destroy the shipping. The first place, which they came to, was Faro, a bishop’s see in Portugal, to which there was no safe entrance for the English ships, the town being situated a league from the sea, and serv’d with a narrow creek. It was therefore determin’d to land the forces in a bay three leagues from the town, and to march thither; which being forsaken by the inhabitants, was taken; and the men sent into the country, brought good store of provisions for refreshing the army. The artillery found there was likewise convey’d to the ships, and the regiments, after six days stay, return’d to them the way, by which they came ^c. Here the earl of Essex had for his share of the booty a very valuable library ^d, which had belong’d to JEROM OSORIUS ^e, successively bishop of Sylvas, and of Algarva, in which last see he died in 1580, being as eminent for the elegance of his Latin style in all his writings, as for his excellent history of EMANUEL king of Portugal. A considerable part of this library was afterwards given by the earl of Essex to the public one begun by mr. BODLEY in 1597 in the university of Oxford ^{*}.

The troops being embark’d sailed towards the Groyne, and look’d into the bay; but the wind blowing hard from the sea, it was thought dangerous to enter; and provisions growing so scarce, according to sir FRANCIS VERE [†], that in some ships there was already extreme want, it was resolv’d to hasten to England; tho’ sir WILLIAM MONSON [‡] computes, that the fleet had provisions enough to supply them for ten weeks, and imputes the general disinclination of the officers to any farther attempt

^b P. 42.

^c Ibid. 43, 44.

^d CAMDENI ELIZ. p. 674.

^e OLDYS life of sir WALTER RALEGH, fol.

cvi.

^{*} WOOD, Hist. and antiq. univers. Oxon. 1. ii.

p. 50.

[†] Commentaries, fol. 44.

[‡] Naval Tracts.

against the Spaniards to the covetousness of those, who wanted to secure the treasure, which they had amass'd. And it is remarkable, that sir FRANCIS VERE, who acknowledges, that he had receiv'd great favour and countenance from the earl of Essex, should now shew himself so much averse to his lordship's new schemes of adventure, and so impatient to return home on pretence of the want of provisions, being supported in his opinion by the lord admiral and sir WALTER RALEGH, who were obstinate against hazarding the honour gain'd at Cadiz, the former urging against the earl's proposal of making a descent upon Lagos in Algarva, that the winning of it, after so eminent a place as Cadiz, could add no reputation to them; and that if it should be carried, yet it would be with the loss of the best troops and gentlemen, who would rather desire to die, than receive the indignity of a repulse^g; to which reasons the earl was oblig'd to submit, tho' with great dissatisfaction at this and other *omissions* in the expedition, of which he wrote a *censure*, imputing them to the dissensions of his council and colleague the lord admiral. These omissions charg'd by him were four^h, that they did not possess the Indian fleet: that they abandon'd Cadiz: that they did not wait for the Carracks and Indian ships: and that they did not assail the enemy in their other ports; the two last articles of which he lays the blame of upon sir WALTER RALEGH.

Dr. HAWKYNs being sent for from Venice to Padua, in order to the making of the will of ROGER earl of RUTLAND, who had thrice relaps'd into a dangerous fever, wrote from thence on the 7th of July 1596 to mr. BACONⁱ, giving him an account of the occasion of his journey, and that he found at his arrival that nobleman recovering. And having staid at Padua eight days, upon his return to Venice wrote again on the 16th of that month^k, mentioning, that in his absence the secretary of 170, probably the grand duke, had been to seek him at his lodgings, by whom he found how much he was bound to *his highness*, who understanding by his secretary, that the doctor was purposed to come *thither*, [perhaps to Florence] sent one post on purpose to stay him from coming, and to shew the danger of his passage thro' the ecclesiastical state, and to give him warning of a number of Spanish spies, who observ'd his actions. The doctor therefore wish'd, that this favour might be remember'd in the letter to be sent to his highness. He observes, that it was written from Rome on the 20th of that month N. S. that on Monday in the morning were read in the consistory two letters; the one from the king of France, representing the present situation of his affairs, and that he had hitherto deferr'd the sending of his embassador to Rome, in order, that upon the coming of the cardinal DE MEDICIS he might send him with more authority and better conditions; and testifying how acceptable to him the pope's resolution of sending that cardinal was. The other letter was from the king of Congo in Africa, returning great thanks to the pope for the many spiritual favours receiv'd of the patriarch BIONDO, collector in Portugal, desiring an increase of the same, and to be held and repeated as the other Christian kings were, being an obedient son of the catholic church of Rome. Mons. D' OSSAT had for several days past been visiting the cardinals in course, to ac-

^g Id. *ibid*.

mistaken in supposing this to be a censure of the earl's own omissions.

^h BURCHET's Naval History, and LEDIARD, p. 337. Sir HENRY WOTTON in his parallel is

ⁱ Vol. xii. fol. 153.

^k Vol. xii. fol. 154.

quaint them with the letters sent from the French king to the pope. Dr. HAWKYNs had receiv'd nothing that week from Genoa, but that the king of Spain's sickness continued for any accounts that were yet receiv'd to the contrary: that the West-Indian fleet with infinite treasure was certainly expected in Spain about the middle of September, having no apprehensions from the English, nor that Cadiz was lost: and that there was a great scarcity of corn in all those parts, as well as in Lombardy and Sicily, by reason of the bad harvest. He adds, that he had letters from lord WILLOUGHBY of Eresby, who was at Stoade: but nothing in particular from Rome and Milan that week, except that one sir ANDREW WISE, an Irishman, prior of Malta for the English nation, was on his return from Spain to Rome; of whose negotiation he hop'd to hear more hereafter.

Mr. BACON wrote himself to dr. HAWKYNs on the 10th of July¹, that with respect to the matter mention'd in his former, which mr. SAYERS, governor of the Turkey company, and sir JOHN SPENCER, had propounded to him, and then purpos'd to commit and recommend to the doctor by a letter, the governor had on the Thursday before call'd a court, and demanded their consent for the substance of the letter, which he was to write to dr. HAWKYNs: Whereupon a great statesman and republican amongst them, " casting, *says mr. BACON*, beyond the moon, " found out this knot in their rushes, that if the Venetian imposition were put " down, and ours here, the Fleming would eat both the Venetian and us out in " trade by the cheapness of their shipping and freight: which having understood, " smiling I said, that they knew best what was good for them; and that if that, " which the queen's majesty by her letters had heretofore so requested of the signory " for the ease and benefit of her subjects, were now become prejudicial, it were in " vain to proceed any farther, but that each should bear his own burden and ad- " venture."

With respect to occurrences, mr. BACON takes notice, that there was a *dumb bruit*, that Tyrone had flatly refused her majesty's pardon; so that the state of Ireland grew every day worse and worse: that there had been no letters from the earl of Essex since the 10th of June; which held them in a troublesome suspense, only this was reported by ships, that had pass'd by the fleet, that it had the most prosperous winds and passage, that could be wish'd: that the duke DE BOUILLON was look'd for on the 25th, and the earl of Northumberland nominated to go to France, where the Hugonots at Loudun were assembled with the deputies of the churches*, and refused to dissolve their assembly till the king should perform his promise, and the courts of parliament their's in their behalf, having already laid hands on the king's finances: that the earl of Lincoln† departed that day to Yarmouth to embark from thence to Flushing, in his way to the landgrave of Hesse, accompanied with old mr. BRAKENBURY to direct him for ceremonies and compliment, mr. WROTH to advise and counsel him in matter of negotiation, besides two

¹ Vol. xii. fol. 10.

* THUANUS, vol. v. l. cxvii. cap. iii. p. 629, 630. Histoire de la vie de messire Philippes de Mornay, p. 232.

† HENRY CLINTON, earl of Lincoln, son of EDWARD, the first earl of Lincoln, by URSULA daughter of WILLIAM lord Stourton.

young gentlemen: that the lord WILLOUGHBY of Eresby was not only alive, but reasonably well recover'd, and arriv'd in Lincolnshire, whither mr. BACON intended to write to his lordship the next week, and to congratulate his return, hoping verily, that if he might enjoy an indifferent portion of health, he should be made lord president of the north: that upon the Monday preceding, July the 5th, *elephas peperit*, sir ROBERT CECIL being sworn secretary, and mr. BACON's cousin JOHN STANHOPE * treasurer of the chamber; "so that now the old man, *says mr. BACON*, "may say with the rich man in the gospel, *requiescat anima mea.*"

Upon this promotion of sir ROBERT CECIL the lady BACON wrote to her son mr. ANTHONY BACON, on the 10th of July, the following letter ^m, which she insit'd in the postscript upon his committing to the flames.

"Now that sir ROBERT is fully stalled in his long longed for secretary's place, I pray GOD give him a religious, wise, and upright heart before GOD and man. I promise you, son, in my conjectural opinion, you had more need now to be more circumspect and advised in your discourfings, doings, and dealings in your accustomed matters, either with or for yourself or others, whom you heartily honour, *nec sine causa*. He hath now great advantage and strength to intercept, prevent, and to * * * where he hath been or is in, son, be it * * * or suspicion. You know what terms he standeth in towards yourself, and would needs have me tell you so, so very vehement he was. Then you are said to be wise, and to my comfort I think so. But surely, son, on the other side, for want of home experience by action, and your tedious unacquaintance for your own country by continual chamber and bed-keeping, you must needs miss of considerate judgment in your verbal only travelling. If all were scant found betwixt the *ἐαρά* [earl] and him, friends had need to walk more warily *in his diebus*. For * * * doings * * * may hurt, tho' pretending good. The father and son are affectionate, join'd in power and policy. You know what you have to do in regard to the Spaniard [ANTONIO PEREZ]. I seek not his displeasure. GOD grant he mar not all at last with Spanish popish subtilty. Alas! what I wrote touching the poor sum of 5*l.* to your brother, I meant but to let you know plainly, I would rather nourish than any little way weaken your brotherly love, as appeareth manifestly to you both. GOD forbid, but that ye should always love heartily *invicem* and kindly."

Sir ROBERT CECIL's advancement to the post of secretary of state was an advantage gain'd in his favour by the absence of the earl of Essex, who had always oppos'd it, and endeavour'd the promotion of mr. THOMAS BODLEY, who, in the

* Third son of sir MICHAEL STANHOPE, beheaded in the reign of king EDWARD VI. for being concern'd in the pretended conspiracy of EDWARD duke of Somerset. Mr. STANHOPE was seated at Harrington in Northamptonshire, and upon the accession of king JAMES to the throne was con-

tinued vice-chamberlain of the household, as he had been under queen ELIZABETH, and in May 1605 was created lord STANHOPE of Harrington. He died March 9, 1620.

^m Vol. xii. fol. 21.

life of himselfⁿ, gives the following account of that affair: That among all the lords of the council he had from the first no man more his friend than the lord treasurer BURGHLEY, who would always tell the queen, that there was not any man in England so fit as mr. BODLEY for the office of secretary; who was afterwards assur'd by sir ROBERT CECIL, that when his father the lord treasurer first intended him for that place, his purpose was to make mr. BODLEY his colleague. “But the case, *says* *be*, stood thus in my behalf. Before such time as I return'd from the provinces united, which was in the year 1597^o, and likewise after, the earl of Essex did use me so kindly both by letters and messages, and other tokens of his inward favour to me, that, altho' I had no meaning, but to settle in my mind my chiefest dependence upon the lord BURGHLEY, as one, that I reputed to be the best able, and therewithall the most willing to work my advancement with the queen; yet I know not how the earl, who sought by all devices to divert her love and liking both from the father and the son (but from the son in special) to withdraw my affection from the one and the other, and to win me altogether to depend upon himself, did so often take occasion to entertain the queen with some prodigal speeches of my sufficiency for a secretary, which were ever accompanied with words of disgrace against the present lord treasurer [sir ROBERT CECIL] as neither she herself, of whose favour before I was thoroughly assured, took any great pleasure to prefer me the sooner (for she hated his ambition, and would give little countenance to any of his followers) and both the lord BURGHLEY and his son waxed jealous of my courses, as if underhand I had been induced by the cunning and kindness of the earl of Essex to oppose myself against their dealings. And tho' in very truth they had no solid ground at all of the least alteration in my disposition towards either of them both (for I did greatly respect their persons and places, with a settled resolution to do them any service, as also in my heart I detested to be of any faction whatsoever) yet the now lord treasurer, upon occasion of some talk, that I have since had with him, of the earl and his actions, hath freely confess'd of his own accord to me, that his daily provocations were so bitter and sharp against him, and his comparisons so odious, when he put us in the balance, as he thought thereupon he had very great reason to use his best means, to put any man out of love of raising his fortune, whom the earl with such violence, to his extreme prejudice, had endeavoured to dignify. And this, as he affirmed, was all the motive he had to set himself against me, in whatsoever might redound to the bettering of my state, or increasing my credit and countenance with the queen.”

When therefore mr. BODLEY had thoroughly bethought himself of the slender hold-fast, which the earl had in her majesty; of the endless opposition of the chief statesmen likely still to wait upon him; and of his lordship's perilous, and feeble and uncertain advice, as well as in his own, as in all the causes of his friends; and when he had fully consider'd, how very untowardly the lord treasurer BURGHLEY

ⁿ Prefix'd to Reliquiæ Bodleianæ: or some genuine remains of sir THOMAS BODLEY, publish'd by mr. THOMAS HEARN, at London 1703. in 8^{vo}. p. 8 & seq. This life is dated December 11, 1609. See likewise CAMDENI ELIZ. p. 676. ^o This is a mistake for 1596.

and his son (upon whom before he had in his mind framed all the fabric of his future prosperity) were affected to him; how ill it concurr'd with his natural disposition to become or to be accounted either a stickler or partaker in any public faction; how well he was able by God's good blessing to live of himself, if he could be content with a competent livelihood; how short a time of farther life he was then to expect by the common course of nature; upon these reflexions on his own particular state, together with that of the earl, "I resolv'd, *says he*, to possess my soul
 " in peace all the residue of my days; to take my full farewell of state employments;
 " to satisfy my mind with that mediocrity of worldly living, that I had of my
 " own, and so to retire me from the court, which was the epilogue and end of all
 " my actions and endeavours of any important note, till I came to the age of sixty-
 " three. Now altho' after this, by her majesty's directions I was often call'd to the
 " court by the now lord treasurer, then secretary, and required by him, as also divers
 " times since, by order from the king [JAMES] to serve as ambassador in France,
 " to go a commissioner from his highness for concluding the truce between Spain
 " and the [united] provinces, and to negotiate in other very honourable employ-
 " ments; yet I would not be removed from my former final resolution, in so much
 " as at length to reduce me the sooner to return to the court, I had an offer made
 " me by the present lord treasurer (for in process of time he saw, as he himself was
 " pleased to tell me more than once, that all my dealing was upright, fair and direct)
 " that in case I myself were willing unto it, he would make me his associate in the
 " secretary's office^p; and to the intent I might believe, that he intended it
 " *bonâ fide*, he would get me out of hand to be sworn of the council; and for the
 " better enabling of my estate to maintain such a dignity, whatsoever I would ask,
 " that might be fit for him to deal in, and for me to enjoy, he would presently sol-
 " licit the king to give it passage. All which persuasions notwithstanding, albeit I
 " was often assaulted by him, in regard of my years, and for that I felt myself sub-
 " ject to many indispositions, besides some other private reasons, which I reserve
 " unto myself, I have continued still at home my retired course of life, which is
 " now methinks to me as the greatest preferment, that the state can afford." The
 result of his disappointments at first, and of his deliberate reflexions occasion'd by
 them, was the devoting of his time and fortune to the erecting of a public library at
 Oxford, for which he began to make preparations in 1597, and on the 23d of
 February 1597-8 wrote to dr. RAVIS, vice-chancellor of the university, to acquaint
 that learned body with his intentions of founding that library^q, which being in-
 rich'd by other benefactors with books, was solemnly open'd for their use on the 8th
 of November 1602; and three years after his statue was erected in it by THOMAS
 SACKVILLE earl of Dorset, then lord treasurer^r. He receiv'd the honour of knight-
 hood from king JAMES I. soon after his majesty's accession to the throne of England.
 His residence, after he had form'd his design of the library, was chiefly at London in
 Little Bartholomews, for the sake of procuring cooks for it; but he retir'd sometimes to
 his house at Fulham. His health began to be extremely impair'd towards the end of the

^p Mr. DUDLEY CARLETON in a letter to mr. WINWOOD, written from London in January 1604-5, says, that sir THOMAS BODLEY had been much solicited by the lord CRANBORN to accept the place of secretary, but had refused it. WINWOOD'S Memorial's, vol. ii. p. 45.
^q WOOD, Hist. and antiq. university of Oxon. l. i. p. 308.
^r Id. ibid. l. ii. p. 51.

year 1612^f, and he died on the 28th of January following. In his last will, of which he appointed sir JOHN BENNET and mr. HACKWELL executors, sir RALPH WINWOOD and sir HENRY SAVILLE overseers, and archbishop ABBOT, the lord chancellor EGERTON, and the lord chief justice COKE supervisors, he took so little notice of his relations, dependents and friends, that one of the last, mr. CHAMBERLAYNE, complain'd^t, that sir THOMAS was so carried away with the vanity and vain glory of his library, that he forgot all other respects of duties, almost of conscience, friendship, or good nature; and that another argument of his vanity was his having written his own life in seven sheets of paper, in which he omitted not the least circumstance, that might tend to his own glory or commendation, tho' he had made no mention of his wife, or that he was married; which shew'd what a mind he carried, and what account he made of his best benefactors^v. He was inter'd with great solemnity in the upper part of the choir of the church of Merton college on the 29th of March 1613, after a Latin oration in honour of him by mr. JOHN HALES, fellow of that college and afterwards of Eton, and a funeral sermon by dr. WILLIAM GOODWIN, dean of Christ-church. He was a man of considerable learning, as well as a lover of it, but attach'd to the old philosophy, as appears from a letter of his written to sir FRANCIS BACON on the 19th of February 1607 from Fulham^w, after reading the manuscript sent him by the latter of his *cogitata & visa*.

^f Letter from mr. JOHN CHAMBERLAYNE to sir RALPH WINWOOD, from London November 3, 1612. WINWOOD's Memorials, vol. iii. p. 407.

^t Letter to sir RALPH WINWOOD from London January 29, 1612. Ibid. p. 429.

^v Letter of mr. CHAMBERLAYNE to sir RALPH

WINWOOD, from London the 10th Feb. 1612. Ibid. p. 432.

^w The Scrinia Sacra, p. 74 & seqq. Edit. London 1654, 4^{to}. And Reliquiæ Bodleianæ, p. 369, & seqq.

B O O K VIII.

SOON after the news taking of Cadiz had reach'd the court of Spain, mr. ANTHONY ROLSTON wrote to mr. BACON from Fontarabia on the 11th of July 1596^{*}, that they had receiv'd there the day before from that court the account of it, which troubled the Spaniards very much, who were likewise apprehensive, that the French king would also send forces to those parts. He adds, that after they heard of the failing of the fleet from England, the ships in Port Passage, which were ready to depart, were stay'd from taking on board eleven companies of soldiers amounting to no more than 800 men, and most of them but of seventeen or eighteen years of age. That these ships wanted artillery, and the time of their departure was uncertain: that a proclamation was publish'd prohibiting all mariners within Guipischo from going any voyage to sea, upon pain of forfeiting their goods, and being condemn'd to the galleys for five years. That the king of Spain had some days before appointed sixteen captains more, who were levying soldiers in Castille and Toledo, where that king was still very weak, and, as it was thought, could not continue long in this life, but seem'd solicitous to have peace with the queen of England in his days; “ and to that end, *says mr. ROLSTON*, I desired to see and “ speak with you, and only am defered by these dull and irresolute people, in hope “ to return hither again, if so it please her majesty; and if I happen not to come “ shortly to England, then do I most humbly beseech you to be a mean, that I “ may know our sovereign's pleasure, whether I shall come and deal about a peace “ or not. I am of opinion, that the king of Spain will not refuse any reasonable “ conditions, being so necessary for Christendom, if the taking of Cadiz do not “ change his humour.”

Mr. BACON, in a letter to his mother of the 13th of July^y acquainted her, that the queen was in daily expectation and very careful suspense for tidings of the earl of Essex's proceedings: that the Christians under the Transylvanian prince had very lately given important overthrows to the Turk: that the arch-rebel of Ireland, Tyrone, had refus'd her majesty's pardon, alledging frivolous excuses, that he could not come and speak with sir EDWARD MORE, who was to present him with it; and that his drift was only to delay, in order to see what success the earl of Essex would have, and accordingly to reject or accept her majesty's grace: and that the *uncardinalised* archduke of Austria was held better tack by count MAURICE, than he was by the French king at Calais, the town of Hulst* holding out bravely against him. In another letter written the same day^z, he return'd her ladyship thanks for her *wise and loving admonition* in her letter of the 10th, on occasion of sir ROBERT CECIL's promotion, which he promised to remember and observe; and then desir'd

^{*} Vol. viii. fol. 85.

^y Vol. xiii. fol. 7.

^z Cardinal ALBERT laid siege to it on the 4th of

July N. S. and did not take it till the 18th of August N. S.

² Fol. 6.

her to call to mind, what speech queen MARY used, when she laid down upon the council board the purse, where the privy seal was kept, for which the old lord PAGET had been so long and so earnest a suitor, having procur'd king PHILIP to be his mediator; and to consider what had befallen that house since. "For mine own part, *says he*, the reading and christian meditation of the 36 and 37 psalms shall with God's grace serve me for true preservation to keep me from emulating any worldly prosperity or greatness, or fearing the effects of human power and malice, so long as it please God to comfort and strengthen the best part of me, as hitherto in his mercy he hath done with extraordinary effects." The lord PAGET mention'd in this letter was WILLIAM, the first peer of his family, antiently seated in Staffordshire, where he was born, and educated at St. Paul's school under the famous WILLIAM LILLY, and then at Trinity college in Cambridge, whence he was taken into the family of GARDINER bishop of Winchester, and afterwards became secretary of state to HENRY VIII. which post he held under EDWARD VI. who, on the 19th of January 1550, created him baron Paget of Beaudefert in Staffordshire, and made him comptroller of the household, and chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster. But in October 1551 he was committed prisoner to the fleet on account of his attachment to the duke of Somerset, and in April following divested of the ensigns of the garter, of which he had been chosen knight, and fin'd in the star-chamber. Upon the death of that king he join'd with the earl of Arundel in favour of queen MARY, who restored him to the order of the garter, and on the 29th of January 1555-6 constituted him lord privy seal. His zeal for the church of Rome made him retire from all public business after queen ELIZABETH succeeded to the throne, and he died at the age of 57 on the 9th of June, 1563. His eldest son HENRY dying without issue, his honours descended to THOMAS the younger son, who with his brother CHARLES was attainted in 1586, and died in exile at Brussels in 1589, leaving one son, WILLIAM, who was knighted before the expedition against Cadiz, whither he attended the earl of Essex, and in the parliament held in the first year of king JAMES I. was restor'd to his honours and lands.

Mr. BOWES, the English ambassador in Scotland, in a letter to mr. HUDSON from Edinburgh of the 13th of July^a, mention'd to him the intercepted letters of the duke of Sessa to the king of Spain, of which an abstract has been given above, which mr. BOWES presumed, that mr. HUDSON had already seen, as copies of them had been transmitted to London; but that if he had not, mr. BOWES promised to gratify him with a sight of them. He added, that the good captain of Lithgow was likely to be honour'd with the presence of the queen of Scots, who intended to remove from Dumferling thither, and to lie in there: that CESFORD challenging BACLUGH to single combat went openly in the streets with a small number of attendants, so that it was expected, that their first meeting should revenge their quarrels.

Mrs. ELEANOR BOWES, the ambassador's lady, wrote likewise to mr. HUDSON from Edinburgh at the same time^b, acknowledging the favour of two letters from

^a Vol. xii. fol. 41.

^b Vol. xii. fol. 40.

him, one written during his journey from Scotland to London, and the other after his arrival there; but professing, that she knew not well, with what subject in those parts she should requite his courtesy in advertisements. “ For if, *says she*, I should write either pleasingly, certainly, or of any good likelihood, in these present causes now in handling, and wherewith our princes on both sides are so highly tuned, I should furnish you with much better hopes than myself can conceive, or many others better sighted can as yet apprehend. But knowing, that the prince of princes hath all princes hearts in his hands, and that the counsels of men may be driven to their second thoughts, I am not altogether without some part of a hope, nor would have you by my doubts objected to be frustrate of the like, till either a better subject more certain or good like shall happen in my handling, or a farewell to my flitting tent for ever pitching in this place any more; the one of which will shortly be known unto you, and will appear where you are as plainly as with us.” In the postscript she mentions, that since the writing of her letter she had receiv’d another from him dated the first of July; for which she heartily thanks him: “ but my melancholly mood, *says she*, being yet unremoved, and the daily tidings of new murders, hardships, and slaughters on the borders still increasing, I say no more at this time, but again and again pray for us, and God send some better seasons.”

The next day, July 14th, mr. JAMES COLVIL, in a letter to mr. BACON from Edinburgh*, excused the discontinuance of his correspondence for some time past on account of his long absence from court and abode in the country at his father’s house; but that now calling to memory his bounden duty, and being invited by the opportunity of the bearer, he thought proper to present him with a few lines, which would serve to let him understand how matters pass’d at present in Scotland. That the king and queen were in good health; but that there was great trouble upon the borders, which would continue, till order should be taken by the queen of England and the king, by reason of the two young Scots chieftains CESFORD and BACLUGH, and of the present necessity and scarcity of corn amongst the Scots borderers and riders. That there had been a private quarrel betwixt those two lairds on the borders, which was like to have turned to blood; but the fear of the general trouble had reconcil’d them, and the injuries, which they thought to have committed against each other, were now transferr’d upon England; not unlike that emulation in France between the baron DE BIRON and monf. JEVERIE, who being both ambitious of honour undertook more hazardous enterprises against the enemy, than they would have done, if they had been at concord together. That BACLUGH’s attack upon Carlisle castle was at first disapprov’d by some of the better sort, who, on the other hand, were no less displeas’d, that sir THOMAS MUSGRAVE, being a knight and a gentleman, should ride in Scotland to drive away goods. It was talk’d at Edinburgh, that it was the opinion of the council in England, that these troubles on the borders arose from the practices of the Spanish faction in Scotland: But, as far as mr. COLVIL could learn, BACLUGH’s part in them was merely accidental, tho’, if lord HUME should dip in them, it would appear suspicious.

* Vol. xii. fol. 64.

The eight commissioners of the exchequer had publish'd a proclamation at the mercat-crofs of Edinburgh, charging all manner of men betwixt fixty and fixteen to be in readinefs to pafs to the ifles with the king's lieutenant, colonel STUART, upon the firft of Auguft. But the intention of the commissioners in this was fuppos'd to be only to raife money for themfelves, by granting licenses to thofe, who defir'd to remain at home.

A report was spread of the earl of Huntley's being arriv'd in the north; but there was no certainty of it.

The queen was at prefent at Dumferling, where ſhe had thoughts of remaining till her delivery, unlefs the council ſhould draw her to Edinburgh, in order that they might have accefs to her upon all occaſions.

“ There is, *adds mr.* COLVIL, every * * novels here of my lord Effex and of the English navy, and every man ſpeaketh according as he favoureth. But in verity the better fort, and thofe, that be upon the true cauſe, remember him in their hearty prayers to the protection of God, and wiſh him fortunate ſucceſs in all his enterpriſes, providing he keep himſelf within bounds, when it ſhall pleaſe God, that we ſhall have to do with his friendſhip.

“ And for the particulars of your friends, my lord of Weemes is yet yours in the old manner, and had viſited you, had not his diſpatch been delay'd by theſe eight lords.

“ Mr. BRUCE is waxed more cold than he was in meddling with foreign matters. I cannot judge upon what reſpect he doth the ſame. And for myſelf, I will ſtill confeſs your kindneſs many degrees above the power of my requital.”

Mr. BACON on the 17th of July 1596 ſent a letter to dr. HAWKYNs^d, informing him, that the employment of embaffador to France, which, in a former letter, he had mention'd to be deſign'd for the earl of Northumberland, was now return'd to the earl of Shrewsbury; and that Hulſt ſtill held out gallantly againſt the arch-duke, and was like to coſt him very dear, if he ſhould get it at all: that the old lord chamberlain, lord Hunſdon, was at the point of death and judg'd irrecoverable: and that therewas no news of the earl of Effex, which occaſion'd no ſmall uneaſineſs.

But this ſollicitude did not continue long; for a day or two after this, intelligence was brought to court of the ſucceſs at Cadiz; concerning which ſir ROBERT CECIL wrote, on the 18th of July, the following letter from the court at Greenwich to the lord HENRY HOWARD^e.

“ My lord,
“ Becauſe I mean to obſerve my promiſe with you, I will not be dainty

^d Vol. xii. fol. 11.

^e Vol. xii. fol. 66.

“ with you, tho’ other men perhaps, which stand upon regularity of a secretary’s
 “ office, will think it levity to believe or give out things in great actions without
 “ certainty. But, sir, I know you, and you me. I doubt not your judgment of
 “ me, nor I fear not others fine positions. But this is not the purpose of this letter.
 “ Since the advertisement I shewed you of our army’s being at Lagos the 17th of
 “ June, many bruits have confirmed the taking of Cadiz and St. Mary Port,
 “ bearing date after that day; so as for the circumstance of time and the probability
 “ of the effect, the report deserveth no discredit. But now this day have I received
 “ letters from Totness, that there are arrived three merchants servants of Bristol,
 “ who having been prisoners in Spain since March, are come now from St. Lucar
 “ in certain fly-boats, and set sail the 24th of June. They report, that our army
 “ arrived at Cadiz the 20th of June, took it the 21st, set up the flag of England in
 “ the town, and having fought at sea with the St. Philip, St. Paul, and another
 “ great ship, at their first entry, they three perceiving their bane at hand, let slip
 “ their cables, and run on shore, and there were fired.

“ The fleet of the West Indies outward-bound being in Cadiz road, laden with
 “ silks, oyls, rice, and wines, were all taken, with other barks and gallies to the
 “ number in all of eighty. There were twelve ships also bound for Lisbon with
 “ powder and munition taken and burnt.

“ All this was done between the 23d of June and 20th.

“ The 24th this party came away, and heard, as he saith, that St. Mary Port
 “ was taken, which you know *à majore ad minus* may be believed. But at St.
 “ Lucar they had from Seville 2000 men to relieve that place, which with the
 “ terror abandoned their charge, and carried all away up the river; so as that he
 “ assures to be gone also.

“ There came up twenty-six gallies to fight with our rereward, all put to the worst
 “ save two, that ran away into the Streights.

“ That this is true, the party will justify with his life, and is forth-coming.
 “ That this may well be, I assure myself; and that it is so, I assure you, I do
 “ believe. Farther I cannot go, nor shorter I may not go without diffidence,
 “ which is an unworthy affection of the mind, seeing all advertisements, all circum-
 “ stances compared, and times distinguished, do reason strongly for it.

“ Use this, I pray you, for your comfort; for so do I mean by my letters; and
 “ so do I apply it. Shortly I shall hear more, and strait after I will resolve your
 “ judgment. In the mean time I say, that if this be true, no prince hath better
 “ resolved, no council advised; nor no generals deserve more to be glorified; and
 “ I protest to you, no poor man living is with it more raised for public and private
 “ affection.

“ I leave your farther trouble, because haste concludes my work. Otherwise con-
 “ tentments are best by reflection, which is best by communication with wife and
 “ kind

“ kind judgments. For such a one I love you, and I pray you hold me (because
 “ you are so to your noble and honest friends) ever ready to do you honour or
 “ pleasure.

R O. C E C Y L L.

“ If you read this post letter, you read much more than I conceive myself can do,
 “ if I had time to peruse it.

“ From Greenwich the 18th of July.

“ A trumpeter of the enemies, that served in the St. Philip, swam ashore to St.
 “ Mary Port, and brought word, that of all ours not a ship was lost, whereas the
 “ first news came to Port Royal to the duke of Medina, that two of ours were
 “ sunk.”

The information referred to in this letter, and of which a copy is still extant in the hand-writing of mr. REYNOLDES^f, was from the mouth of MATTHEW PRICE of Bristol, who had been taken in a merchant-ship on the 2d of March 159² coming out of the Streights; and carried to Barcelona, and from thence to Cadiz, and so to St. Mary Port, where he and seven more were discharged and went to St. Lucar in a Flemish ship, whence they came away on the 24th of June 1596, on this account, that all the Flemings in those parts were commanded to bring on shore all their powder, pikes, and other munition, because Cadiz was taken by the English army.

The informer, among other things recited in sir ROBERT CECIL's letter, observed, that if the English had stay'd their coming a day longer, they had taken eighteen great ships more than they did, these ships having for fear run up into the river of Seville: that the fleet came before it was expected; and that the countries carried all their goods to Seville. He was set on shore at Salcomb in Devonshire with three others out of a Flemish ship into a fisher-boat on the 15th of July 1596.

The lord HENRY HOWARD having receiv'd sir ROBERT CECIL's letter to him after midnight, carried it early the next morning to mr. BACON, and left it with that gentleman, who the same day, July 19, sent it inclos'd in a letter to his mother^s, desiring her, after perusing it, to return it to him sealed, without mentioning the sight of it to any person whatsoever.

Mr. THOMAS WRIGHT, the Jesuit, who had returned from Spain with important intelligence, which he had communicated to the earl of Essex, having been for many months committed to the custody of dr. GOODMAN dean of Westminster, mr. BACON was desirous of procuring either his enlargement or a more easy restraint; which the lord treasurer and his son sir ROBERT CECIL appear to have been not inclin'd to, on account probably of his attachment to the earl, their rival, and therefore oppos'd any application to the queen in favour of mr. WRIGHT. Mr. BACON accordingly wrote to the dean some time in the month of July 1596^a, that he had spoken with

^f Vol. XII. fol. 80.

^s Vol. XII. fol. 4.

^a Vol. XII. fol.

his brother FRANCIS, who, after he had supp'd the night before with the archbishop of Canterbury, came late to him, expressly to signify secretary CECIL's mind and answer concerning mr. WRIGHT, which was, that he thought it in no wise a fit time nor convenient to motion or mention any such matter to the queen; and therefore concluded, that as it was her majesty's pleasure at the first, that he should remain with the dean, so it was necessary, that he should so continue, till the dean should have a sufficient warrant to dismiss him, which the secretary judg'd very inconvenient to demand at that time of her majesty. This mr. BACON thought proper to advertise the dean of, not doubting, but that the earl of Essex would at his return fully acknowledge his charitable courtesy towards mr. WRIGHT, the care the dean had had of him, and the charge, which he was at with him.

But so far was mr. WRIGHT from procuring any new favour, that he was order'd into a more strict confinement, than he had been under before. Of this he wrote an account to mr. BACON in a letter from Chefwick*, on the 20th of July 1596, where he had been some time with the dean of Westminster, who had that day signified to him the order, which he had received from the lord treasurer in her majesty's name, that he, mr. WRIGHT, should go no more abroad, but live in restraint in the dean's house: "the which inhibition, *says mr. WRIGHT*, seemed to me very strange to be done in my lord of Essex's absence, *indictâ causâ*, and especially when I expected more liberty. But not only this, but also *vincula & carceres pro nomine Jesu sum contentus pati, nec facio animum meum pretiosiores me*. I could even, yea and rather, be content to be shut up in any prison, or to suffer any death for so good a cause. The manner of proceeding in my judgment is strange; and so I think your worship will conceive of it, knowing so well how faithfully and loyally I have always behaved myself in all matters concerning the good of this estate. I cannot but persuade myself, her majesty hath had some sinister information against me, since in her name my lord treasurer hath so commanded. Yet I cannot but wonder they will execute a penalty upon me before they have heard what I can say for myself, or they will signify unto me for what cause they do it. Howbeit my opinion is, that more convenient it should be to expect my lord of Essex's coming, rather than at this present to make any supplication to the queen. Yet because that it is uncertain, and the way may be shut before his coming, and finally I would no difference may arise about me, I could desire with all my heart her majesty would give me leave to go into France, for I am almost for her cause banished out of Spain, Italy and Flanders. Yet had I rather suffer any disaster in another country than tolerate this ingratitude in mine own. I lived well nigh twenty years abroad; only my allegiance brought me in; and seeing I am so acquitted, I would be content rather to be buried in a monastery than see such strange dealing at home, and live here to view the evils, which shortly in all probability, as, your worship knows, I signified unto my lord, this kingdom is like to fall into." He wrote this to mr. BACON, in order that the latter might both advise him what to do, and effect what should be most convenient in his case. "You know, *continues he*, what an honourable promise my lord of Essex made at your house from the queen, that my loyalty and proceedings should be to my credit and good. You know, she

* Vol. XII. fol. 94.

" promised

“promised to your brother mr. FRANCIS BACON, that nothing should be done
 “against me but your worship should be made acquainted first withall, as reason
 “required, and the good service your worship daily taketh in her majesty’s affairs
 “exacteth.” In the postscript he adds, that mr. BACON knew, that he had fore-
 told, this or some such like effect was to ensue, when he was instant with the earl
 at his departure to address him to some other place for better security; which his
 lordship promised, but on account of the multitude of his busineses did not
 perform.

Upon his return to the dean’s house in Westminster for a day or two, he wrote
 again on the 24th of July to mr. BACONⁱ, complaining highly of the rigour of his
 restraint, and the injustice of it, and desiring that gentleman’s advice, what was best to
 be done. “This manner of living, *says he*, will be to me intolerable, and I can assure
 “your worship, I had rather choose the Marshalsea or the Fleet, for no doubt there I
 “should converse with catholics; and here my whole life must be among protestant
 “ministers, whose affections to me you may best understand by our opposite pro-
 “fession. Yet whatsoever shall befall upon me, I accept it from the bountiful hand
 “of God. I shall stay here this day and to-morrow. Upon Monday I must change
 “my prison to Cheswick. If therefore your worship command me any thing, no
 “doubt but I shall be forthcoming *tanquam ens immobile*. Mr. dean will needs
 “persuade me, that this is a great favour to be thus restrained: but by simple philo-
 “sophy he might as well persuade a bird, it were better to live in a cage than in the
 “field. But I am afraid, *qui fecit factum, factum defendit*.” In the postscript he adds,
 “I judge the dean hath moved my lord treasurer for this restraint, to have his man
 “released from attending of me, when I come to London.”

He continued under restraint at Cheswick, when he wrote to mr. BACON on the
 11th of August 1596^k, that the abridgment of his liberty surpass’d the bounds of
 his capacity, but that he had hopes, that the arrival of the earl of Essex, who, he
 heard, was landed at Plymouth, would set him free: for which reason he inclosed a
 letter to the earl in one to mr. BACON of the 15th of that month^l, desiring that gen-
 tleman to deliver it to his lordship.

Mr. BACON on the 20th of July return’d an answer^m to sir CHARLES DAVERS’S
 letter, which had been brought by his own servant mr. YATES, thanking sir CHARLES
 for the civility of it, and professing his regard and friendship for that gentleman, whom,
 as he knew him to be highly devoted to the earl of Essex, he acquainted with such
 particularities concerning his lordship, as were brought the day before, and deliver’d
 to secretary CECIL, whilst the lords sat in council. He mentions, that since the 17th
 of June many reports had confirmed the taking of Cadiz and St. Mary Port, which
 from the circumstance of time and the probability of effect deserved no discredit.
 But that on Sunday the 18th of July letters were come from Totness to the secretary,
 that there were arrived three merchants servants of Bristol, who had been prisoners in
 Spain since March, and given information of the success. “After I had written

ⁱ Vol. XII. fol. 95.

^k Vol. XII. fol. 200.

^l Vol. XII. fol. 199.

^m Vol. XII. fol. 77.

“ thus far, *says he*, certain confirmation was brought unto me, by the report of
 “ eight hulks, that parted from St. Lucar the 24th of June, that for mine own part
 “ I do almost no less believe than desire the truth of this so joyful news, beseeching
 “ God in his mercy to perfect this his divine work speedily, by so admirable and
 “ choice an instrument as that most worthy earl.”

The situation of the two courts of England and Scotland, with respect to each other, at this time, will appear in some measure from two letters, which pass'd between secretary CECYL and mr. DAVID FOULIS, the Scots embassador. The former dated the 21st of July was in these termsⁿ.

“ Sir,

“ At such time, as your letters require not necessarily answer in writing, I am
 “ bold to return you it by messengers, hoping, that you, who are acquainted with
 “ affairs, will conceive, that all times are not alike, and not misconstrue it.

“ Her majesty hath been shewed your letter, and therein your conceit, that the
 “ king will not yet write. Hereupon she hath willed me to let you know, that she
 “ can hardly suppose, that the king will forbear an answer to her writing, especially
 “ seeing her embassador hath now freshly written, that the king had once sent the
 “ letter, and called for it again, but with assurance, that by the next day it should
 “ be sent him for the queen. So as except you have very fresh news, you cannot
 “ determine the expectation; and if you have, it then seemeth strange, that the
 “ embassador doth not as well certify this purpose as the former.

“ This expectation, whereof her majesty is uncertain, stayeth only your dispatch;
 “ and therefore I pray you, for my better information, send me word, whether you
 “ know it for certain, that the king will not write, or when your letters are dated.
 “ And thus being as desirous to have things settled as any body, which will not
 “ be by your king's four course, so soon as by the contrary, I commit you
 “ to God.

“ From the court this 21st of July 1596.

Your loving friend,
 ROB. CECYL.”

The Scots embassador's answer was as follows^o.

“ Sir,

“ The advertisement I receiv'd from Scotland of the retiring of the king my
 “ sovereign's letter from the hands of the queen's majesty's embassador there, is of
 “ the date of the 12th of this; whereby I am not certified, that his majesty is
 “ altogether resolute not to write at all, but at least not so soon; of intention perhaps
 “ (if I should presume to conjecture) to sweeten his majesty's answer upon the
 “ preceding settling of all things; whereunto I am persuaded his majesty will most
 “ easily suffer himself to be drawn both by time, as also good offices. I pray God

ⁿ Vol. XII. fol. 63.

^o Vol. XII. fol. 74.

“ her majesty may conceive so of it, for the disappointing of both their majesties
 “ enemies by the increase of that happy amity, rather than the smallest point thereof
 “ should be in any wise violated. I commit you to God.

“ From London the 22d of July 1596.

Your most affectionate to command,
 D. FOULIS.”

The lord WILLOUGHBY of Eresby being now return'd to England, mr. BACON wrote to him a letter from Essex house, where he resided, on the 24th of July 1596^p, that as his long languishing sickness of the gout, which had kept him many years, as it were, close prisoner, was the only cause, why he could not see his lordship before his last going abroad, and after sight and dutiful respects perform'd assure his lordship by mouth, how much in heart he had always honour'd his virtue and valour; so having lately understood, with exceeding joy and contentment, that his lordship was returned, he would not fail, first to congratulate the same by these few lines, and then humbly beseech his lordship to do him that favour, as to believe, that, besides the high estimation of his lordship's merit, the certain particular knowledge, which he had of his singular good lord and friend the earl of Essex's special love and respect towards his lordship, had made him, tho' unknown but by name, voluntarily and intirely devoted to do him any honour or service, that it should please him to command, or should lie in himself to perform: which not doubting but his lordship would honourably accept, he would not insist upon any farther protestations, but refer himself to his lordship's commandments, and to time and occasions to aver effectually the sincerity of this his offer and request. He concludes with beseeching God to confirm lord WILLOUGHBY's last recovery, and better daily the state of his bodily health, to the end, that thereby the rare parts of his noble mind might freely extend themselves, and give their true light for the honour both of prince and country.

Tho' the court had not yet received any authentic account of the success against Cadiz, the lord treasurer BURGHLEY wrote upon the 26th of July 1596 the following letter to the two generals¹, the earl of Essex and the lord admiral HOWARD.

“ My very good lords,

“ The want of hearing from you since your departure from England hath been
 “ here no small grief to us. Yet nevertheless in some part we have been comforted
 “ with fundry reports, that have come by the passages of the sea from the southward
 “ thro' our narrow seas, and by some Englishmen landing in fundry parts of the west,
 “ whose reports have been very comfortable unto us, declaring, that they coming
 “ from St. Lucar between the 22d and 24th of the last month understood certainly,
 “ that about that time you had entered upon Cadiz, and had there taken eighteen
 “ gallies and sunk four, and driven on land the St. Philip with four other great
 “ ships, having boarded the St. Philip, and so having taken three frigates laden
 “ with munitions for the Indies: and that on the 22d of June you took the town and

² Vol. XIII. fol. 74.

³ Certain letters written by ROBERT late earl

of Essex, &c. p. 61. MS. in 4to in my possession.

“ castle

“ castle of Cadiz; and that you defeated and repulsed 400 horse at the bridge.
 “ These particulars we have gladly received, and hoped every day to have heard
 “ from your lordships a true report hereof, and of the rest of your proceedings.
 “ But since these reports brought unto us, wherewith her majesty and all true
 “ Englishmen are comforted, there is come a report from Bayonne, that in those
 “ your conflicts there should be lost 1200 Englishmen, tho’ a greater number have
 “ been lost of the Spaniards. This report of your loss is not here published nor
 “ imparted to her majesty; but yet for my own part, I am much perplexed there-
 “ with, fearing, that if the same loss should be true, it might light upon some
 “ capital persons unmeet to be spared for the realm of England. And now consider-
 “ ing, that at the writing hereof it is more than a month since the date of your
 “ reported victories; and hearing nothing from you, your lordships may not think,
 “ but that we here are greatly perplexed for lack of certain knowledge from your-
 “ selves: and yet I doubt not but your lordships have had care to satisfy her majesty
 “ and us of your whole proceedings, since you came to the coasts of Spain, by some
 “ letters sent by special messengers. But considering, that we heard not at this day,
 “ we must conceive, that your messengers are either taken by the enemy, or perished
 “ by sea. And tho’ the same should have so happened, yet we hope, that by some
 “ second letters and messengers you have advertised us of your proceedings since these
 “ your reported victories; so as we comfort ourselves to hear much more by you
 “ since the 22d of the last month, which is the day reported of your taking of
 “ Cadiz, and likewise of the report made, that you departed the 24th from Port
 “ St. Mary to summon St. Lucar.

“ Thus your lordships do see both what we hear of, and what we desire to hear
 “ from you; and now your lordships shall hear from us our occurrents.

“ Of late the cardinal of the Spanish army made preparation to besiege Ostend;
 “ but upon the view thereof taken by some, that did approach it, it was found not
 “ expugnable by him; and therefore he sent the army into the land of Waes to take
 “ Hulst, when the count MAURICE, count SOLMES, and count HOLLOCK were
 “ present in the town. Yet the enemy hath taken all the forts about the same, and
 “ at this time I fear the next news shall be, that the town is taken, for that the count
 “ MAURICE and count HOLLOCK are both departed thence, pretending, that they
 “ had not sufficient power to withstand the cardinal’s army. And hereupon for
 “ succouring of Flushing, which may be in some danger, if the enemy * * *, we
 “ are sending out the number of 560 to supply the numbers, that have been taken
 “ thence by sir FRANCIS VERE for your service.

“ From France we find, that by reason of the cardinal’s attempting of Hulst,
 “ there is a surcease of any outward hostility in Picardy, the French king not being
 “ able to assail any towns of the enemies, as he doth alledge, for lack of ordnance;
 “ and therefore he hath distributed his army to the frontier towns in manner of
 “ garrisons. And tho’ the common bruit is in France, that there is an intention
 “ to have a peace between the said king and the Spaniard; yet within these few days
 “ the king hath absolutely affirmed upon his honour, that he will never make peace
 “ with the Spaniard without her majesty’s allowance and comprehension; and for

“ confirmation hereof he hath appointed the duke DE BOUILLON and one DES REAUX
 “ to come hither, and to ratify the late treaty offensive and defensive made here by
 “ the duke DE BOUILLON since your lordship’s departure; and that the said DES
 “ REAUX shall remain here as legier embassador. And for answering hereof her
 “ majesty had appointed the earl of Northumberland to have gone as her embassador.
 “ But the allegation of his * * * hath excused him, and so the charge is like to be
 “ committed to the earl of Shrewsbury, who is sent for to come up out of Derby-
 “ shire for that purpose: and for her ordinary embassador to remain there, her
 “ majesty hath made choice of mr. ANTHONY MILDMAY.

“ Out of Ireland I can make your lordships no good certain report, for tho’
 “ there be no open hostility shewed by the rebels, yet they in Connaught will come
 “ to no pacification by treaty, but do press to be free of the government of sir
 “ RICHARD BINGHAM, and to live in their old freedoms after the manner of the
 “ Irish under Irish captains. And to this obstinacy they are led by hope to have
 “ aid of men, or at least of money and munition, out of Spain, which generally they
 “ look for this next month of August. And yet the earl of Tyrone professeth out-
 “ wardly obedience, and pretendeth to mislike with those of Connaught. Also by
 “ many other intelligences it is doubted, that notwithstanding his fair speeches he
 “ attendeth for like succour out of Spain, and after this had, to make open revolt
 “ again. And for this purpose the lord deputy hath written to put in readiness here
 “ in England to increase his strength, (which is already in pay above 6000 men) a
 “ new number of 3000 foot and 300 horse; a matter so burthenous to this realm,
 “ especially at this season of the year, being not, till new corn may be had, to be
 “ victuall’d out of England, as the deputy requireth; so as hereof as yet her majesty
 “ hath not made any resolution: but we have been bold to send the reports of your
 “ victory, as we have heard them, to be notified.”

Mr. BACON, who took all occasions of cultivating the friendship of the lord keeper EGERTON, especially by acquainting him with the intelligence of any importance received by himself, having in a former letter particularis’d the state of the action between the two wardens, the lord SCROOP and sir WALTER SCOT laird of Baclugh, wrote again to his lordship on the 28th of July 1596^r, that having that day received in especial confidence, as his lordship’s wisdom would easily discern, a copy of the king of Scots’ last letter, which came to his embassador’s hands on the Monday preceding, July 26, he thought it worthy his lordship’s sight, sending with it the copy of her majesty’s last letter, to which the king’s was an answer, as also the act of the council of Scotland, in answer to that, which they had received from England. To this he added an advertisement, that on the Monday before both the lord treasurer and his son the secretary did not only themselves use the Scots embassador with extraordinary courtesy and respect, far differing from their former usage, and beyond that embassador’s expectation, but procur’d him, notwithstanding her majesty’s fresh *ducil*, ready and very favourable audience, at the closing of which she assur’d him very graciously, that, he should carry back an answer acceptable to the king his master, and honourable for himself. Mr. BACON desires the lord keeper to reserve

the papers to himself, and to return them to him sealed; which his lordship did the next day with a letter*, mentioning, that he had seen the acts before, and heard of the letters, adding, “I do most thankfully acknowledge these kind and friendly offices you do towards me; and in love and affection I will not fail to correspond, tho’ in means and ability I shall want.” And the day following, July 30, his lordship in another letter to mr. BACON from his house at the rolls, desir’d him to excuse his haste and forgetfulness, which were the occasions, that he had *faulted* in not returning mr. BACON’s own letter with the rest of the papers, which he now inclosed.

The earl of Essex in the end of July 1596 wrote two letters to his secretary mr. REYNOLDES, one of a more public nature, of which no copy is extant among mr. BACON’s papers; but the more private one was in these terms†.

“REYNOLDES,

“My other letter to you is to be looked on by my friends, as you shall have occasion to shew it them. But this is only for your own eyes, and after for the fire.

“You shall go to mr. CARON‡, and to monf. DE LA FONTAINE, and tell them, I am returning with this army, that is strong, rich, and proud: that they know the difference of persuading to levy an army, and soliciting to use an army already formed and disciplined: besides, the difference in the service of these two armies will be as great. Let them therefore make both themselves and their masters * * *, and see, whether they can get this army to be kept together, till we may treat of conditions for the siege of Calais; or some such like service. And if the whole cannot be kept from breaking, yet let them get some 3000 of our best men to go to keep Boulogne, and those quarters, and I will in that troop send the cream of our army. And if neither can be obtained, yet let monf. CARON be sure to keep the troops of the Low Countries, I mean those, that were drawn out from thence, from being called; which he may easily do, if he do plead the queen’s royal word given to the states in her majesty’s letter, when she required their consent to have them come away. But I hope the first, if it be well handled, might be drawn on. You shall not acquaint the one what you treat of with the other; but let them take their courses apart. And if it could be let fall to the citizens by dr. FLETCHER, that they would make some offer to the queen to that end, it would much advance the business. But he must do as only solicited by the occasion itself; and above all things none of mine must be ever seen or named in this motion. For tho’ I apprehend the importance of the service, as I ought, and prefer before all other, yea think it a great blow to our state to omit it; yet I must, like the waterman, row one way, and look another.

From your loving master.

“When I say in the beginning of my letter, that this is only for your own eyes,

* Vol. XII. fol. 16.

† Vol. XII. fol. 93.

‡ NOEL CARON, afterwards knighted, the Dutch resident in England.

“I exclude

“ I exclude all men but mr. ANTHONY BACON, who in all these things is to
 “ me as the hand, with which I write this. Commend me unto him a thousand
 “ times.

“ 28th of July 1596.”

Dr. GILES FLETCHER, whose interest among the citizens of London the earl desired in this letter to be exerted in support of his own scheme, was secretary of that city, and an eminent civilian. He was, as well as his brother, dr. RICHARD FLETCHER, bishop of London, then lately deceased, born in Kent, and was educated at Eaton school, and thence elected scholar of King's college in Cambridge in 1565, where he took the degree of doctor of laws. He was afterwards sent commissioner into Scotland, Germany, and the Low Countries, and embassador into Russia, upon his return from whence he publish'd at London in 1591 in 8vo. *Of the Russe common wealth: or maner of government by the Russe emperour, commonly called the emperour of Moskovia; with the manners and fashions of the people of that country.* In the dedication he tells the queen, that having been employ'd in her majesty's service to that emperor, he had observ'd the state and manners of that country, and by the way in his return reduced his remarks into the order, in which he now offer'd them. “ My meaning, *adds he*, was to note things for mine own experience, of
 “ more importance than delight, and rather true than strange. In their manner of
 “ government your highness may see both; a true and strange face of a tyrannical state,
 “ most unlike to your own, without true knowledge of God, without written law,
 “ without common justice, save that, which proceedeth from their speaking law, to
 “ wit, the magistrate, who hath most need of a law to restrain his own injustice.
 “ The practice hereof as it is heavy and grievous to the poor oppressed people, that
 “ live within those countries, so it may give just cause to myself, and other your
 “ majesty's faithful subjects, to acknowledge our happiness on this behalf, and to
 “ give God thanks for your majesty's most prince-like and gracious government; as
 “ also to your highness more joy and contentment in your royal estate, in that you are
 “ a prince of subjects, not of slaves, that are kept within duty by love, not by fear.” This book, which is written with great spirit and elegance, was soon after suppress'd, lest it might give offence to a prince in amity with England; but it was reprinted in 1643 in 12°. &c.

The author, who was likewise one of the masters of requests, died in the parish of St. Catherine Coleman-street, in the month of February 1610, leaving two sons of distinguished genius and learning, GILES, bachelor of divinity of Trinity college in Cambridge, who died at Alderton in Suffolk in 1623, and PHINEAS of King's college in that university, rector of Hilgay in Norfolk, and author of *The Purple Island, or the Isle of Man*, and *Piscatory eclogues*, and several other poems, printed at Cambridge in 1633 in 4to.

Mr. BACON having on the 29th of July 1596 understood from his friend mr. JACKSON, that a very honest merchant, and special friend of mr. JACKSON, was to depart on the Monday following in a ship of 200 tuns and upwards to the earl of

Essex; and that mr. JACKSON had undertaken the safe delivery of such letters, as mr. BACON should commit to his charge; he wrote to mr. REYNOLDES^w to advertise him of this, in order that he might send his letters betwixt that day and Sunday, promising to inclose them in his own packet, and to deliver them himself to the merchant's own hands before mr. JACKSON. Mr. REYNOLDES in his answer on the 30th of July^x thank'd mr. BACON for this intelligence, and engaged to prepare his letters against Monday, adding, "I am sure you hear of the late advertisements, that are come, of the taking of Xerez, and of many other honourable successes of our army. My belief is very strong, that his lordship hath both enterprized and performed great things; for so great a mind and so worthy a general cannot but accomplish things like himself. And yet I will not give credit to the particularities, as they are reported and brought by common fame, which commonly disguiseth the greatest actions; but rest in this belief, that great things are done proportionable to the report, and will trust none but his lordship's own report touching the circumstances, which cannot be long in coming, considering the wind hath so long served. This afternoon mons. CARON sent me the inclosed from mr. GILPIN, which it will please you, according to my lord's own direction, to peruse, and to use the letter, as you shall think good, according to the subject and argument thereof, and when you have done with it, to return it to me, to be sent with the other to his lordship."

Mr. BACON immediately return'd mr. GILPIN's letter inclos'd in one from himself to mr. REYNOLDES^y, in which he told him, that he had, according to the earl's direction and leave, open'd that letter of mr. GILPIN, and found in it a particular relation of what had passed in the Low Countries; but no accident or action of importance. "For the diversity, *adds he*, of flying news of my lord's happy proceedings, I know not how to improve it better than with you to believe the effects in general so far, as they concur with, or correspond to the nature of the *primum mobile*, and to pray for a particular confirmation thereof from his lordship's self."

Mr. REYNOLDES wrote again on July 30 to mr. BACON^z, that a man of the lord THOMAS HOWARD's was just arrived from the fleet, and had brought news, that they had done great service; but that it was somewhat extenuated, and did not answer the former report; nor could mr. REYNOLDES learn the particulars of his account. He added, that sir ANTHONY ASHLEY and sir ROBERT CROSS were expected at court that night with letters from the generals; but that this man had got the start of them, and told of their coming, and that the whole fleet was returning and would be arrived within ten days.

Mr. BACON sent the same day a letter to the lord keeper^a, thanking him for his good acceptance of his request, that his lordship would grant him the same favour, which he had always received of the earl of Essex, when he sent to him any private advertisements, which was either to return them, if his leisure serv'd, or to burn

^w Vol. XII. fol. 37.

^x Vol. XII. fol. 53.

^y Vol. XII. fol. 29.

^z Vol. XII. fol. 25.

^a Vol. XII. fol. 13 and 121.

them himself, his most inward secretaries having been mere strangers to the contents of those letters. He inclos'd to the lord keeper the advertisements, which he had received the evening before from Fontarabia in Spain, where the news of the taking of Cadiz was not arrived, nor possibly could be on the last of June, according to their account, being the 20th of ours, which was one day before the earl of Essex entered Cadiz. He inform'd his lordship likewise, that on the day before, the Scots embassador had audience, when he look'd for the effects of her majesty's favourable and hopeful speeches in her last; but, in lieu thereof, found her majesty quite alter'd, and perswaded to write a second letter in the same stile with her former, which the embassador refused to accept and carry, saying, he had rather be the bearer of her majesty's flat denial to continue any longer the payment of the 4000*l.* a year to the king his master, than of such a letter; protesting freely against both the want of judgment and entire good meaning of those, who had diverted, and, as he said, prevented her majesty's kind inclination towards the king.

Upon the arrival of the letters from the generals, mr. secretary CECIL gave an immediate account of the contents of them to mr. DAVID FOULIS, the Scots embassador^b.

“ Sir,

“ Our news of taking Cadiz, ransoming the prisoners, and spoiling all his shipping
 “ to the number of sixty sail, is confirmed from the generals. The St. Philip, St.
 “ Matthew, St. Andrew, and certain argosies are all taken and burnt. The whole
 “ fleet of forty sail bound for Mexico is also consumed, part by the Spaniards, when
 “ they saw no remedy, and the rest by our army. We have lost never a man of
 “ value but some 400 soldiers at the taking of Cadiz, in which were 5000 burghers,
 “ 200 old soldiers, and 800 horse of Xerez come from the main of Spain, to succour
 “ Cadiz, when our army by calms was forced to lie within a league before they
 “ could enter the port. Two of the greatest galleons are brought home laden with
 “ brass ordnance and other warlike habiliments. No slaughter was made upon cold
 “ blood, but many in fury. Three thousand ladies and merchants wives suffered,
 “ without touch, to go away with bag and baggage.

“ From the court in this haste

“ this last of July 1596.

Your very loving friend,

RO. CECYL.”

Mr. REYNOLDES likewise in his letter to mr. BACON^c inform'd him, that all the news, which the lord THOMAS HOWARD's man, who came that morning, had brought, was, as far as he could learn, that the army had taken, burnt, and spoil'd Cadiz; but he said nothing of St. Mary Port, St. Lucar, and Xerez. That they had also spoiled thirty-six ships, or rather forced the Spaniard to spoil and fire them. That four of the chief ships, which the king of Spain had, were taken; and that, the gallies all escaped under Cadiz bridge. That the generals had resolved at this

^b Vol. XII. fol. 60.

^c Vol. XII. fol. 9.

man's departure to pass along the coast of Spain to do some other service, as occasion should be offer'd. " These things, *says* *mr.* REYNOLDES, are diversly reported with us; but I receive this report from a gentleman, to whom the party, that came, deliver'd it. I send you a list of such gentlemen, as are knighted in this service. CROSSE and ASHLEY are not yet come. I fear the sea-faction do seek to disgrace my lord's noble actions. But I trust he will increase them before his return, and bring home much honour. If he come safe, he bringeth home as great a treasure, as all Spain is worth. This is my prayer continually. I beseech you, sir, let me know, if you hold your purpose to write to my lord, which this news hath yet caused me to forbear." Mr. HENRY CUFFE, the great confident and one of the secretaries of the earl of Essex, had been sent with his lordship's letters to England, and after landing us'd the utmost expedition to arrive with them at the court; but falling ill on the road, was oblig'd on Friday night July 30 to send up his letters inclos'd in one of his own to *mr.* REYNOLDES.

" Good *mr.* REYNOLDES,

" I well hoped to have seen you with the soonest, and to have been bearer of these inclosed myself. But God hath crossed my haste; for having this day travelled betwixt Portsmouth and Crook, no great journey, for it is not passing fifty-three miles, but very ill and almost intolerable way, I grew so weary towards night, that I could hardly sustain myself on my horse; and, besides my weakness, am fallen into a distemper and some accidents of a tertian; which if I hold out one other journey will undoubtedly ensue. Being forced therefore for some few days to turn over this present business of my lord to yourself (with whom otherwise I was commanded to communicate it) I desire you, that it may be discharged with no less care, than if I were present, and some greater diligence.

" The inclosed to the lords and others I pray you let be delivered with all convenient speed; and forget not my excuse to my most honourable lady, assuring her, that I will [give] my attendance as soon as it is possible.

" Amongst other things you shall receive a discourse of our great action at Cadiz, penned very truly according to his lordship's large instructions; by which, besides my own knowledge, he informed me of sundry particulars of moment in the process thereof. And after I had penn'd it as plainly as I might, altering little or nothing of his own draught, I caused his lordship to peruse it once again, and to add *extremam manum*, which he hath done, as you may perceive by the interlining. His lordship's purpose is, that it should with the soonest be set in print, both to stop all vagrant rumours, and to inform those, that are well affected, of the truth of the whole, yet so that in any case neither his lordship's name, nor mine, nor any other * * * * my lord, be either openly named, used, or so insinuated, that any slender guesses may be drawn, who was the penman. My opinion is, that the best course is presently to cause a fair transcript to be made, and so either by *mr.* TEMPLE, or some other less to be suspected (in which point I know *sr.* ANTHONY ASHLEY will most willingly lend you his helping hand) to cause it to be delivered

“ to some good printer, in good characters and with diligence, to publish it. Which
 “ course if you do not dislike, consider, I pray you, whether this preface, which
 “ I have in this my greatest weariness and distemper scribbled in haste, be tolerable;
 “ and if not (as I easily believe) I would wish you to pen a better of the same argu-
 “ ment, and prefix it, that the whole may seem a letter sent from Cadiz, and the
 “ title in the title page may be, *A true relation of the action at Cadiz the 21st of June*
 “ *under the earl of Essex and the lord admiral, sent to a gentleman in court from one,*
 “ *that served there in good place.* And withal confer with mr. GREVILL, whether he
 “ can be contented to suffer the two first letters of his name to be used in the inscrip-
 “ tion: which if he grant, he must be intreated not to take notice of the author,
 “ but to give out, that indeed he received it amongst other papers by the first
 “ messenger; but by the inscription, which may be *D. T.* or some other disguised
 “ name, (as you shall think good) could not conjecture the writer, only communi-
 “ cating it with some of good intelligence, who were present, and assur’d him of the
 “ truth thereof, and not altogether misliking the form, was the easilier perswaded to
 “ suffer it to go abroad; by which means it hath fallen into the press. If he be
 “ unwilling, you may put *R. B.* which some no doubt will interpret to be BEALE.
 “ But it skills not. The original you are rather to keep, because my lord charged
 “ me to cause either you or mons. FONTAINE to turn either the whole or the sum of
 “ it into French, and to cause it to be sent to some good personages in those parts,
 “ always observing the courses before specified.

“ These to yourself, which I send unsealed, were written before my lord had
 “ resolved to send me. Howbeit I thought good to keep them; and now, as things
 “ have fallen out, you may make use of them.

“ Remember him both to my lord of Canterbury and my lord of Shrewsbury,
 “ where he hath otherwise remembered them by writing. In a word, I commit all
 “ these things to your discretion, assuring you, that I will come to second you as
 “ soon as I can. And so with my hearty commendations in great haste I commit
 “ you to God. This weary Friday night late in the evening.

Your most assured,

H. CUFFE.”

The writer of this letter was descended of a good family in Somersetshire, where
 his ancestors had lived for four generations at Creech near Taunton in good esteem,
 one of them, JOHN CUFFE, who resided sometimes there, and sometimes at Ilchester, at
 both which places he had good inheritances, having had a coat of arms granted to him
 and his posterity by CHRISTOPHER BARKER, garter king of arms in the 36th year of
 HENRY VIII. He was born about the year 1560, and educated at Trinity college
 in the university of Oxford*, where he took the degree of bachelor of arts on the
 13th of June 1580†, and was chosen fellow of that college, but afterwards obliged
 to resign his fellowship on account of some words spoken by him to the discredit of

* Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 307.

† Ibid. Fasti. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 126.

the founder, sir THOMAS POPE. However he was soon after in 1586 elected probationer fellow of Merton college, and in 1588 master fellow ‡, and on the 20th of February that year took the degree of master of arts §. He distinguished himself early by his genius and learning, as appears from several letters of his in elegant Latin to JOHN HOTMAN *, written from Oxford in 1592, and was eminent for his skill in the Greek language, of which he was made professor^b, and chosen proctor of the university April 10 1594^c; but some time left an academical life to enter into the service of the earl of Essex as his secretary, and continued in it till the violent measures, into which he led his patron, brought them both to destruction. He was author of a book, published after his death, intitled, *The Difference of the ages of man's life: together with the original causes, progress, and end thereof*, of which there are several editions at London in 1607, 1633, and 1640. in 8vo.

MONS. CARON, the resident of the states general in England, to whom MR. REYNOLDES was order'd by the earl of Essex to communicate the substance of his lordship's private letter to himself inserted above, before the receipt of that letter wrote a long one in French to the earl from his country house at Stretham in Surrey on the 31st of July 1596^e, acquainting him, that having been inform'd by MR. REYNOLDES, that a messenger was dispatching to his lordship, he thought it his duty to give him a short view of the state of affairs, which his lordship at such a distance could not but be solicitous to know; tho' as MONS. CARON was certain, that the earl was sufficiently inform'd concerning the affairs of England, he would confine himself to those of France.

The enemy, he observed, after having abandon'd or rather suspended his enterprizes against France, had march'd with his army to make a descent upon Flanders, with a resolution to besiege the town of Ostend *, as was since known from undoubted intelligence: but finding there so strong a garrison, the fortifications so thoroughly repair'd, and so good a disposition made to receive him, he had pass'd on, and chang'd his design, directing it against the country and town of Hulst †, having transported his whole army thither, in order to make himself master of that country first, and then of the town, whither he was follow'd by count MAURICE with as large a body of troops, as he could collect. The enemy perceiving, that he could hope for no advantage, while the count continued there, made a feint of designing to pass the river Scheld, and spread a rumour of his intending to attack the town of Bergen-op-zoom or Breda, and in fact transported four or five thousand men over the river in Brabant, which gave a diversion to count MAURICE, who immediately march'd towards Bergen with three or four thousand men. But the enemy soon return'd, and in the night between the 8th and 9th of July enter'd the country of Hulst, having in his ships boats and instruments very proper for the purpose, which

‡ Ath. Oxon. *ubi supra*.

§ Fasti, col. 135.

^a See FRANCISCI & JOHANNIS HOTOMANORUM patris ac filii, & clarorum virorum ad eos epistolæ, p. 270, 277, 281, 285, 301, 318, 321, 324, Edit. Amsterd. 1700, in 4to.

^b Wood Ath. *ubi supra*.

^c Fasti, col. 147.

^e Vol XII. fol. 75.

* METEREN, l. xviii. fol. 390. verso.

† Ibid. fol. 391.

had been secretly prepar'd at Antwerp: by which means the town had been closely shut up fifteen days, tho' notwithstanding the absence of his excellence, it had exerted itself with great vigour before the enemy could land, and had destroyed a considerable number of his troops, and among them some principal officers, as BARLOTTA, TYSLING, and others. The count returning greatly obstructed the progress of the enemy, and prevented him for a considerable time from landing his whole army, which was computed to consist of fifteen or sixteen thousand foot. But superior force at last prevail'd, and they not only enter'd the country, but landed their artillery, and made a furious attack upon the principal fort defending the town, called Moerscrans, and at last became masters of it by composition. It was said, that there had been some disorder among the Dutch soldiers; for the count march'd with all possible expedition 4000 men to succour them, but found the fort already taken. The enemy seem'd then endeavouring to attack fort Nassau; after the loss of which the town, which was not otherwise very strong, would be in apparent danger of being taken. However the count was using all possible efforts in defence of it, having strengthen'd it with a very good garrison, besides 3000 men in the town commanded by count DE SOLMES. PYRON was likewise there in the capacity of his lieutenant.

Monf. CARON says, that they were very importunate for succours; and wish'd much to have sir FRANCIS VERE with his troops; which wish they threw out the more readily, as they knew the impossibility of it. This added to the inconvenience, that would attend the English generals, obliged monf. CARON to solicit the queen for other forces in the room of those of sir FRANCIS; and in consequence of her royal promise made by sir FRANCIS, in case of any danger, which might happen to the states general, the resident had urged her majesty so vigorously in two audiences within eight days past, that he had at last obtain'd the sending over of five or six hundred men, and the raising of seven or eight hundred or a thousand more upon the foot of volunteers: upon which monf. CARON was now waiting for the resolution of the states general, who in his opinion (which he had written to them) would do this better by way of recruits than of a new regiment or companies, since it was of the utmost importance to them to have these troops; otherwise it was to be fear'd, as he had inform'd the queen, if the town of Hulst should be lost, those of D'apelle, Ter Muese, and Biervelt could not hold out; and even the isles of Ter Goes and Ter Tolen would be in danger, which her majesty had such just apprehensions of, that she told monf. CARON more than once, that she wish'd, the earl of Essex and the lord admiral with the whole fleet were there. The enemy was undoubtedly endeavouring to make himself master of the whole sea coast; and his reason for it was very obvious. Count MAURICE had however written, that he wanted only three or four thousand men to make a grave there for the enemy, to whom monf. CARON wish'd some checks might be given, in order to abate his pride, which had been heighten'd by his victories in France. And that resident was in hopes, that the successes of the earl of Essex and the lord admiral, of which intelligence had been brought by very authentic reports, would likewise subdue the insolence and ambition of that great disturber of the world, who till now had never felt in his own habitation the dreadful effects of those fires and flames, which he had lighted up in almost all parts of the world. “ I assure myself, *adds monf. CARON*, that your actions and
“ exploits are truly heroic, and that God will bless and carry them still farther and

“ farther to the disgrace and ruin of the common enemy, which we have already
 “ form’d just hopes of, attended with all the devotion of soul, which we shall con-
 “ tinue to pour out in prayer, that God will preserve your lordships from all
 “ danger, and grant you an happy return.” He concludes with promising, that as
 soon as he should receive any farther news from the Low Countries, and have an op-
 portunity of a messenger, he would not fail of sending their lordships an account of it.

Mr. BACON on the 31st of July 1596 wrote to Dr. HAWKYNs^f, that he would
 not do wrong to so principal and joyful and important news, which he had receiv’d
 at that instant, as to accompany it with any other particulars, but would and must
 refer them to the next week : that the news, which he meant, was brought about
 noon by Sir ANTHONY ASHLEY, clerk of the council, that the earl of Essex was very
 well; and that there had been great service done; the particulars of which were at
 present reserv’d *pour le cabinet*, except that Cadiz was taken, and much treasure
 with little loss, but that Sir JOHN WINGFIELD was kill’d : that the earl was in pur-
 pose to return, and hoped to be in England within fifteen days, accompanied, as
 was said, with 50 new knights besides the old ones, who went out with him. Mr.
 BACON knew, that he had letters from his lordship, but that her majesty and the
 council must be first serv’d. He mentions likewise what he had forgot in his last
 letter, the death of the lord Hunsdon lord chamberlain.

Dr. HAWKYNs had before this heard at Venice of the success at Cadiz, for in his
 letter to Mr. BACON from thence of the 2d of August 1596 N. S.^g he observes,
 that the news had made great stir there, the Spaniards denying it confidently, and
 few or none daring to stand in the quarrel except the doctor himself : and tho’ the
 senate had letters of it from Turin and other places, they would not be seen in the
 matter for fear of Spain and the pope. The doctor was purpos’d at the first con-
 firmation of it to venture a public *allegrezza* throughout the city by the English
 mariners embark’d with streamers, banners, and sound of trumpets, an ordinary
 thing for other princes, yet strange for England. Yet he could not endure, that
 malice should smother so royal and glorious an enterprise, as that age had not seen any
 parallel to. He had translated the English declaration into Italian, and dispers’d
 several copies, together with the prayer made for the good success of the fleet,
 which had been given him in English by the earl of Rutland at Padua. He
 thought proper to translate this prayer into Italian, and disperse it abroad, tho’ with
 some danger of the inquisition, as it was conceiv’d in those parts, that in England
 there was neither prayer, nor knowledge of Christ, nor indeed any religion; whereas
 this being read was highly commended by all for true christian devotion.

Dr. HAWKYNs then remarks, that the truce between France and Savoy was not
 yet finish’d; and that tho’ the Spanish ambassador at Turin was in shew greatly
 against it, yet he underhand promoted it, and in heart wish’d it. He then adds
 news from various parts, and concludes with mentioning his having, according to
 Mr. BACON’s recommendation, increas’d the monthly pension of his Italian intel-
 ligencer, in hopes thereby to increase his diligence.

^f Vol. XII. fol. 17.

^g Vol. XII. fol. 156.

In another letter to mr. BACON on the 9th of August N. S.ⁿ, he thank'd him for the counsel and comfort of his last letters, declaring his intention to follow the one, and to rely upon the other; and that he found at that time a necessity to perform the service to her majesty recommended to him, the Spanish dependants, merchants, and others, having of late forg'd a letter from Piacenza, (where there was then a great fair) that the English fleet was already departed from Cadiz without doing any harm. This they thought a necessary policy, both to save the king of Spain's credit at Venice, who now stood upon the point of new imposts of money, as also to prevent the bankruptcy of a number of merchants there, which was like to occasion a great confusion throughout. Dr. HAWKYNs's opposition thereon had procur'd him some enemies, the Spaniards being enrag'd against him for this his just defence in the public piazza. However he continued firm and resolute. The day before the date of this letter he was, according to his daily custom, in the assembly of the secretaries of the several princes, where as they were talking of the particulars of the success of the English armata, which was confirm'd from all parts, one of them broke out into this speech, *O che donna, se fosse christiana*: to which the doctor taking exceptions, and standing upon her majesty's title as defendress of the faith, they all replied, *Che non era buona christiana*. Hereupon he took occasion to read the Italian translation of her majesty's prayer for the use of the fleet, which had been greatly commended of most persons in Venice, every body desiring copies of it. After reading it, he ask'd the company, what exception could be taken against its christianity? They answer'd, that it was done without the pope's authority. He replied, that *per ragione di stato* her majesty could not acknowledge the pope's sovereignty, which also had been often done in times past by the most christian kings of France. Upon which the conversation was turn'd to other subjects.

There were then running about at Venice a number of the king of Spain's *police* or blanks subscrib'd for money: but dr. HAWKYNs could yet see no great haste to satisfy him, the rather upon the fresh news come from Spain on the 20th of July, that the English had taken both the ports of St. Mary and St. Lucar of great importance; by which means they might have a sufficient supply of fresh water, the only want in Cadiz. Besides which, the Moors of Africa were said to be up in arms to besiege Ceuta, a strong fortress of the king of Spain's.

Dr. HAWKYNs then inserts news from various parts, and adds, that the action at Cadiz was more renowned thro' all those parts of the world, than any, that had happen'd in that age or the preceding one; so that they all cried at Venice, "great is the queen of England." And he takes notice, that after the taking of Calais, the Spaniard had caused it to be printed with the greatest scorn to the French, and with this *impres*e, a cock with this motto, *Quando ce coq cantera, Cales il Francos reprendra*. The doctor, who procur'd an *impres*e to be engraven of the victory at Cadiz, thought proper to add something to it in return for the Spanish bravado; but the printer would not venture upon printing it, so that the doctor

was oblig'd to disperse written copies of it; which he mention'd as an instance of the advantage, which the Spaniards had at Venice, where they might do what they pleased, while others had their hands tied behind them.

In this letter he inclosed an Italian relation of the taking of Cadiz, written at Madrid on the 18th of July 1596, N. S. which he had just receiv'd from Genoa, and which, he observes, was written without partiality by those, who had felt the smart. This relation was to the following purpose^b; that the king of Spain understanding the preparations of a great armata in England, and doubting lest it should be against Lisbon or some parts of his kingdoms, dispatch'd about the 8th of June N. S. some few light vessels from Biscay to enter the English channel, and to espy their proceedings. Of these vessels about the 23d of June N. S. there return'd two, of which one arriv'd in the port of Biscay, relating, that the English fleet, to the number of 190 sail, was departed out of the channel on the 12th of that month N. S. A courier was dispatch'd with this advice to the court at Madrid; but the officers of it gave but little credit to the intelligence. The other vessel arriv'd at Lisbon confirming it, as having sail'd in company of the fleet till within 30 leagues of that city. With this advertisement a courier was sent from Lisbon to the court; at which time they began to believe the news, doubting the design to be for Lisbon, in which place there was great fear and small resistance, and as little booty, they having dispeopled all the suburbs, and sent away all that were of no service; for which place the king of Spain sent forces both foot and horse; but they marched not with that speed, which the occasion required. At Lisbon they never had any fight of this armata, which pass'd along at a considerable distance from the shore: but at length it was discover'd at the Cape of St. Vincent, which place gave them some light to guess the design of it. The news of its arrival at that Cape coming to Cadiz, a galley was sent out to discover the fleet, which was related by that galley to consist of 180 sail and some few more. Upon this intelligence six of the king's gallies were put in readiness, with three great ships of Genoa, three others as great of Ragusa, and thirteen others, whereof were many large ships appointed to go to new Spain. All these were placed at the entrance or mouth of the haven in order of battle, guided by fourteen gallies of the squadron of Spain, with full hopes of hindering the entrance of the English. But a strong gale of wind rising in the night, and continuing the next day, they fearing some danger, thought proper to break their order, and retire themselves within the bay towards the bridge: which being observ'd by the English, who stood near the island, without turning their ships about they resolv'd to take this opportunity, seeing the entrance empty and void, and entering the haven upon Tuesday in the morning the 2d of July invested the place, and began the fight. The ships and gallies fought eight hours, always discerning the advantage to be in the English both for their great number of ships, but especially their speedy shot and brisk management of their artillery; at the end of which space the victory was manifest, the English burning and sinking the whole Spanish fleet, except a few saved, and those made unfit for any service. Of the fourteen gallies were sunk four; the rest by flight escap'd into the river of Seville; yet many of their people hurt or kill'd, being very ill provided both of good men and munition.

^b Vol. XII. fol. 155.

In the mean time, while the two fleets were engag'd, the English sent forth certain barks with 4000 foldiers, of whom were 2000 musketeers, to attack the city of Cadiz on the back side of it towards St. Sebastian, where they presently enter'd, notwithstanding the resistance of 500 genette and 1000 harquebussiers, the greater of whom came from Xerez, and all of them persons of rank; but they could not long stand the musket-shot. There were 300 and more of the horse. The duke of Arcos, commander of these companies, was dangerously wounded, but, as some said, not mortally. Of the English were killed very few, except that a Franciscan fryar in the defence of a street slew one or two of them. But by this time they took the city. There 12000 foot were landed from the fleet with the general of the land-forces, who gave strict order, that no outrage or violence should be offer'd to women, or monasteries, &c. and two Englishmen attempting to ravish a woman were immediately hang'd. The citizens and merchants of the city fled to the great church and the monastery of St. Francis, where they were treated as prisoners. Such, as were not design'd for ransom, as women and children, were sent out of the church, and the rest kept under guard. The ransom demanded was 200,000 crowns. There were offer'd 130,000; and they were in hopes to agree for 150,000. Amongst the prisoners was an auditor of the council of the Indies, nam'd doctor PETER GUSIERES, president of the house of contratation of Seville, sent thither to dispatch the fleet to new Spain. The duke of Medina, who was general in the last Spanish armada sent against England, came late for the defence of the city; a fit excuse for his want of courage, who stood all the while on an eminence five miles distant, whence he view'd the battle. The Spaniards were levying and mustering from all parts horse and foot with the greatest diligence possible, but people ill-arm'd and worse experienced. If the English were resolv'd to stay there (which was doubted) it would cost men and money enough before they be dislodg'd. The marquis DE SANTA CRUZ, admiral of the gallies, was in the battle wounded in the head not without danger, and count DE RIBADENEIRA kill'd. The damages sustain'd by the taking of Cadiz, besides the value of the city itself, and including only the merchandise, artillery, which were 60 pieces of cannon, the ransom, household stuff, shipping, &c. must amount to five millions, tho' the English would not be able to make above two and a half. The merchants in Seville were in hand to redeem the merchandize, which the English generals were inclin'd to agree to with respect to such, as they should have no use of in England. It was said, that the English had arms enough for 30,000 persons; and it was feared, they had some intelligence with the Moors in the kingdom of Fez; which if true, the whole kingdom of Spain was like to be in great danger. It was said likewise, that in the English fleet there were 30,000 fighting men besides mariners, who were very numerous. They had fix'd up four standards of England, Scotland, Denmark, Holland and Zealand. The lieutenant of the land-forces was a brother of count MAURICE, and a son of the prince of Orange. In Seville the people were in great fear, the whole country being in confusion, and apprehending still some farther danger.

Mr. REYNOLDES, after the receipt of mr. CUFFE's letter and packet, inform'd mr. BACON in a letter of the 1st of August^k, of the sickness of that gentleman,

^k Vol. XII. fol. 160.

who

who would otherwise have deliver'd the inclosed letters himself; and had mention'd in his letter to mr. REYNOLDES his having brought a relation of what had passed at Cadiz; which mr. REYNOLDES could not find in mr. CUFFE's packet, nor know how to recover it, unless sir ANTHONY ASHLEY had it, which mr. REYNOLDES thought to be the case, since the earl in his letter had told him, that sir ANTHONY was acquainted with it. The inclosed letters were dispatch'd by mr. REYNOLDES in haste, who promised to send the rest to mr. BACON, as soon as he could speak with sir ANTHONY, who was yet busy with the lords of the council.

In the afternoon of the same day mr. REYNOLDES wrote again to mr. BACONⁱ, taking notice of what he had mention'd in his letter in the morning, that the earl had referr'd him to mr. CUFFE for the particular relation of the actions of his expedition, and that mr. CUFFE himself had written to him, that he should receive that relation in the packet, which he sent, being fallen sick on the road. “But I have, *says he*, receiv'd none; whereat I do much marvel, and do doubt some sinister dealing, whereof I have intelligence, and will, God willing, impart it unto you in the morning, with all such other particularities, as are come to my knowledge.” In the postscript he added, that to clear this point the better, he now sent mr. CUFFE's letter, to whom he must either impute great negligence, or dishonesty to sir ROBERT CROSSE, who brought the packet.

Mr. BACON return'd an answer to the former of these letters^k, observing, that at the very time of his closing up that, which he had written to mr. REYNOLDES in the morning, he receiv'd his letter, and with it one from the earl to the lord HENRY HOWARD, and another to himself, “which you, *says he*, can better conceive than I express, how welcome it was to me.” This was the earl's letter inserted above, out of which mr. BACON repeats the following passage, “Let this paper deliver you my best wishes, and let all our country, and especially our particular friends, thank God for this great victory. For all things I refer you to REYNOLDES, who shall from time to time acquaint you with all he receives.” Mr. BACON then mentions, that the ship, which should have gone to the earl, was stopp'd; and he desires mr. REYNOLDES, if he should hear of any to be sent, or to go voluntarily to his lordship, to advertise him of it.

The lady RICH having left with mr. BACON on the 4th of August the letter written to her by sir CHRISTOPHER BLUNTE her father-in-law, and inserted above, he return'd it to her on the day following with a letter^l of thanks, in which he inclosed the true relation, which he had promised her, of the earl her brother's actions and success; “which malicious envy, *says he*, may shadow for a time in his absence, but the reality of his noble virtues, and the brightness of his inestimable merits, will make that shadow serve for a more glorious lustre, as the cunningest painters do theirs in their principal portraits. I doubt not but your ladyship shall understand by that, which mr. REYNOLDES told me he had written this afternoon to the virtuous countess your sister, my lord's worthy spouse, whose hands

ⁱ Vol. XII. fol. 150.^k Vol. XII. fol. 1.^l Vol. XII. fol. 201.

“ I most humbly kifs, that it hath pleased God to blefs him with a fecond victory
 “ in the taking of Ferrol, a coaft town of importance.”

The next day he fent his mother ^m a *memorative note* of (as he ftill’d it) the advantages, which accrued to her majesty by the taking of Cadiz; promifing the week following a particular relation of the whole action, which had been feconded with the poffeffing of Ferrol; for which fpecial goodnefs and bleffing of God, and the continuance thereof, prayer and thankfgiving were appointed.

He fent likewise an account of the particulars of thefe great events to the lord keeper, who, in a letter from his houfe at the Rolls, on the 6th of Auguft 1596ⁿ, return’d him thanks for the communication of them, obferving, that tho’ he was fomewhat acquainted with them before, he was glad to hear them confirm’d with fo good testimony; and wifhing, that he might have good means to fhew his love and affection to mr. BACON.

Dr. HAWKYNs on the $\frac{6}{18}$ of Auguft from Venice^{*} acknowledg’d the receipt of mr. BACON’s letter of the 10th of July, by which he found, that mr. BACON had not received his letters that week, for which he was forry, affuring him, that he had not mifs’d writing any one week fince his firft coming to Venice. “ I fear, *fays he*, “ fome juggling in 236. The mercantile politic’s fubtilty I cannot found; and fo “ let it pafs.” He thought, that Tyrone would change his conduct by the late alterations in Spain; by which the earl of Effex was become more glorious than ever any Englifh fubject had been. He was glad of the intended return of the duke DE BOUILLON to England, who was the fitteft confident for her majesty; the opportunity ferving well by the Hugonots affemblies, of which dr. HAWKYNs had heard fix days before, that the French king talking with monf. DE FAYE, the minifter of madame his fifter, what their purpofe fhould be, monf. DE FAYE answered, that they neither would nor were able to do any thing, having no head at all now that his majesty had left them. The king replied, that he would then have no other head but himfelf, whom they fhould find ready to do all good in their juft need. “ Yet dare “ I not truft this, *fays dr. HAWKYNs*, for I affure you, fir, here is of late that intrin- “ fecal friendship betwixt the pope’s legate and the French embaffador here at “ Venice, as was never before this time, infomuch as the legate’s fecretary will fome- “ times declare himfelf againft Spain for 183 and 189.” He adds, that it was written from Spain on the 18th of July, that there was made great provision of men againft the arrival of the Englifh fleet; but with fmall progrefs; that this fleet had plundered all they could, and were departed from Cadiz; upon which great wagers were laid at Venice. But dr. HAWKYNs faw not the reason of their departure, the place being of fuch great importance to threaten all Spain with raifing Africa in arms, to hinder the Indian fleet, to command the iflands of Tercere, to affure the ftreights, and even to *impatronife* Gibraltar, if they would attempt it: “ wherein, “ *adds he*, I have withftood the greateft politics here, and indeed the whole piazza, “ who affirm with one general confent, tho’ erroneoufly, that the firft attempt of “ Lifbon had been much better.” It was written likewise from Spain, that the

^m Vol. XII. fol. 102.

ⁿ Vol. XII. fol. 110.

^{*} Vol. XIII. fol. 139.

count DE CONCIONE, don JOHN DE IDIAQUES, and CHRISTOFORO DI MARO, the chiefeft counfellors of eftate, were in difgrace, and commanded by the prince to keep their houfes, on this account, that being warn'd by an Englifh jefuit there, who had advertifement by letters from his brother out of England of the purpofe and progreff of the Englifh armada, they laugh'd at and fcorn'd it, and would not communicate it to the king, pretending, that they did it not, left it fhould increafe his ficknefs.

Mr. BACON on the 7th of Auguft obferv'd in his letter to dr. HAWKYNs^p, that as he had the laft week given him the happy news of the fuccefs in Spain, as it were in the grofs; he now fent him it in detail, in a true particular relation of the whole action, which, he affur'd him, fear'd neither ftamp nor tongue, being confirmed to him from point to point by the ocular testimony of mr. CUFFE: “and therefore, “*fays he*, if you judge it meet, and can attend to make it fpeak Italian, I dare “answer for the truth thereof. I accompany it with two other papers; the one the “relation of the corregidor of Cadiz, which was found amongst his fpecial papers, “when he was taken; the other a note, containing the advantages accrued to her “majesty by this fuccefs.” He fent the doctor likewise a bill of exchange for an hundred crowns, the reimburfement of which as he did not doubt of in time from the officers of the earl of Effex, fo he did not think the reason of their delays fufficient to excufe himfelf; and therefore advanc'd the money, as he would always do, rather than the doctor fhould be any ways unfurnifh'd or difappointed. He adds, that fince the fuccefs at Cadiz, a merchant of Weymouth had brought news of the taking of Ferrol in Portugal, which was faid to have coft more men than that of Cadiz.

The fame day he wrote likewise to mr. FRANCIS DAVISON^q, then at Florence, fon of the depriv'd fecretary DAVISON. Mr. BACON begins his letter with obferving, that having received the fpecial favour and contentment of his very good friend mr. DAVISON's father, “as to have tafted, *fays he*, the fweetnefs of the firft fruits of “your travels, I mean your relation of Saxony, wherein you fhew no lefs diligence “in obferving and collecting, than judgment in orderly difpofing the fame; I would “not fail by thefe few lines to greet your fo happy beginning, and in fpecial good “will to advife you to proceed and continue; affuring you, that as you know fuch “a courfe of ftudy requireth an earneft intention of the mind, and a retentive “memory, and confequently will coft you no fmall pain; fo after fome little practice “having brought your mind, as it were, to a habit of judgment, you fhall reap “exceeding pleasure and profit answerable unto your painful endeavours.”

With refpect to the late fuccefs of their moft honourable and peerlefs earl, as he knew, that mr. DAVISON would receive an account of it otherwife, he would not trouble him with any reiteration of it, nor make any unfeemly mixture in joining any other news with fo noble and happy an event; and therefore concluded with requesting him to make account and difpofe of his fincere good will and affection, and of any friendly endeavours, that time and occafion might enable him to perform.

^p Vol. XII. fol. 111.

^q Vol. XII. fol. 192.

Mr. RICHARD HIGGONS, a friend of mr. FRANCIS BACON, being on his travels, wrote sometimes to him; and in his letter from Venice of the 8th of August 1596^r observed to him, that when he wrote his last letters, he thought to have troubled him with no more till his return from Vienna to Nuremberg: but that having as yet suspended his journey on account of the extremity of the heat, he thought proper once more to entertain mr FRANCIS BACON's remembrance with the news of Italy. He takes notice, that the king of Spain's preparations mention'd in his last letters, made first under the colour of being design'd for Marseilles, but afterwards against the Turk, departed about the 6th of July from Genoa towards the east, under the conduct of the prince DORIA for the sea, and the conde DE FUENTES for the land; the whole armada, when they left Naples, being sixty-five gallies, of which forty were the king of Spain's, very ill provided, and the rest granted to him by divers states of Italy, in aid only against the Turk. It was said, that they could land 15,000 men, but it was hardly believ'd. When mr. HIGGONS came to Genoa, which was on the 18th of July, there was brought thither certain news, that the king of Spain had sent in haste for prince DORIA to return with his forces for Spain; which the Genoese much wonder'd at, knowing the Turk to be at sea well provided, and not having then heard of her majesty's forces in Spain. And on that 8th of August, on which this letter was written, there was a certain account arrived at Venice, that the king of Spain's armada was return'd as far as the mouth of the gulf of Venice; so that the English ships, which had purpos'd to sail the next day for the east, were stay'd till that armada should pass by: and it was said, that the princes of Italy would not suffer their forces granted to proceed on any other service.

As mr. HIGGONS went from Florence to Genoa on the 14th of July, he found at Livorno 800 soldiers more than the ordinary garrison, said to be there in readiness to man forth certain gallies of the grand duke, which were to depart on the 21st of that month; these soldiers having been in the town a week before mr. HIGGONS's coming, that duke being apprehensive, that some play would be offer'd him in the passing by of prince DORIA; and the Lucchese being inform'd of these forces at Livorno, called into Lucca 2000 soldiers, under pretence of punishing certain conspirators, and being fearful without cause, that the grand duke had some purpose against them.

The news of the success of the queen of England's forces in Spain was received at Venice with great joy in general, and spoken of with great honour to the English nation; tho' they tax'd the English with a purpose to let the Moors, who were then in arms, into Spain.

There was like to be the greatest dearth, that had been known in Italy for many years past, the price of corn being doubled within the last month.

THE English fleet returned from Spain to England in the beginning of August, the lord admiral arriving at Plymouth with the greatest part of the army on the

8th, and the earl of Essex two days after, having stay'd to accompany the St. Andrew, which he undertook the charge of, and which was reputed of his squadron; and finding upon his coming to Plymouth on the 10th the army in such perfect health, as was not to be parallel'd in any other expedition, that so great a number should go out of England, and succeed in so arduous an enterprize, and return home so well^a.

The earl sent by his first messenger to London this short letter to mr. BACON^b.

“ This bearer shall tell you when and where he left me, and what hath passed
 “ since my last dispatch by CUFFE. I send him away so suddenly, as I cannot
 “ enlarge this letter. Commend me to my lord HARRY and to your brother FRAN-
 “ CIS, and I will commend you all to God's best protection. From

your true friend,

E S S E X.”

The lords of the council, upon the return of the fleet to Plymouth, sent a letter to the generals on the 10th of August^c, that her majesty had enter'd into the consideration, how their army, consisting of land-soldiers and mariners, should be dispos'd of, upon the dissolving of it, without continuance in charge. That they were commanded by her majesty to let their lordships know, how greatly it was to her disliking, that she should be now sollicitated to be put to any further expences for defraying of the wages of those soldiers and mariners, remembring the strong promises, which she had received, with so earnest protestations from both their lordships, not only to see her easy of that burden, but of assured hope of great profit and gain to defray these and all other incident charges, and to answer the preceding expences, which she had been at; having been by their persuasions drawn very hardly to disburse beforehand the sum of above 50,000*l*. To which her majesty added, as a great burthen to the realm, the great charges, which the port towns, and especially the city of London, were put to in provisions, and manning and victualing of the ships set forth by them, by which they were in expectation to be gainers for their adventures, and not losers. And therefore her majesty said, that if she should now be driven to farther expences, she should be greatly deceived in her expectation, and the assurances, which their lordships had given her, without which she would never have yielded to the voyage. With regard to the order to be taken for the land soldiers, which were computed to be about the number of 5000, of these 2200, which were drawn out of the Low Countries, were by her majesty resolved to be sent thither again in the ships of that country, to remain in those garrisons and places, whence they were taken, as had been promised by sir FRANCIS VERE in her majesty's name, but to be, according to a former direction of the council sent by the queen's command, first duly search'd, both persons and ships, and so return'd to the Low Countries directly, without touching on land in England, where those, which were before in her majesty's pay, should receive the wages due to them, as before they did. For the

^a Sir WILLIAM MONSON's naval tracts.

^b Vol. XII. fol. 171.

^c LEDIARD's naval history, B. II. chap. liii.

p. 336.

other foldiers, which were about 3000, her majesty directed the lords of the council to put the earl of Effex in mind, that there were 4000*l.* impress'd to him and the lord admiral, of which she was inform'd, that the earl had 2000: which money ought therefore to be employed towards the pay of the wages of these land foldiers.

And because her majesty, by letters lately sent out of Ireland, was earnestly called upon by the lord deputy and council there to send speedily some supply of foldiers thither, the rebels continuing in their disloyal course, tho' the earl of Tyrone had received his pardon; therefore, as the lords of the council had written to the generals, because her majesty was unwilling to burthen her countries with frequent levies, having been of late greatly charged, and these men were already in a readiness arm'd and well prepar'd, her majesty requir'd their lordships to make choice out of the said 3000 land foldiers, that were levied within the realm, to the number of 1500 or 1000 at the least, that might be speedily sent into Ireland with their captains: for which there was order sent to mr. DARROL for a proportion of victuals to be provided, both to serve them in their transportation, and after their arrival there for two months farther: and upon notice from the lords generals of their consent thereto, there should be present direction given for the embarking of the troops, and to what parts in that realm they should be directed.

Concerning the other part of the forces, consisting of mariners and sea-faring men, the lords of the council were commanded to put the lord admiral in mind of the 2000*l.* mentioned above, remaining in his hands. And therefore tho' her majesty did not doubt, but that out of so great a prizage, as was made at Cadiz, there would be ready money found to a far greater sum; yet with that 2000*l.* his lordship was to pay, so far as it would extend, first those, who were impress'd in the western parts, who, before they should be dismiss'd, were, as well as all the rest, to be search'd, and when any of them should be found to have benefited themselves with the spoil, which they had gotten, so much might be lawfully deducted of their entertainment. But if their lordships should want money to pay the residue, that were to be discharg'd, they might take up of her majesty's customers or otherwise, to the sum of two or three thousand pounds, if cause should so require, which should be repair'd in such sort, as they should appoint, her majesty having given order for the sum of 5000*l.* towards the sea-charges.

The lords of the council wrote another letter the next day, August 11, to the lord admiral^d, informing him, that her majesty would have him by all means possible to see good search made of all ships and all passengers whatsoever, that were come, or to return, according to her commission, to the intent, that both such things of price and value, as were brought home, might serve to bear the burthen of the charge: and also, that all such victuals, as in the whole army might be recover'd, might be preserved to set forth such a proportion of ships, as should be fit to lie for the Carracks or West-India fleet, as his lordship should think good in his discretion, according to her majesty's own letter.

^d Id. *ibid.* p. 342.

Mr. REYNOLDES, upon the first news of the earl of Essex's expected arrival at Plymouth, wrote a long letter to him on the 9th of August^e, that since it had pleased God to return his lordship in safety, laden with honour, the richest spoil or treasure, that the world affords, he would not now trouble him with the report of any old accidents of the court, tho' he had gather'd and observ'd some things not unworthy of his knowledge; but only prepare him to meet with the present humours and fashions there used. Since Mr. CUFFE came with the discourse of his lordship's success at Cadiz, thus things had been carried. Sir ANTHONY ASHLEY, a man, who had shew'd himself unworthy of the honour, which his lordship had bestowed upon him, came to the court on Sunday the 11th of August, who made relation of all the action the same day, first at the council-table, and after dinner to her majesty; with what applause his lordship might more particularly understand by others, because they could report out of their own knowledge, whereas Mr. REYNOLDES must do it out of other men's mouths. The greatest part, he was sure, commended it, tho' there had come a forerunner a day or two before, of purpose, as it seemed, to extenuate the action, and yet attributing much to the sea service, and in that to Sir WALTER RALEGH above all others; which was no wonder, since this forerunner was a creature of THROCKMORTON's^f. When Sir ANTHONY had deliver'd his report of the service, Mr. REYNOLDES had some little conference with him; but the chief subject of it was about the true narration of the whole, with which the earl of Essex had acquainted Sir ANTHONY, and about the printing of it. He told Mr. REYNOLDES, that it was necessary, that expedition should be us'd therein, for that the lords had commanded a discourse to be penn'd and published, to which purpose Secretary CECIL had requir'd his notes; but that he would not discover the intention of printing the other account, being so infinitely bound as he was to the earl. However the event discover'd plainly his treachery, and shew'd, that he had made it known both to her majesty and to the lords. For first a motion being made to the printers to have it published, they answer'd, that they had received an inhibition from the council by the archbishop of Canterbury, not to print any discourse of that kind without their special allowance; tho' his grace having a sight of it by Mr. REYNOLDES's means, without any mention of the earl's name, but as sent from a gentleman of the army to Mr. BACON, gave very good commendation of it, but said, that he could not by himself give it passage. What farther prov'd Sir ANTHONY's treachery was, that the next day Mr. FULK GREVILL was charg'd by her majesty to command Mr. CUFFE, upon pain of death, not to set forth any discourse of this service without her privy. Mr. BACON labour'd in this point with all the affection, discretion, and secrecy he could, both with the archbishop and the printers; which not taking effect, he resolv'd to give it passage to the earl's greater honour, by sending abroad copies of it, which the rest of his lordship's friends, to whom they were communicated, would likewise do, so that they would pass very shortly into all parts, and speak all languages, in spite of all those, who sought to have them suppress'd. "For as her majesty, *says* Mr. REYNOLDES, in her justice and royal disposition to your lordship and other worthy adventurers in this action, as also

^e Vol. XII. fol. 173.

^f Sir ARTHUR THROCKMORTON, whose sister ELIZABETH, daughter of Sir NICHOLAS THROCKMORTON, was married to Sir WALTER RALEGH.

“ for the propagation of her own fame, cannot but take great comfort in so noble
 “ a commander, and in the success of so notable exploits; so none but your lord-
 “ ship’s back friends will extenuate them, being so full of honour.”

Mr. REYNOLDES then observes, that Mr. BACON did his part for Scotland, Mr. BODLEY for the Low Countries, and monf. DE LA FONTAINE for France; to the last of whom Mr. REYNOLDES had given a copy translated into French, some small things, not much material to the point, being omitted. All of them approv’d singularly the judgment of that discourse.

Mr. BACON thought this most necessary to be done, considering, that monf. DE LA FONTAINE had received a short, and, as he term’d it, a *maigre* relation from secretary CECIL, to be presently translated and sent to the French king; which monf. DE LA FONTAINE would not let pass before he had acquainted Mr. BACON and Mr. REYNOLDES with it, the latter of whom, in order that the earl might see with what affection it was penn’d, and how little mention was made in it of his lordship’s proceedings, and so might discover how the whole was interpreted, thought proper, with the advice of Mr. BACON, to send his lordship a copy of that relation; whose own account he assur’d him should be with the French king as soon as the other. The truth was, that her majesty was wholly possess’d with discontented humours, which the earl’s backward friends nourish’d by all means possible, suggesting, that she had been abus’d in the giving away of so rich a spoil, and extenuating the worthiness of the action to his lordship’s great disadvantage; and yet attributing the uttermost to the sea-faction; so that these speeches, among others, had pass’d, as Mr. REYNOLDES was inform’d, that she had hitherto, to her great damage, been contented to follow the earl’s humours; and now he had had his desire; but from henceforth she would please herself, and serve her own. Of those, who extenuated the victory, that party was one, and the chief, who sought to hinder the voyage. And another great man being ask’d news of the expedition, answer’d, “ that there
 “ were many knights made; and that the queen should not hereafter be troubled
 “ with beggars, all were become so rich by Cadiz. But, *saieth he*, what hath her
 “ majesty by it? She hath ships enough, and ordnance enough, and may easily
 “ have more. But where is the 50,000*l.* she hath bestowed in the setting forth her
 “ navy and army to perform that service?” CORNWALLIS^g, H. BROOKE, and some others play’d also their parts. Sir WALTER RALEGH was exceedingly commended for his judgment, discretion, and valour in the sea-service, and much attributed to him. “ For his commendation from the army, *says Mr. REYNOLDES*, I do send
 “ your lordship a copy of a letter sent to Mr. JOHN STANHOPE, which is immode-
 “ rate, and a blind man may see whereat he aimeth. His friends in court do as
 “ immodestly broach and publish his praise, as well by letters as by speech. I
 “ do also send a copy of a letter of my lord admiral’s to the deceased lord chamber-
 “ lain^h, wherein, altho’ he ascribeth much to Sir WALTER RALEGH and others, yet

^g Mr. WHYTE in a letter to Sir ROBERT SIDNEY from London Sept. 23, 1595, [SIDNEY papers, Vol. I. p. 348] observes, that “ Sir WIL-
 “ LIAM CORNWALLIS often troubled her ma-

“ jesty’s ears with tales of the earl of Essex.” This gentleman was eldest son of Sir THOMAS CORNWALLIS of Broom-hall in Suffolk.

^h See above, p. 52 & seq.

“ he maketh a most honourable mention of your worthy actions. I would not omit
 “ to send your lordship these copies, that you might see with what truth or partiality
 “ things are delivered and reported.” He then takes notice, that he had delivered
 all the earl’s letters brought by mr. CUFFE, and imparted the discourse of his suc-
 cesses to those, whom his lordship had referr’d him to, and to some others of like
 affection to him, who exceedingly rejoiced at it. The archbishop carried himself
 very honourably towards the earl in procuring a thanksgiving for the victory, which
 once was granted to be general in all parts, but afterwards restrained by her majesty’s
 commandment for London only. The day before the date of this letter there was
 a sermon preach’d at St. Paul’s by a chaplain ⁱ of his grace, who truly, and with
 great applause, founded his lordship’s worthy fame, his justice, wisdom, valour, and
 noble carriage in the action, making many comparisons of him with the chiefest
 generals, and much enveighing against such, as extenuated the victory. *But, faith*
he, honour and valour will flourish, maugre malice and envy itself. “ And so, concludes
 “ mr. REYNOLDES, I doubt not but it will be, and that your lordship being returned,
 “ will be more dear to her majesty than ever, and no less honoured of your country,
 “ to whom you have brought home so much honour and happiness.”

The letter to mr. JOHN STANHOPE ^k, mention’d in this of mr. REYNOLDES, was
 written by a gentleman in the fleet, who, after a very short account of the defeat of
 the Spanish fleet at Cadiz, and the taking, sacking and spoiling of the town, adds,
 that the land-men had all, such being the pleasure of the generals. “ For when I,
 “ *says he*, demanded a house of the quarter-master general, he answered me, that
 “ he had no order from the generals to quarter any seamen under the degree of fir
 “ WALTER RALEGH, who, I think, nevertheless had not much, altho’ he deserved
 “ very much in this, that he fought so bravely with the Spanish fleet, while they
 “ were overthrown. If our sovereign mistress had seen it, it would, I think, have
 “ been a sufficient expiation of all his faults whatsoever. I have always held him to
 “ be wise, and now I am *testigo de vista*, that he is a very valiant seaman.” He
 then remarks, that he had talked with some Spanish prisoners, grave men of good
 quality, who were of opinion, that their king and his subjects were endamaged
 twenty millions of ducats by this service. That what was in the ships was lost;
 but all that was good in the town, jewels, gold, plate, money, of which there was
 good store, and an infinite quantity of merchandize, cloth of gold, silks, sugar,
 Spanish wines, oyl, rice, &c. were all to be found in the ships. But that some of
 the captains fearing probably some commissioners to meet them at home, presently
 freighted barks, and loading them, sent them to England before. “ But this I wish,
 “ *says he*, for my own part, not that there might be any wrong done, but that there
 “ might be some indifferent sharing; for I have heard some of the best Spaniards
 “ confess, that nothing dismay’d them so much as our fleet, and the countenance
 “ of the ships, and the service they did. Some few days after the generals made
 “ I know not how many knights, whereof some few did well deserve it, and others,
 “ for that they were of good quality. But the rest deserved as I did, and that was
 “ to march from Pontal into the market-place with an armour on my back and a

ⁱ Dr. WILLIAM BARLOW, who afterwards at-
 tended the earl of Essex at his execution, and

preach’d a sermon in justification of it.

^k Vol. XII. fol. 78, 79.

“ pike on my neck in an extreme hot day; which I think my grandfire BRAKEN-
 “ BURY, and many more of dr. GIFFORD’s band, would not do for all the best
 “ *encomienda* in all Spain.” He takes notice, that there were redeem’d for other
 Spanish prisoners about forty Englishmen, who had been slaves in the gallies, and
 that twelve more were expected: that HERNANDO HURTADO, captain of the gally
la Fama, brought them to the lord admiral, and that two of our ships shot at the
 gallies, as they came, and kill’d and hurt three of their men. That the king of
 Spain had been lately sick of the gout and a fever at Toledo, and was still weakly,
 as the writer was told by a Spanish gentleman: that the prince was in Madrid,
 accompanied with the constable of Castille and the duke of Alva, and many other
 brave young grandees, and, as was said, wish’d a peace with England: that the
 Spaniard, who had inform’d him of the king’s health, ask’d him of the queen’s; to
 which he answer’d, that her majesty had as strong and as healthful a body as the
 youngest maid in her court. That there were about forty slaves of Turkey and
 Barbary escaped out of the gallies, which the lord admiral sent in a small bark into
 Barbary: that on Sunday the 4th of July the town was fired in every part, except
 only the monastery of St. Francis; and till the Wednesday following the English
 fleet were in sight of the town, and still perceiv’d the fire continuing. “ It was fired,
 “ as I heard, *says the writer of the letter*, because the corregidor and the rest of the
 “ Spaniards had compounded to ransom themselves at 120,000 ducats by a day,
 “ which broken, the town was fired, and they all brought prisoners in the ships,
 “ whereof there be four in the *Ark*. Thus have I acquainted you with the chiefest
 “ matters, that have happen’d in our army, that I now remember. And this gen-
 “ tleman, mr. MAYNARD, makes haste with my lord’s private letters; and this
 “ message my lord would have employed me in, but I desired to be excused, because
 “ he had delivered the queen’s letters before to mr. A. [ASHLEY].”

The jealousy, which possess’d the earl’s rivals and the enemies of the reputation, to
 which he was justly entitled by his share in the victory at Cadiz, occasion’d likewise
 the cancelling an account of that action, after it had been actually printed by mr.
 RICHARD HAKLUYT at the end of his collection of travels in 1598, mention’d in
 the preface, and promis’d in the first title page, tho’ omitted in a new one re-printed
 for that purpose with the date of 1599, at the same time that the preface was, thro’
 inattention, suffered to continue, notwithstanding its reference to the suppressed
 narrative. But a complete copy of mr. HAKLUYT’s work being discover’d about
 the middle of the reign of king GEORGE I. that narrative was re-printed from it, in
 order to be inserted in the volume.

Mr. REYNOLDES having received the earl of Effex’s several letters by sir EDWARD
 CONWAY* on the 9th of August, wrote the next day to his lordship¹, to acquaint
 him of it, and that having, according to his order, communicated them to mr.
 BACON, he went first to monf. DE LA FONTAINE, to whom he delivered the effect

* Son and heir of sir JOHN CONWAY, who was
 made governor of Ostend in Dec. 1586. Sir ED-
 WARD was knighted by the earl of Effex at Cadiz,
 and afterwards governor of the Brill, till it was
 deliver’d up to the states. He was appointed

secretary of state by king JAMES in the 20th year
 of his reign, and two years after created a baron,
 and by king CHARLES a viscount. He died the
 3d of Jan. 1630.

¹ Vol. XI. fol. 173.

of what his lordship had given him in charge. *MONS. DE LA FONTAINE* told *MR. REYNOLDES*, that the earl had often declared his honourable affection to his master's service, and to the good of his state, by many arguments; and that this was to be reckon'd one of the greatest, that in so good an opportunity his lordship was so mindful of him, which he would not fail to advertise the king with all possible expedition, being at that instant in hand with a dispatch; and in the mean time use the best solicitation he could, and cause the duke *DE BOUILLON* at his coming to handle this point effectually; altho' he saw reasons of great difficulty therein; first from the queen, who in these motions had always been accustomed to use delay; and not finding the expedition against *Cadiz* answerable to her expectation for matter of profit to come to her coffers, he thought, that this would be the principal impediment; and that she would stop their mouths with the great charge, which she had already been at on that expedition, and the hazard and toil, which her subjects had endur'd; and would find out many excuses, because she had many discontentments. He next alledg'd the opposition, which this motion was like to find with the lords, especially the earl's ill-willers, among whom, as there were some, who much extenuated the success of that service, so he doubted not they would labour to cross this proposition for *Calais*, because, besides their envy to his lordship's greatness, he verily believed, that they rather in their hearts desir'd it should be Spanish than either French or English; for that they might hope to draw her majesty to condescend to a peace with Spain after this blow at *Cadiz*, and would be contented, in respect of future accidents and some hopes, which they might propose to themselves, that it should remain in the Spaniards hands. Thus the earl might see how freely *MONS. DE LA FONTAINE* open'd his heart, and unfolded his most inward conceits unto his lordship, which he desir'd might be lock'd up in his lordship's noble and heroical breast, requesting *MR. REYNOLDES* to tell the earl, that he expected the duke *DE BOUILLON*'s arrival in about five days, and then would put in operation his lordship's wife counsel for the good of both the states of England and France; and that if the proposition for *Calais* should be denied, they would urge and insist upon the other point for 3000 men to assure *Boulogne* and the parts adjacent; adding also for intelligence, that the king was resolv'd immediately to assemble all the states of France at *Beauvais*, because of the infection at *Paris*, to consult and deliberate of the affairs of his kingdom, and to give some good order to them.

MONS. CARON likewise acknowledg'd a great obligation to the earl in the behalf of the states general, whom he would immediately acquaint with his lordship's honourable disposition, and would not fail on the day of the date of this letter to make an overture to secretary *CECIL* upon notice of the common report of his lordship's return, and upon occasion of a letter, which sir *EDWARD CONWAY* gave *MR. REYNOLDES* to be delivered to *MONS. CARON*; who, when he had prepar'd the secretary, would desire audience of her majesty, and press those particulars, which his lordship propos'd. The latter point for the return of the men drawn out of the Low Countries, he took to be already granted, and would challenge that of her majesty, in which expedition must be used; for he fear'd, that all was in great hazard, if not already lost at *Hulst*. Some other things he imparted to *MR. REYNOLDES*, which the latter remember'd to be in *MONS. CARON*'s letter, sent the day before to his lordship in a packet by *MR. LONGUEVILLE*, a gentleman, whom the countess of *Essex* dispatch'd

dispatch'd to his lordship. He told mr. REYNOLDES also, that her majesty had allow'd ten or twelve hundred men to be immediately levied, if the states general would defray the charge; but to that point they had not yet returned any answer, and that sir ROBERT SIDNEY had orders to depart to his government at Flushing with a reinforcement of five or six hundred men to strengthen the garrison there; but he thought, that the earl's return with the army would bring forth some greater matter for their good and security.

With regard to that part of his lordship's letter relating to the city of London, mr. BACON, "zealous, *says mr. REYNOLDES*, to perform all your lordship's noble desires, hath conferred with dr. FLETCHER, and will inform you of his proceedings. "And this we have done severally and secretly, none of these knowing what hath been imparted to the other, according to your lordship's direction. All other things in your other letter touching your lordship's particular service, shall be carefully accomplish'd." Mr. REYNOLDES then remarks, that his lordship's more speedy return than some expected had much crossed their designs; for their meaning was to have holden him longer in this employment, because they would have more time to work and effect their purposes for officers and counsellors. "Their malice, *continues he*, worketh still, and her majesty is much incensed; which your lordship shall be more particularly advertised from others, that have the most secret intelligence. But honour may suffer some small eclipse for a time, but shall never lose her most glorious light, and the world doth and will the more publish and extol your worthy actions, the more that malice seeketh to obscure and oppress the fame of them. One malicious suggestion of H. BROOKE^m I forgot in my former letter, which was, that this service was but a matter of chance: that your lordship went to seek blows at adventure without any certain knowledge: *and, saith he, what if the fleet at Cadiz had been departed? what service then should your majesty have had, and to what purpose had your 50,000l. been consumed?* It pleased my lord HARRY [HOWARD] being with mr. BACON, to vouchsafe mr. LINDLEY, mr. DOWNALL, and myself his honourable presence yesterday, where we poured forth one joy together for your lordship's happy return, as those, that had thus long sat in darkness, to whom the sun once again appeareth: and talking of your lordship's bounty to the soldiers at Cadiz, he said, that your lordship had both made them dance and paid the piper." Mr. REYNOLDES concludes his letter, which he desires the earl to burn, with a prayer, that God would lengthen his lordship's days, that he might with joy return conqueror of her majesty's enemies and those of her state, and be as welcome and dear to her, as he was worthy.

Mr. BACON the same day, in a letter to the earlⁿ, advertised him, that dr. FLETCHER, directly after their conference, went to the lord treasurer, and told him, that the city of London having understood the return of her majesty's army, desir'd, that the setting out of 200 men, which the city had agreed to and dispatched the morning of the day before, might be stayed, and in their place as many might be chosen

^m Afterwards lord Cobham, condemn'd for the same treason with sir WALTER RALEGH.

ⁿ Vol. XII. fol. 183.

out of the army immediately, and such greater numbers as her majesty should think requisite to send forth out of hand. He intimated also to his lordship a general concurrence of most earnest wishes of the citizens, that her majesty would think of the recovery of Calais; to which he perceived a great readiness in the city to contribute very largely to the utmost of their ability.

To the first point the lord treasurer gave his consent, and wrote on the morning of the date of this letter of mr. BACON accordingly to the lord mayor. But to the second his answer was, that he knew not how her majesty would be dispos'd; and that he could say nothing to it till he knew her majesty's pleasure. Dr. FLETCHER said, that the next day, or the day after at the farthest, the lord mayor and his brethren, would go and make a motion to the lords of the council and some dutiful offer. "Thus, *says mr. BACON*, your lordship sees dr. FLETCHER has lost no time since yesterday morning." He then mentions the treatment, which mr. WRIGHT had received, without any cause known either to himself or mr. BACON, having been closely restrain'd by the express command of the lord treasurer and secretary for five weeks, the latter, immediately after his advancement to that post, having order'd the dean of Westminster in her majesty's name not to let mr. WRIGHT go any where. "Of this little accident, *adds mr. BACON*, in his particular case, I doubt not but your lordship's wisdom will make good illations. And so, my good lord, being constrained by mr. DOWNALL's haste to break off abruptly, I most humbly take my leave, reserving till my next such particulars, as passed yesterday betwixt my lord HARRY and myself, which I founding whether he meant to certify himself, found him then irresolute."

After the writing and sealing of this letter, mr. BACON, as he inform'd the earl in another the same day°, was with all speed and confidence advertised and ascertain'd by the concurrence of four of his lordship's principal and most devoted friends, the earl of Worcester, the lord HENRY HOWARD, sir EDWARD DYER, and mr. GREVILL, that they could not express, how the earl's coming now should be just in the nick; and that since his lordship knew the court, his person was never more necessary both for her majesty and himself, than at that instant; and that there was a plot laid to recoil his lordship, and to keep him aloof by some new employment, which it was presumed would be pleasing to him, and to that end a plentiful supply of victuals was preparing to be sent to him. "Hereof, my good lord, *says mr. BACON*, I thought it my bounden duty to certify you; and withal most humbly beseech your lordship to balance thoroughly in the depth of your wisdom the plausible offers, which may be made unto you to prolong your absence, and to oppose in time the soundness and vigour of your judgment against all such glorious temptations..

"If your lordship knew not the entire honesty of your poor bondsman, and if he did not know and rest assured, that your lordship made special account thereof, I would protest here before the living GOD upon my salvation, that in this advertisement and remonstrance I respect no way my particular, but aim only directly, and entirely at your lordship's honour and happiness."

Mr. FAUNT being at this time in attendance upon his office at court, sent mr. BACON from thence on the 10th of August some account of the occurrences there^p. With regard to the several narratives of the late expedition, he doubted not but mr. BACON had received them from the fountain-head, and more than came to most persons in that place. “ Now only it remaineth, *says he*, that the plain song being
 “ ended, the descant should have his course; whereof what I may observe, accord-
 “ ing to my small skill in music, you shall in time have the best report I can make.
 “ The business here increaseth at this present, partly thro’ the return of the navy,
 “ and partly by reason of the French causes; so as I being here alone, cannot be
 “ much idle. We say the earl will be here this night, which methinketh should be
 “ very soon since his arrival.”

The next day, August 11, mr. BACON inform’d his mother^q of the earl’s honourable, happy, and safe return: that the lord Cobham was on Sunday the 8th of that month made lord chamberlain; and that the duke DE BOUILLON was daily look’d for, and would undoubtedly hasten his coming as much as possible, to obtain of her majesty the speedy employment of the greatest part of her army, which the earl had brought home in health, wealth, and hearty courage, for the recovery of Calais, and to make it English.

The lady BACON in her answer from Gorhambury of the 12th of August^r, remark’d, that with respect to the duke’s suit for Calais, to speak her own opinion, who, tho’ unskilful on such subjects, had yet observ’d somewhat, she doubted, that it would spend and spoil the English soldiers, whom God had spar’d, and bring the plague into England, as New Haven had done the first great plague in her husband’s time^s. “ The French, *adds she*, might have prevented, and now set us at work.
 “ The Spaniard in possession; the French a looker on; and we after good success
 “ contend with great cost and charge * * * in a vain hope.” She concludes her letter with praying, that God would bless the earl, and *as he had made him strong against his enemies, so likewise against* Καρναλ Κονκυπισσενς [carnal concupiscence.]

The earl of Essex’s design of undertaking some farther service with part of the fleet and army met with great opposition from several of the principal men in both, as well as at court; in consequence of which secretary CECIL wrote to him the following letter^t, after his lordship’s return to the court, and while he was attending the fleet.

“ My good lord,

“ This day at four of the clock the lord admiral hath written, that there cannot
 “ but three ships of the queen’s go forth; and that this must be graven and grounded
 “ here, for at Plymouth they cannot: and farther the infection is great amongst the

^p Vol. XII. fol. 159.

^q Vol. XII. fol. 103.

^r Vol. XII. fol. 114.

^s In 1563. It spread over England, and in Lon-

don there died in one year about 21,530 persons.

CAMDEN, p. 76.

^t Letters of ROBERT earl of Essex, p. 71. MS.

in 4to. in my possession.

“ ships,

“ ships, and mariners run away, and that no proportion of victual to any purpose
 “ can be collected, with many other reasons. To this letter sir CONYERS CLIFFORD
 “ and the marshal have subscribed, with sir WALTER RALEGH, and the lord THO-
 “ MAS, whom first I should have named. Hereof I thought good to advertise you,
 “ the rather because I think it bootless for your lordship to stay there; for if they
 “ be not already come about with the ships, then they have discharged the land
 “ army, and so nothing left for you to do.

“ Mr. GILPIN hath sent me an abstract of the count SOLMES’s letters, who shews
 “ courage enough, and promiseth more. But I do not like their near lodging, nor
 “ his reinforcing his army with so many, as I find he hath done: and besides we
 “ have flying news, that since all this resistance, the town should be grown to a
 “ parley; which if it be, it will fall, according to the proverb. I would the mar-
 “ shal with his troops were in it at all adventures. Because you may see what good
 “ reports ladies make of you, I send you a pamphlet printed in Paris of the taking
 “ of Cadiz; and I do also send you the map of Huls, that you may better under-
 “ stand the report.

“ For the rest I leave your lordship till I see you; and wishing myself there one of
 “ your company, I remain

“ From the court August

Your lordship’s affectioned friend

“ 12, 1596.

to do you service,

R. CECYL.”

“ Since this letter written, sir WALTER RALEGH hath been with me, and assured
 “ me, that the fleet is at the Downs, and thither he goeth to-morrow morning to
 “ my lord admiral.”

The earl arriving at the court, on Wednesday the 11th of August, mr. REYNOLDES immediately wrote to mr. BACON^v, that he had caused *Jacques Petit* the servant of the latter to stay two hours, in hopes, that his lordship would come to his chamber, but that he thought it not fit to detain him any longer upon uncertainties; but that as soon as the earl should come from the queen, he would himself deliver the papers sent him by mr. BACON. That his lordship came to court about twelve, and was a little lame by reason of a fall in this posting journey. That the fleet was arrived at the Downs, and the greatest part of the army dispers’d, many with leave, the rest without license: that it was said, that they began to have sickness among them: and that the court afforded no other news, but that the worst affected made fairest shews.

Mr. BACON a few days after gave dr. HAWKYN^w an account of the earl’s return *with great honour and safety, and an army victorious, hale, and rich*; and of his arrival at court on the Wednesday; but that his lordship had ever since been continually removing to and fro from the court to the ships, and from one port to another, so that he had not leisure to make a start to his own house, or to see mr. BACON

^v Vol. XII. fol. 149.

^w Vol. XII. fol. 125.

there; who remarks, that as he was writing this, he understood, that the duke DE BOUILLON, monf. *le Grand* [Ecuyer,] and the count de St. Pol were arrived at Dover, and to be lodg'd at Winchester house, and royally entertain'd at her majesty's charge. He adds, that some of the pope's legate's * propositions and demands had made a great stir in the French king's court and council, which was divided into divers partialities, the princes of the blood drawing one way, and the constable, the duke DE BOUILLON, and the marshal DE BIRON another; the last of these having protested aloud, that if he thought the king ever meant to make war against them of the religion, he would leave his service, and venture his life, and all that he had, with the others. Mr. BACON likewise observes, that it was not yet resolved, whether the lord THOMAS HOWARD or the earl of Cumberland should return with a certain number of ships to meet with or attend the Spanish Carracks.

Sir ANTHONY STANDEN, who had attended the earl of Essex in his expedition, being at Portsmouth on the 14th of August, acquainted Mr. BACON in a letter that day ^y of his arrival there by the lord general's direction on the Tuesday preceding, with two Spanish hostages in his company, the one blind, and the other sickly thro' the hardships of the voyage, who had entreated him to rest there till after Sunday; so that they were not to proceed towards London till Monday morning. Sir ANTHONY observes, that the lord admiral taking the commodity of the wind, contrary to his former order, which was to touch at Portsmouth, was passed by with his fleet; in which he presum'd capt. LAWSON to be, who being in the small number of those, that had gain'd nothing at Cadiz, Sir ANTHONY had, out of love to Mr. BACON, made the captain half sharer with him in thirty bales of paper, and a great chest of Venice mirrors; all which might amount at least to the sum of 120*l.* so that he made account of 60*l.* each, "if your dishonourable courses there, *says he*, in bereaving "honest men of that they have exposed their blood for, do not unjustly deprive us "of it." He expresses some concern for the death of Dr. FLETCHER bishop of London, which he had heard of at his landing at Plymouth, since it imported his whole estate; as he had written to the earl of Essex, who out of his accustom'd love to him must, and, as he hop'd, would, renew his lordship's patent from the next bishop.

The multitude and hurry of the earl's affairs preventing him from seeing Mr. BACON, wrote to him on Saturday the 14th of August the following letter ^z.

"Sir,

"If monf. DE LA FONTAINE do not go before Monday morning, I will to-morrow night write somewhat to him, that he may shew the duke DE BOUILLON; "for I cannot thro' a better perspective make my heart be seen. So I rest

Your true friend,

ESSEX."

* Cardinal ALEXANDER DE MEDICIS, archbishop of Florence, who made his public entrance into Paris on the $\frac{1}{21}$ of July. L'ETOILE, Vol. II. p. 304. See THUANUS, tom. v. l. cxvi. cap. xvi.

p. 621, 622.

^y Vol. XII. fol. 98.

^z Vol. XII. fol. 169.

“ Excuse my not having been to see you, for I must not yet be absent.”

The earl a day or two after visited mr. BACON, who in a letter to his brother of the 17th of August ^a inform'd him, that his lordship had surpriz'd him, while he was at supper, protesting at the first, that he came only to see him, and not to speak with him. “ Yet, *says mr. BACON*, in this passage of his like lightning his lordship remember'd you most kindly, and said, that after the goal-delivery past (for so he called *le grand jour demain*) when he and my lord admiral are to plead and produce proof for their discharge before the queen, he would confer freely with us; and so he parted from hence to Barn-Elms.”

Mr. BACON gave mr. REYNOLDES likewise an account of this visit, which he had received from the earl, in a letter dated the day after ^b, declaring, that his eyes were so ravished with so sweet and dear an object, that they usurp'd over his mind and tongue, giving not the one leisure to think, much less the other to propound and utter any advertisements, how many or important soever he had worthy his lordship's knowledge, and yet not proper to be written, for the time, which they would require to be delivered, and in respect of their nature and quality. As their first interview was so short, and the earl's return to Essex house uncertain, mr. BACON desires therefore mr. REYNOLDES to have a special care, that he might be acquainted with his lordship's will and pleasure concerning the two packets sent a few days before of JACOMO MARENCO, and his lordship's dispatch to ANTONIO PEREZ, that he might stile his letters accordingly.

Mr. REYNOLDES in his answer ^c to this letter assur'd mr. BACON, that as soon as the earl return'd, he had acquainted his lordship with it, who could not but take as great contentment in so great love, which mr. BACON had expressed in it towards him, as that gentleman had done in that sudden sight and presence of his lordship. To the point of MARENCO's packets, the earl commanded mr. REYNOLDES to let mr. BACON know, that he would himself bring them to him the next day; but would defer writing to ANTONIO PEREZ till he had spoken with the duke DE BOURBON, and knew what that duke brought; which he judg'd very convenient, and therefore would have the messenger to stay. Mr. REYNOLDES added, with regard to himself, that he had made account to have received comfort in his own particular upon his lordship's return, but found the contrary in the highest degree, that could be. And therefore as he had ever found mr. BACON truly honourable and perfectly kind, so he could not but complain to him, and acquaint him with his purposes in this his hard fortune. He accordingly inclos'd a memorial to the earl, which the extremity of melancholy had dictated to him, and which, unless mr. BACON's wise counsel should over-rule him, he resolv'd to leave to his lordship's view. The memorial for the earl was in these terms ^d.

“ Your lordship's faithful and old servant EDWARD REYNOLDES humbly beseecheth you to peruse and consider these few notes.

^a Vol. XII. fol. 105.

^b Vol. XII. fol. 128.

^c Vol. XII. fol. 107.

^d Vol. XII. fol. 175.

“ I have serv'd your lordship eight whole years, seven with mr. SMITH, without
 “ any other colleague, who (I speak it without envy) had all the credit of the place;
 “ and for my part I had little or no profit.

“ I spent 600*l.* more than I gain'd out of my poor stock.

“ At the time of mr. SMITH's preferment your lordship knoweth, how I neglected
 “ the opportunity of the clerkship of the signet, having devoted myself wholly to
 “ your service, and desiring a third reversion of the privy seal, which it pleased
 “ your lordship to promise me to procure, and to accept of that humble offer of my
 “ service.

“ For mr. SMITH your lordship hath entertained three secretaries, mr. CUFFE,
 “ a worthy learned scholar, mr. WOTTON, a great languaged traveller, and mr.
 “ TEMPLE^c, a godly sufficient secretary.

“ Upon your late departure in this journey it pleased you most honourably to
 “ give me a lease of 50*l.* for twenty years, to increase the small helps I had before,
 “ in which time I received a great loss in my poor estate to my no small grief.

“ But the grief, that hath broken my heart, is, that after all this time and money
 “ spent, after so faithful and honest service, after the entertainment of so many
 “ others, after my insupportable loss, your lordship hath received a fifth secretary,
 “ and a good part of my former credit and employment is carried another way, by
 “ reason whereof I hold myself utterly disgraced, and through melancholy, grief,
 “ and wants am made unfit to serve you. And indeed I see little use of me, having
 “ so many other sufficient men. I have chosen to live like a beggar rather, than
 “ with discredit and disgrace, and am retired to obscurity, the poorest secretary,
 “ that ever served so noble and bountiful a person, nay the meanest justice of peace
 “ or lawyer in England.

“ I leave the key of my cabinet sealed up with sir GILLY MERICKE, where your
 “ lordship shall find all your papers in good order. For myself, I never desire to
 “ be seen more of your lordship, but will spend my time in sighing for my hard
 “ fortune, and praying for your honourable estate, and the greatest happiness your
 “ heart can wish; and so rest for ever

“ Your lordship's most poor and faithful servant,

“ E. REYNOLDES.”

* He was educated at King's college in Cambridge, of which he was fellow, and took the degree of master of arts, in which he desired to be incorporated at Oxford in July 1581. He was for some time master of the free-school at Lincoln, then secretary to sir PHILIP SIDNEY, and after the death of that great man, to secretary DAVISON, and at last to the earl of Essex. In 1609 he was

appointed provost of Dublin college, and being knighted became one of the masters of Chancery, dying in 1626 at the age of seventy-two. He was father of sir JOHN TEMPLE, one of the lords justices and master of the rolls in Ireland, and grandfather of sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, famous for his embassies and writings.

He

He wrote the same day a second letter to mr. BACON^p, intreating him to keep this memorial to himself, till he should have time to speak with him, by whose counsel he would govern himself, because he knew, that mr. BACON's affection would advise the best. He observes then, that if there were any extraordinary parts or any rare gifts in the person recommended, by which the earl might be better serv'd, he should be rather glad than griev'd at his entertainment, tho' his lordship had more than enough already, and himself among them the meanest. "But I cannot, *says he*, understand any such fame of him. I think you know the man. His name is JONES^q. He sometimes serv'd mr. vice-chamberlain and the last lord keeper. He is a great translator of books, and is preferred by mr. WAAD for a special man of language. My humble suit is, that when my lord cometh unto you, you will let fall some speech of this man's entertainment, but not as from me; and of me deliver your favourable opinion, not of any sufficiency (for I know how small it is) but of my dutiful affection to his lordship's service, which is as great as any WAAD's or JONES's in England, and no man shall go before me but mr. ANTHONY BACON. Withall it may please you to add, that having serv'd his lordship so long and so faithfully as I have done, it may be some grief unto me to be matched with such a multitude, who are like to reap the crop of my labours and long travel in the winter of his service. I must confess they are all sufficient men, but I find none of my own humour but mr. TEMPLE."

Mr. BACON in his answer to mr. REYNOLDES's first letter^r told him, that his confidence in his friendship and intire affection was no less acceptable to him, than it was grievous and irksome to him to understand the occasion of it; in acknowledgement of which friendship and trust he would freely impart his advice, which was, that mr. REYNOLDES should reserve his letter to the earl for the last refuge amidst this chaos of his lordship's business, and permit him the next day to sound his lordship aloof off in the best manner, that his discretion could devise, concerning mr. REYNOLDES, whom he assur'd he would have done it the day before, if he could have enter'd into any particulars. "And doubt you not, good mr. REYNOLDES, *says he*, that my entremise, if it bring not forth such effects, as I desire and you deserve, yet shall it not be any ways prejudicial, nor, I hope, altogether fruitless, as I mean to handle it. This my advice I submit to your censure, and am as ready to be directed by you in any other course, as for divers respects I would be loth you should as yet deliver your letter."

He wrote the next day another letter^s, in answer to mr. REYNOLDES's second to himself, that as he could not any way blame his first motions, considering the fountain, whence they sprung, and the just cause of them; so he could not but commend his second resolution, and doubted not but that he should reap by it exceeding comfort and credit ere it was long, beyond perhaps his expectation, tho' not merit; of which he dar'd constitute himself surety, and doubted not (be it spoken

^p Vol. XII. fol. 113.

^r Vol. XII. fol. 127.

^q EDWARD JONES, of whom there are some letters to mr. BACON inserted above. vol. i.

^s Vol. XII. fol. 140.

without presumption) but to turn and work that to his good, which had justly put him to grief. “ You know me, *adds he*, too well to think I would speak this by ostentation, nothing being farther off from my nature, but of my particular insight of my lord’s special love and trust towards you, and from an infallible confidence I have of my lord’s noble mind, which being so fruitful to those, who desire it before they deserve it, God forbid it should be barren to so meritorious a servant as yourself.” He concludes with expressing his impatience to hear what had past the day before in council.

Mr. REYNOLDES in a third letter ^t inform’d mr. BACON, that not an hour before the receipt of his letter that evening, he had written his second, which he now inclosed, intending to have sent it the next day; in which he was glad, that reason had overcome passion and grief so well, as mr. BACON would find the contents of that second letter in some sort agreeable to that most friendly advice, given in his: and he had such assurance of the earl’s noble disposition and justice, as that his lordship would not wrong, but in full measure right this long, chargeable, and faithful service, however he might by importunity be drawn to entertain many secretaries, “ which, *says he*, I appeal to your judgment, how little it can be to my credit in the world, when it shall be said, that for one mr. SMITH his lordship receiv’d four others. I protest unto you, sir, that this affliction of mind, join’d with the former, which I endur’d before his lordship’s return, hath gone near my heart; and I will despair to remove it, if I find any alteration of credit, which is no otherwise yet but by the entertainment of a fifth secretary.” In the postscript he takes notice, that the lords had been all that afternoon with her majesty about the matters of Cadiz; but, that he could not yet learn what had been handled. “ But I will tell you, *adds he*, that my lord hath made an excellent apology for himself in writing, answering most soundly and honorably all accusations or calumniations of error or omission, that the adverse parties may suggest; or rather charging them deeply with both, besides very wilful negligence. But you must not take knowledge of this discourse from me. It is not yet perfected. I know you shall have a sight of it. If his lordship doth not of himself offer it, I will solicit him to impart it unto you.” This piece was undoubtedly the *censure of the omissions* in the expedition, already mention’d.

Upon the receipt of mr. BACON’s second letter mr. REYNOLDES wrote to him a fourth letter ^v, thanking him for his friendship and wise counsel, by which his spirits were somewhat raised, and his grief govern’d by reason. He observ’d, that mr. JONES did not yet wait; and that indeed there was little want of either himself or the other, towards whom or any one else he was not malicious, nor would ever seek to hinder any honest man’s good or preferment, nor contradict the earl’s honourable purposes to entertain men fit for his service. “ This only I beseech you, *says he*, to believe, that I only respected in my complaint and moan made unto you my poor credit somewhat blemished by so many of one profession, whereas before for seven years space two were held sufficient; and my sufficiency hath been the more call’d in question, because my lord hath had this humour only since mr.

^t Vol. XII. fol. 146.

^v Vol. XII. fol. 157.

“ SMITH’s preferment, which makes the world to judge, that he did all the service ; whereas indeed the burden lay upon my shoulders for the most part, as his lordship’s officers do well know. But as his lordship hath ever studied to do him good, and laboured his preferment to great place for his worth ; so I trust he will at last for my faithful and honest services have me in remembrance, and prefer me to some place, now he is so well and so fully provided and furnished of secretaries ; for I see, that now I shall not live with some of them without envy. My lord is noble and honourable, and never sent strangers from him discontented, in whom there was any merit, or in whom he found any affection to his service. For merit, I can plead but little, because all I can do is nothing : but for affection to perform all acceptable service, I trust his lordship will (if he should be ask’d) witness, that it hath not been wanting ; and I will presume to appeal to your knowledge herein.” He then mentions, that the lords were again in council, and shut up with her majesty in the privy chamber ; whence it might be concluded, that their counsels were very secret ; but that the question was about the matter and spoil of Cadiz. He wished mr. BACON a sight of that excellent discourse, which the earl was in hand with ; and which, when perfect, he trusts that himself should be the messenger of.

Mr. ROLSTON in a letter to mr. BACON from Fontarabia of the 12th of August 1596^w observ’d, that since his last of the 11th of July, news had been brought thither from Cadiz, that the earl of Essex and the lord admiral had sack’d that city, where they had gain’d great riches and no less renown for their noble and worthy proceedings, and the clemency used by them, during the time of their stay there, to all sorts of people. That it was said, that they were gone towards the isles of Azores, and had sent home many prisoners of distinction. That the king had receiv’d a great blow, which was felt in many places ; and that they began now to arm, when it was too late. They were in fear, that the earl would also spoil the isles of Canaries and Terceres ; and doubted the Indian fleet, which was bringing home 12 millions ; and if that should be taken, the king of Spain would be beggar’d. The Adelantado had sent three caravals from Lisbon one after another with advices to don BERNARDINO de Avellaneda. The news of Cadiz cur’d the king of his sickness, who gave audience now to all men, who desir’d it, which he had not done for many years before. He had newly made of his council of war don BERNARDINO de Mendoza, don FRANCISCO de Bobadilla, don GABRIEL NINNO, don PEDRO de Padilla, and don FRANCISCO de Valencia.

The Spanish army was still at Port Passage, and could not depart for want of great artillery : the 800 soldiers were still aboard, and the general LUZAN had arrested all merchant ships within the province to serve the king ; at which the people murmur’d much, saying, that the king would ruin Spain with the war, of which they were weary, and desir’d a general peace.

There were come from Navarre to Fontarabia, for the states of Flanders, above 1000 horse loads of powder, match, and balls of all sorts. Four gallies were first

^w Vol. XIII. fol. 86, 87, 89.

come to Port Passage, and brought artillery for the ships; so that they would not stay long. The Adelantado was at Lisbon. Don PEDRO de Velasco, captain of the king of Spain's guards, was captain general of the army for Andalusia, and don SANCHE de Lieva general of the horse.

It was written from court, that the pope labour'd to make peace between the French and Spanish kings, tho' they had both made great preparations for war; and all the talk was how they might revenge the affronts, which they had receiv'd at Cadiz, and which had occasion'd the king of Spain to call a parliament stiled *cortes* among the Spaniards.

Letters from Madrid mention'd likewise, that Castille offer'd to serve the king with 60,000 soldiers and 200 galleys in perpetual pay, if the king would resign a rent, which he had in every part of Spain, call'd the *silla*, granted by one of the popes to the emperor CHARLES V.

DON CHRISTOFERO DI MORO was in disgrace with the prince of Spain, and many other persons of rank, on account of the sacking of Cadiz.

The pride of the Spanish nation was such, that they despis'd the forces of their enemies, and did not esteem their friends.

The king had commanded, that every town and village should be furnished with arms and artillery for war. In Fontarabia they had 200 muskets and 70 pikes, with all furniture necessary, besides what the soldiers had, who were 400 strong. In that town and Pampeluna they fortified with all diligence, and doubted, that if the peace did not take effect, the king of Spain would, before it was long, attempt something in those parts.

It was said, that that king intended to have 15 galleys at Calais in France, and was determin'd to make an harbour for them there. And it was written from Toledo, that every night since the sacking of Cadiz there were fix'd upon the posts in the corners of the streets libels and verses against the king and his council for their bad government in general. They threatned England now more than before, declaring, that they would be revenged for all the harm, which they had receiv'd.

Mr. ROLSTON, with respect to his own particular, mentions, that tho' he found himself in danger there, yet he was resolv'd to stay for some time to see what pass'd, in hope that by Mr. BACON's means he might know the queen's pleasure, whether he should return, when he could continue there no longer; in which point he desired to be satisfied by Mr. BACON, upon whom he had depended some years, and now would be glad to know what to trust to, his enemies being more than his friends, and daily persecuting him.

In another letter of the same date to Sir ANTHONY STANDEN, he takes notice of the pope's endeavours to make peace between France and Spain, and that Sir ANDREW WISE was at the court of Madrid very gallant under the title of great prior of
of

of England, a dignity conferr'd on him by the king of Spain, with a pension of 1000 crowns out of the revenues of the great prior of Castille, besides 12 crowns a month to his servant, and 25 crowns to his nephew. But there appear'd little friendship between sir ANDREW, and sir FRANCIS ENGLEFIELD, and father PARSONS. ESTEVAN DE TYNARRA, secretary of the council of war, arriv'd some days before at Lereda from Ireland.

Mr. HUDSON on the 16th of August 1596 inform'd mr. BACON^a, of his having receiv'd a packet from Scotland, and sent to mr. DAVID FOULIS, the Scots ambassador, the king's letter to her majesty, with others to the ambassador himself; and at the same time inclosed to mr. BACON his own letters, which at other times he had sent to that ambassador, to whom he had written to acquaint mr. BACON with all his letters from time to time, and what part of the ambassador's own he should think proper. He observes, that the king of Scots letter to her majesty was a very honourable and pleasing one; and he requests mr. BACON to remember the picture of the victorious earl and his fair sister, which had been promised before his last journey to Scotland, and to furnish him with an authentic copy of the account of the expedition to Cadiz.

Mr. BOWES in a letter from Edinburgh of the 19th of August^b to the Scots ambassador, after acknowledging the receipt of a packet from him with letters of the 7th of that month, and mentioning the delivery of them according to that ambassador's directions, signified to him, that he had for some days attended to receive a packet to him with the king's letter in it to her majesty, which he now sent, trusting, that by that letter the affair of BACLUGH would be satisfied, the troubles on the borders appeased, and the ambassador himself pleased with the speedy receipt of the gratuity of the money for the king his sovereign, who, mr. BOWES presum'd, had written to that ambassador of all those things at length, and with directions what should be done in them, wherein mr. BOWES pray'd for good success, towards which he had employ'd his best means, hoping, that all should sort and come to the best effect. He thank'd mr. FOULIS for his late advertisement and confirmation of the success given by God to her majesty's navy and army at Cadiz; but observ'd, that some malicious persons in Edinburgh stuck not to bark against it, and laid many wagers of round sums, that Cadiz was not taken or possessed by the queen's forces, of which mr. BOWES had little doubt. He mentions, that BACLUGH, who had been commanded by the king into custody in the castle of St. Andrew's, was suffered to return home, to settle his private affairs, and to stop all farther attempts against England by LIDDISDALE or any under him; and was to return to his confinement on the 20th of that month of August. It was expected, that her majesty would be satisfied, for the redress to be made on account of his fault at Carlisle. "I have, *continued he*, opened your way the best I can, and I pray God to give
" you good success in your travel. At this late convention at Falkland some course
" was intended to have drawn in HUNTLEY, and obtain'd his peace upon offers of
" submission to the king and church, and with condition for their satisfaction. It is
" discovered, that he is returned, and closely remaineth in this realm. Therefore

^a Vol. XII. fol. 203.

^b Vol. XII. fol. 143.

" this

“ this plot devised for him is defeated, and by the special means of the king; for the
 “ which the ministers have sent commissioners to give the king thanks, and to pray
 “ the continuance of his constancy and equity in this case; which at this time
 “ worketh fundry and divers effects.” He adds in the postscript, that at two that
 morning the queen of Scots was deliver’d of a daughter, who was that princess
 ELIZABETH married in 1613 to the elector Palatine, and still more known by the
 title of queen of Bohemia, tho’ an unfortunate one both to herself and her family.

Mr. BACON the next day wrote to dr. HAWKYNs^c, that he had that morning had
 the honour and good hap to enjoy the earl of Essex’s presence and conference a
 whole hour together, in which he assur’d the doctor, that he was not forgotten,
 and that he had signified to the earl, that he had sent the doctor the relation of the
 action at Cadiz, with which his lordship was well contented. That with regard to
 JACOMO MARENCO, his lordship found no great pith in his letters, the contents of
 them being either generalities not worth the writing, or else known before they
 came. That the duke DE BOUILLON was to have his first audience the next day, ac-
 companied with the governor of Dieppe, two counts of Friseland, and many other
 gentlemen to the number of an hundred.

Dr. HAWKYNs wrote on the same day, August $\frac{20}{30}$ from Venice^d, to mr. BACON,
 expressing his surprise, that no letters had come from England that week, and his
 apprehension, that the Spaniard had intercepted them, whose malice had prevail’d
 so far, as to stop all true advertisements from all places, lest his beggary being
 manifest to the world, his credit should utterly become bankrupt, it being already
 so low, that he could scarce borrow any great sum of money, “ the rather, *says*
 “ *the doctor*, all this part of the world being full of the glorious and most victorious
 “ progress of our English armata, which, after the sacking of Cadiz, the taking of
 “ their ports St. Mary and St. Lucar, of Ceuta and Tangier in Africa, having
 “ now passed the Streights, as is said, are lords of Malaga, by the sea-side confin-
 “ ing Andalusia and Granada, a city of great importance, being both the granary
 “ or magazine, yea, and arsenal too, of the king of Spain’s provision and ship-
 “ ping, for these parts; that by this time they command the Mediterranean sea,
 “ the islands Yvica, Majorca, and Minorca; that Carthagenas, and Alicant, most
 “ excellent ports, are already in their hands, if they will: that the whole king-
 “ dom of Valencia, where there are above 200,000 *famiglie Morefche*, all at their de-
 “ votion, and Arragon confining with it, will be ready to rise in arms against Spain,
 “ besides Portugal and other places. So that I see none but a just revenge upon
 “ Spain for their wrongs offered to all other princes; neither can I imagine how
 “ this great fire can be quenched without burning the very beard of Spain.” But
 these sanguine expectations of his were groundless upon false intelligence of the
 progress of the English arms after the success of Cadiz; and tho’ the doctor owns,
 that there had been for a long time advices from almost all parts, that the English
 had left that city, yet he could never be persuaded of it, that being a place so fit
 and so necessary both to assure their return, and to effect divers other designs on
 the other side of the Streights. He then sends the news from various parts, but

^c Vol. XII. fol. 124.

^d Vol. XIII. fol. 109.

observes,

observes, that he had receiv'd nothing that or the preceding week from JACOMO MARENCO at Venice, who having a long time before declar'd an intention of going to France to ANTONIO PEREZ, might be gone thither, from whence he had promised to write to mr. BACON ; by whose advice the doctor was resolved to winter at Venice, and to continue there till the earl of Essex should command, and mr. BACON counsel the contrary. He desires the latter to remind the lord WILLOUGHBY of Eresby of his promises to him about intelligencers at Rome, having tried two or three others without any great success.

The necessitous circumstances, in which bishop FLETCHER of London, who died not long before under the queen's displeasure, had left a numerous family, and the debt to the Exchequer for his first fruits and tenths, for which his brother dr. GILES FLETCHER, the Civilian, was security, obliging the latter to have recourse to her majesty for favour, he drew up a paper^e, intitled, *Reasons to move her majesty in some commiseration towards the orphans of the late bishop of London* ; which were as follow :

1. That the bishop was translated from the see of Worcester to that of London within two years, and so enter'd into new first fruits before he had fully paid the old. By which her majesty's good and gracious meaning for his preferment was rather turned to his great hindrance and the diminution of his temporal estate, having paid within three years, or not much more, into the Exchequer, for his first fruits, tenths, and subsidies, the sum of 1458 l.

2. He bestow'd in allowances and gratifications to divers attendants about her majesty, since his preferment to the see of London, the sum of 3100l. or thereabouts, without any regard made to himself, as appear'd by his state of particulars ; which money was given by him, for the most part of it, by her majesty's direction and special appointment.

3. Finding the building and mansion-houses of the see of London greatly decay'd, and in a manner ruin'd, he bestow'd great sums of money in reparations upon the episcopal houses at Wickham, Hadham, London, and Fulham, in which last he was at an extraordinary charge, out of respect, as well to his duty and necessary use, as to her majesty's satisfaction, hoping one day, as himself would say, after the end and pacification of her displeasure, and the recovery of her gracious favour, which of all worldly things he most desir'd, to see her majesty in his house at Fulham.

4. He employ'd himself and his whole revenue in hospitality and all other duties of his vocation, as for conscience, so with a special regard of her majesty's liking, and to provoke her reconciliation and favour towards him.

5. He satisfied the error of his late marriage with his untimely and unlook'd for death, which proceeded especially from the sense of her majesty's displeasure and indignation conceiv'd against him, bearing a most loving and reverent affection to-

wards her majesty, as ever subject did towards his prince; which might move her majesty's royal heart to some compassion towards his poor and fatherless children, of whom he left eight behind him, divers of them very young. His debts due to her majesty and other creditors were about 1400*l.* and his whole estate but one house, in which his widow claim'd her thirds: his plate was valued at 400*l.* and his other stuff at 500*l.*

This paper was sent to mr. BACON on the 21st of August by dr. FLETCHER, with a request, that he would present and recommend it to the earl of Essex, and desire the concurrence of his lordship's favourable furtherance of this memorial to her majesty, whom the lord treasurer had undertaken to move and dispose. Mr. BACON therefore wrote the next day to mr. REYNOLDES^f, to make the affair known from him to the earl at his first convenient leisure; and likewise to put the earl in mind, that he might have a sight of his lordship's first letter to ANTONIO PEREZ, "to whom, *says he*, I mean not to sing any voluntary descant, unless I have a sure plain song." He tells mr. REYNOLDES likewise, for his comfort and his own discharge of the duty of a true friend, that as in dutiful regard to the earl he thought himself bound, so he was bold to represent and testify to his lordship his own knowledge and proof of mr. REYNOLDES's faithful zealous heart and indefatigable mind in serving his lordship, and particularly in his absence: Which the earl heard very willingly, accepted graciously, and assur'd mr. BACON of his special favour and care of mr. REYNOLDES. "This, *says he*, I thought meet to let you know, as due to the merit of your intire devotion, diligence, and fidelity, which hath taken so deep impresson in my mind, as that I aspire to nothing more than to deserve the true love of so rare a servant, by witnessing the truth to so noble a lord."

He wrote the same day another letter to mr. REYNOLDES^g, inclosing two, which he had receiv'd from ANTONIO PEREZ some days before, both open'd before they came to his hands, and brought by a Frenchman, the natural curiosity and jealousy of which nation he had known and prov'd too much to look for any other dealings at their hands. He desir'd, that these letters might be presented to the earl, that his lordship might perceive the reflexions of ANTONIO's humours and present temper, and return his pleasure concerning the contents of the letters as soon as possible, since ANTONIO's servant RYVET remain'd at great charge with two horses, attending only his lordship's commandment, and not daring to present himself before his master, who, as mr. BACON thought, would be half beside himself, unless his man should bring him some few words from his lordship.

ELIZABETH^{*}, wife of the lord THOMAS HOWARD, vice-admiral in the expedition to Cadiz, and afterwards earl of Suffolk and lord treasurer in the reign of king JAMES I. having heard, that the queen claim'd the plunder of Cadiz, and that the earl of Essex was inclin'd to give up his right in it to her majesty, and imagining, that this would defeat her lord's expectation of a share in it, thought proper to

^f Vol. XII. fol. 141.

^g Fol. 165.

^{*} Daughter and coheir of sir HENRY KNEVET of Charleton in the county of Wilts.

apply in his favour to mr. BACON for his interest in that earl; which she did in the following letter ^a.

“ Your courtesy and kind offer of friendship to me the last summer, good mr. BACON, makes me the bolder to trouble you, than upon so small acquaintance. I should, with a matter of some weight; and the rather, because I am loth to trouble my uncle HARRY in dealing with one, whom he honours so much, in the behalf of his own nephew. You must needs hear, that my lord’s estate is very much engaged by this journey, and his disposition such, as can crave nothing. My hope was, that if any thing were to be gain’d, my lord should not have been left out by my lord of Essex: but yet I find he was, when every other friend of his had somewhat either in commodities or in prisoners. It was told me certainly, that in consideration hereof my lord should have for his part five thousand pounds, and sir WALTER RALEGH three. But being yesterday at the court, I heard, that the queen claim’d all, and my lord Essex, it is thought, will yield his right to her majesty, so as my lord should either have nothing, or less than at the first was promised. If it stood only upon my own good, I could be content; but since my lord’s whole estate shall fare the worse, I am bold with my friends to deal with my lord of Essex in so great an extremity. My lord hath spent already twenty thousand pounds in the queen’s service. It were hard, that in this action, wherein none are forgotten but those that lack friends, he should be thus forgotten. I will write no more, but refer the dealing to your friendship; and, if my lord find no more favour than this, never believe in any more generals. I will ever be thankful for this kindness, and ever rest,

“ Your ever assured and thankful friend

E. HOWARD.”

“ Let my lord know, that this comes to you by common bruit, and not be known of my writing: but let me know his lordship’s answer.”

Mr. BACON wrote accordingly upon this affair to the earl of Essex, who return’d him this answer ⁱ:

“ S I R,

“ I have receiv’d your letter, by the which I perceive you have heard of my lord THOMAS HOWARD’s small profiting by this journey; and that some constructions are made, that it was my want of affection to his lordship, or my too much partiality to other men. To which I answer, that I will send all those, that make this complaint, unto his lordship, who, I think, will clear me from so unjust imputation. He knows himself, I fought to do him all the honour and kindness I could. He had in the castle a house, which was reputed of equal value with any, and was sued for by sir WALTER RALEGH most earnestly. He was and is by my assignment to have 10000 ducats out of the general ransom; and if the ships had been possessed, he should have had as large a share for a vice-admiral, as either of us admirals. By pillage he did disdain to get as well as we

^a Vol. XII. fol. 164.

ⁱ Vol. XII. fol. 168, 170.

“ ourselves. But I see the fruits of these kinds of employments, and I assure you I
 “ am as much distasted with the glorious greatness of a favourite, as I was before
 “ with the supposed happiness of a courtier, and call to mind the words of the
 “ wisest man, that ever lived, who, speaking of man’s works, cryeth out, *Vanity of*
 “ *vanities, and all but vanity*; against which I oppose, that when God had looked
 “ upon all his works, he saw, that they were good. To this work therefore if I
 “ can but carry any one brick or one trowel full of mortar, I shall live happily, and
 “ die contentedly. To other works let them apply themselves, that in those earthly
 “ buildings shall be better assisted, and do themselves only delight in that kind of
 “ architecture. Hold still in your kindest affection

“ 24th of August.

Your true friend,

E S S E X.”

SIR CHARLES DAVERS having receiv’d a letter from mr. BACON, return’d him an answer from Meaux in France on the 23d of August 1596^k, that he was neither able to recompense the kind offers of his love and affection, nor the acceptable news, which he had sent him of the earl of Essex’s good success and fortune; the end whereof he prayed might be such, as the happy foundation, which his lordship had laid in the taking of Cadiz, promis’d, and his own worth deserved. “ No doubt,
 “ *says he*, but my lord hath quitted that place upon very good ground, and there-
 “ fore it is folly to call in question what great effects would have been produced to
 “ the public good, if that place had been found tenable, as it was verily hoped it
 “ would have been by divers secret enemies of the king of Spain, who dare not
 “ discover themselves, till they see him assaulted, and the way made open by
 “ others. And to this end I have heard, that a prince of no small account, upon
 “ the first news of this happy adventure, wrote unto this king most earnest and
 “ effectual letters, that he would solicit the queen to make that action; and the
 “ better to enable her so to do, that himself would likewise make some little diver-
 “ sion, at the least by the way of Arragon, assuring, that if it should appear, that
 “ these princes had a resolute determination to prosecute that course, himself within
 “ a short time would discover himself with others, who durst not as yet be openly
 “ seen to favour the action.”

With respect to the state of affairs in France, sir CHARLES observes, that he could write nothing but confusedly, according as all things were govern’d, and as they all lived there, in confusion. The king’s army, which had lately been resigned by the constable into the hands of the marshal DE BIRON, was enter’d into Artois, with purpose rather to spoil that country, than as able to attack any place of importance. The enemy was at length possess’d of Hulst by composition, but with so great loss of men and expence of munition, as tho’ they had lately join’d to their army a large levy of Germans; yet it was hardly thought, that they would be able that year to proceed to any other siege, at least of any great moment.

The king was still at Monceaux, but determin’d very soon to be at Roan, to meet

the earl of Shrewsbury, who was coming embassador from England, and whom the duke de Montpensier was appointed to receive at Dieppe, whence his lordship was to be conducted to Roan, where preparation was made to entertain him very honourably.

It was yet doubted what the issue of the treaty of Savoy would be, that duke's propositions being so disadvantageous to the king, that unless they were abated, it was not thought consistent with the king's honour either to conclude a peace, or continue the truce. The conduct of the war, if that should happen, was sued for by both the duke d'Espernon and monf. LESDISGUIERES, who had been lately reconcil'd; but it was believ'd, that the latter would prevail.

It was advertised, that the grand seignor was resolved to march in person into Hungary with a great army, having kill'd with his own hand one of the sultanas, who persuaded him to the contrary.

In this letter sir CHARLES gives a strong testimony in favour of mr. BACON's servant EDWARD YATES, who had lived a year with sir CHARLES in France, and return'd some time before to England, and was now recommended, as honest, well languaged, and practised in the French court and camp, by mr. BACON in a letter of the 26th of August to the earl of Shrewsbury¹, to be admitted into the service of his lordship, who was going embassador to France; to which that earl readily consented.

WALTER STUART, prior of Blantyre and treasurer of Scotland, wrote to mr. FOULIS the Scots embassador in England, on the same day, August 26^m, to acquaint him, that he understood, that the king had directed an answer to the queen of England, wherein he shewed himself disposed to satisfy her majesty in the matter of BACLUGH, which she esteem'd to touch her most highly in honour; and that he did this with the consent of many of his nobility and council, as well as with the approbation of every faithful man, who tender'd entirely the love and amity between these two princes.

Dr. HAWKYNs in a letter to mr. BACON from Venice of the 6th of September 1596, N. S.^a remarked, that since the disgrace of Spain at Cadiz the Spanish embassador to that state had not been seen abroad, but went the day before to visit the pope's legate, to whom, among other particulars relating to Spain, he related this story; that the king his master being sick, and talking with the prince and infanta in his chamber of the late success of England, said, that the queen of England had done that, which he never look'd for. "But now, *added he*, is the time "come, when I must sell all that I have, even to that candlestick (pointing to a "silver one on the table by him) to be revenged of this wrong." Upon which dr. HAWKYNs remarks, that he doubted not, but that proceeding as we had begun, that king's nails would be cut so short, as he would be past scratching, especially if

¹ Vol. XII. fol. 152.

^m Vol. XII.

^a Vol. XIII. fol. 73.

that extreme scarcity of grain in Italy should be a most strict restraint of victuals and all other provisions either for Spain or the Streights.

Mr. BACON's letter to dr. HAWKYNs on the 28th of August^o express'd his regret, that just upon the earl of Essex's return from Spain there should be such a stop of the doctor's letters, that he had not received one for three weeks. That he intended that week to move the earl to write again to the duke of Florence and to the clarissimo Fufcarino of Venice in his recommendation, no way repenting of his advice to him to stay there till the next spring for several good reasons. He observ'd, that the credit of sign. BASADONNA the Venetian merchant in London was every day so much declining, that he would be very soon obliged to leave England; and that a malicious plot had been formed against him by CORSINO, RIVIERA, and others, from which he could not have extricated himself, if the earl had not return'd very seasonably for his safety.

The earl of Shrewsbury was to depart on Friday on his embassy to France, where an hydra of factions began to spring up betwixt the uncles, two princes of the blood, the prince of Conti and count Soissons, and their nephew, the young prince of Condé; betwixt the true French royalists and the secret Spanish leaguers; and betwixt the catholics and the hugonots..

The day of the solemnity for her majesty's oath was appointed for the next day, August 29, tho', perhaps, it might be deferr'd upon some *questille* between the duke DE BOUILLON and the lord treasurer in council.

The disorders of the borders in Scotland were grown so great, that there were commissioners appointed on both sides, among whom was dr. PARKINS, lately made dean of Carlisle.

The lord HENRY HOWARD having, upon the sight of the earl of Essex's letter to mr. BACON concerning the lord THOMAS's share of the booty of Cadiz, written one to the earl upon his nephew's claim, his lordship returned the following answer^p.

“ Noble lord,

“ I am glad you saw my letter, and would be more glad you saw the mind, and
 “ knew the spirit, that indited it. Then you would neither think you needed to
 “ have made apology for yourself, or that I was otherwise moved than with desire
 “ to acquit myself towards your honourable friends. I have a crabbed fortune, that
 “ gives me no quiet; and the four food I am fain still to digest, may breed four
 “ humours: but I do as warily watch myself from corrupting myself, as I do seek
 “ to guard myself from others. I protest to love your nephew, and honour his
 “ noble lady, as much as I do any couple in this kingdom. But he, that is proud
 “ of his innocency, will rudely sometimes put off charges from him. To yourself

“ I say, that when you use defences to me, you do both me and yourself wrong;
 “ for I both love you, and owe too much, except I could pay you more. But I will
 “ be ever your lordship’s kindest cousin and truest servant,
 “ Greenwich this 28th of August 1596.

“ ESSEX.”

Mr. REYNOLDES the next day inform’d mr. BACON in a letter from the court^a, that the day before the duke DE BOUILLON having been all the afternoon there both with the queen and council, the earl was so deeply engaged in that and other business, that he was obliged to return mr. BACON’s servant without a letter, which he order’d his secretary now to excuse, and to assure him, that when he had finish’d his apology or censure of the omissions in the expedition to Cadiz, he would let him see the whole; but having continual use of it, requested his patience for some time. However mr. REYNOLDES promis’d to bring it some evening to mr. BACON, if he might have it again the next morning with him to court.

Mr. BACON, on the 30th of August, acquainted his mother in a letter^r, that on the Sunday preceding the queen had bestowed two white staves, having made the lord NORTH treasurer, and sir WILLIAM KNOLLYS comptroller of the household.

Mr. ROLSTON in his letter to mr. BACON from Fontarabia of the 30th of August 1596, N. S.^s gave him intelligence, that on the 14th SUBIAUR departed from Port Passage with 600 soldiers and seventeen ships, and was said to be gone to Blavet in Bretagne, to bring from thence more soldiers and artillery, which they wanted to furnish those ships. There still remain’d at Port Passage 400 soldiers, lodg’d in four houses, till the return of the rest, who by reason of contrary winds were still at Guitarrie three leagues from Fontarabia, where there was news, that the Adelantado was gone to sea with sixty sail of ships and twenty gallies, and that the count of Prada had taken with the gallies an English ship of the army, laden with horses, that would not surrender till it had lost fourteen men.

The king had confiscated all Flemish merchants goods in Seville. Upon that coast one ship of the fleet of the Portugal Indies was arrived at Lisbon, and three more were said to remain behind in the isle of Brasil.

He had sent to Cadiz three alcales de corte, who were judges, to take information against all such persons, as had not done their duty there in the defence of the city, and to execute justice upon certain captains, amongst whom were two of Fontarabia, don JOHN DE ALCAYA, and PEDRO SAINA DE DUARTE, who was captain of the galleon St. Matthew, and had flatter’d himself with sacking London, but was now in danger of being hang’d.

Many of the nobility of Spain were with the king at Toledo, labouring very earnestly to stir him up to attempt something against England in revenge of so notable an injury, that nothing like it had happen’d in many years to Spain, their

^a Vol. XII. fol. 147.

^r Vol. XII. fol. 106.

^s Vol. XIII. fol. 232.

reputation being, as they declar'd, concern'd in making reprisals for it. Levies were making of men in all parts; and it was said by some, that the loss of Cadiz had doubled the king's forces. It was reported likewise, that the lord admiral HOWARD was return'd to England sick, and with him twenty-five ships; and that since his departure there had arrived seventeen ships more, which join'd the earl of Essex, who stay'd to wait for the other flota, under the command of don BERNARDINO DE VILLANEDA.

Mr. ROLSTON mentions, that his account in his letter of the 12th of the pope's endeavours to make peace between France and Spain, was now confirmed with this addition, that the cardinal de Medicis was at Paris, and that the English ambassador was gone thence much discontented. He adds likewise, that he believed, that the king of Spain would not refuse any reasonable conditions to have peace in his days.

Dr. HAWKYNs in his letter from Venice of the 13th of September N. S. ^t thank'd mr. BACON for his relations of the taking of Cadiz, which he promis'd to translate into Italian, and disperse them thro' Italy; and wish'd, that he had a picture of the queen to accompany them. " This, *says he*, and other her majesty's most glorious "*res gestæ* have so filled this part of the world with her renown, as all stand "*astonish'd* in admiration of her greatness, and an infinite number have instantly "*desired* at mine hands her picture; which I am the more desirous of, in that I find "*here* of late given abroad the same, but so evilly done, and so unlike, as I am "*angry* to see it. I would be glad to join my most honourable good lord's picture, "*whose* heroical virtues have made his fame pass the Alps and the Apennine "*besides.*" The doctor expresses his joy at the taking of Ferrol in Portugal, "*the* "*patrimony*, *says he*, of don ANTONIO, most addicted to him of all the rest, whose "*son*, the young prince, if he be there, is thought shall find partakers enough in "*Algarva* and other provinces there adjoining. The country is fertile, and "*by* reason of the hard and mountainous passage will scant admit any succours from "*Spain.*"

GILBERT earl of Shrewsbury being now ready to go ambassador to France, to take the oath of HENRY IV. to the treaty made with England, and to present sir ANTHONY MILD MAY, who was to continue there ambassador in ordinary, the queen on the 4th of September 1596 wrote by them several letters in French^y, two to the king, one for taking the oath, and another for accepting the order of the garter; to the constable of France, and to the duke de Montpensier; all which were sent by the earl; and a third to the king by sir ANTHONY MILD MAY; by whom also she sent letters to madame, the king's sister, the constable, and the duke de Montpensier. This earl was descended of the antient and noble family of TALBOT, and son of GEORGE earl of Shrewsbury by his first wife GERTRUDE, daughter of THOMAS MANNERS earl of Rutland. He succeeded to the title and estate upon the decease of his father November 18, 1590, during whose life he had been summon'd to parliament, where he sat as a baron. He was install'd knight of the garter June

^t Vol. XIII. fol. 280.

^y Vol. XIII. fol. 80, 126, 127.

20, 1592, but enjoy'd no public office in the reign of queen ELIZABETH except his embassy to France; and the only one, which he held under her successor king JAMES, was that of guardian and chief justice of all the forests beyond the Trent. He died at his house in Broad-street in London on the 8th of May 1616, having had issue by his wife MARY, daughter of sir WILLIAM CAVENDISH of Chatsworth, knt. GEORGE, who died in his infancy, and three daughters, heiresses to the greatest part of his lands, MARY, married to WILLIAM earl of Pembroke, ELIZABETH to HENRY earl of Kent, and ALETHEIA to THOMAS earl of Arundel.

Sir ANTHONY MILD MAY, the other embassador, of an antient family in Essex, and eldest son of sir WALTER MILD MAY, who died in the post of chancellor and under-treasurer of the exchequer to queen ELIZABETH on the last of May 1589, enjoyed his father's estate in Northamptonshire, and his seat at Apethorp in that county. He was knighted by her majesty the same year, in which he was sent embassador in ordinary to France; after his return from whence he does not appear to have been in any other public employment. By his marriage with GRACE daughter and co-heir of sir HENRY SHERINGTON of Lacock in Wiltshire, he left issue one daughter MARY, married to FRANCIS FANE earl of Westmoreland.

Mr. BACON on the 4th of September sent dr. HAWKYNs " an account of the occurrences of the week preceding, since his last letter of the 28th of August. Among these he mentions, that on Sunday the 29th the solemnity of the oath to the league with France was perform'd by the queen with all princely courtesies and compliments, her majesty feasting the duke DE BOUILLON that day at her table, being serv'd in all state possible; for the better accomplishment of which two officers were created, and two white staves bestowed, on the lord NORTH as treasurer of the household, and sir WILLIAM KNOLLYS, uncle of the earl of Essex, as comptroller, who were both the next day sworn of the privy council; " and it is hoped, *says he*, that " their preferment will serve for some counterbalance, and bring forth honourable " effects for her majesty's service." On Tuesday the earl made a magnificent banquet to the duke and all his train at Essex house, at the expence of at least a thousand marks. The duke was to take his leave on the day of the date of this letter, her majesty having presented him with a very rich cupboard of plate priz'd at 2000 marks, and a valuable jewel to monf. DE CHASTE, governor of Dieppe, who was to depart that very day by the French king's command to prepare and provide for the earl of Shrewsbury, who was to set out for France on the Monday following, the 6th of September.

The certain news, which arrived that week of the safe return of the Spanish West-Indian fleet with twenty millions, greatly and justly incens'd the queen against those, who forced as it were the earl of Essex to return, after he and the lord THOMAS HOWARD had protested, and caused their protestations to be registered, which they sign'd with their own hands, that their advice and resolution was to go to the islands, and stay for the fleet: " which resolution, *says mr. BACON*, if it had pleased God " might have been performed, our sovereign had been the empress of the world,

“ and this crown given law to all Christendom. But what will you? *non era disposta in cielo. Neceſſe eſt*, ſaid our Saviour, *ut ſcandala eveniant; ſed vae illis, per quos.* Sir WALTER RALEGH hath enough of theſe *væ*’s laid upon him for having diſſuaded my lord admiral from joining with my lord of Eſſex, and perſuaded an untimely, unlucky, and moſt diſhonourable return.”

The lord BURGH was order’d by the queen to accompany the duke DE BOUILLON into the Low Countries, to aſſociate the ſtates general in the league.

Ireland was not yet quiet, though TYRONE had accepted the queen’s pardon.

The duke DE BOUILLON having, before his departure, viſited mr. BACON, the latter wrote to him in French on the 5th of September *, that he ſent thoſe few lines to ſupply the want of his own perſonal attendance, which he was prevented from paying by his indiſpoſition; otherwiſe he would have been the laſt, who would have remain’d on the ſhore till the wind ſhould have carried the duke out of ſight, whom he thanks for the honour of his viſit that day, and promiſes to be always at his devotion; expreſſing great reſentment againſt the injuſtice and malice of ſome perſons, whom he would not condeſcend to name, and whom the duke knew.

Mr. BACON ſent his mother, in a letter of the 7th of September †, an account of the duke’s viſit to him on Sunday the 5th, and his departure on the 7th; and that the embaſſadors of the ſtates general were arriv’d to be join’d with her majeſty and the French king againſt their common enemy, the Spaniard; and that it was ſaid, that the king of Scots, and the king of Denmark, his brother-in-law, and other princes of Germany, would likewiſe be invited into the league. He adds, that on the day before the earl of Eſſex feaſted in Eſſex houſe the lord admiral, ſecretary CECIL, and divers of the nobility; and before dinner was done was ſent for by the queen, “ who, ſays mr. BACON, for the moſt part, out of herſelf, uſ’d him moſt graciouſly; and I doubt not but will more and more by God’s goodneſs, ſo long as he continues his Chriſtian zealous courſe, which he hath begun ſince his return, not miſſing preaching nor prayers in the court, and ſhewing true noble kindneſs towards his virtuous ſpouſe intirely without any diverſion.” He adds, that the ſtate of Ireland was more dangerous than ever, notwithstanding the falſe ſubmiſſion of TYRONE, and his acceptance of her majeſty’s pardon.

The duke DE BOUILLON, after his departure from London in his way towards Holland, ſent from Margate a letter to the queen on the $\frac{1}{2}\frac{3}{4}$ of September ‡.

In this letter the duke declares, that he ſhould be wanting in his duty, if he ſhould leave her majeſty’s dominions without returning to her his moſt humble thanks for the continual teſtimonies, which ſhe was pleaſed to give, of her regard for and good will towards him, during his reſidence in England: Nor could he avoid repreſenting to her majeſty (tho’ he was apprehenſive, that it would be in vain) how reaſonable and important an aſſiſtance it would be to the king his maſter,

* Vol. XIII. fol. 8.

† Vol. XIII. fol. 7.

‡ Vol. XII. fol. 145.

if her majesty would furnish him with the 2000 men, demanded by him, in order to strengthen his army, and prevent the necessity of its repassing the river Somme, which would deprive him of the means of applying himself in good earnest, (as he might, and had determined to do, according to a letter from mons. DE VILLEROY to the duke) to the recovery of what he had lost, and enabling himself not only to support his army, but to repay to his neighbours what they had lent him, not including that small sum of 20,000 crowns, for which the duke and mons. DE SANCY stood engaged, and which they could soon pay without ruining themselves; and therefore there was no reason to retard the king's affairs on that account, as seem'd to be implied in a paper sent to the duke by secretary CECIL. The duke likewise observes, that if the passage of the troops should be delay'd till her majesty was inform'd of the king's being with his army in Picardy by her ambassador, who or his letters, might be detain'd by the wind; and if her majesty should not consent to the sending the succours requisite to the king, she might, after the event, be concern'd to have lost the opportunity of executing to great advantage one of the principal points contain'd in the league. He desir'd her to excuse his frankness in this remonstrance, as proceeding from the affection of one, who was as zealous for the union of the two crowns, as the king of Spain was to divide them.

This letter was sent by mons. DES REAUX, the French ambassador, to secretary CECIL, inclos'd in one from himself*, desiring sir ROBERT to deliver the duke's letter as soon as possible to her majesty, who would see by it still more clearly the necessity, which the king had of an immediate aid of 2000 men, to prevent the enemy from forcing his army to repass the Somme, and to give him leisure to pursue the course, which he was deliberating about for the reformation of his finances; which would be very difficult to be effected, or to reap any advantage from them soon, if that aid was not sent to him. Mons. DES REAUX therefore desir'd, that her majesty would consider, that if she should delay the transporting of the troops, till she had advice of the king's arrival at his army, according to the secretary's last paper, how much time might be lost by contrary winds, of which there was already but too much proof, and what dangers the king's army would be expos'd to, which would afterwards give her majesty great regret and concern. That the king would no sooner have done the business, for which the earl of Shrewsbury was sent over, but he would go to Picardy; and that it might be easily conceiv'd what a satisfaction and advantage it would be to him to find the 2000 men demanded so seasonably there; which assistance would give him time to breath and to wait for the enemies, in case they should advance towards him, as it was probable they would, on account of the victory gain'd by the marshal DE BIRON, of which the French ambassador sent inclos'd a more exact account than that, which had been before sent by a merchant of Dieppe. He concludes his letter with desiring an answer from the secretary, and the queen's last resolution, in order that he might immediately finish a dispatch to France.

The earl of Essex having procur'd a very intelligent spy in Spain, the latter wrote to his lordship on the 10th of September from the Escorial a long letter^b, which

* Vol. XIII. fol. 106.

^b Vol. XIII. fol. 275.

began thus: “ The care J. C. had to comply with you, according to his promise
 “ and your promerit, caused him, being scarce as yet fully freed from the hands of
 “ those, that detained him under colour of inclining too much towards his own
 “ clime and country, to delegate me to supply his place, then and there to hear
 “ your report and relation of such occurrents, as imported in that place he and
 “ I then resided in; which by reason of the absence of WILLIAM MILBOURNE from
 “ Cadiz, the man appointed for that purpose, could not be conveyed; but that a
 “ new inconvenience rising of the contriving of that message thro’ the over-great
 “ circumspection and double diligence of your friends in those parts, did disable your
 “ said servant from prosecuting and performance of his said desires in far deeper
 “ degree than before.

“ The letters were directed to mr. GEORGE CURWYN: the inclosed were to mr.
 “ WILLIAM CRURON at the sign of the Sun in Watling-street, or to mr. WAAD
 “ in Wood-street, in which you were advertised of the state of things in these parts,
 “ and of the profers and projects of two to carry out of England other great per-
 “ sonages, whom neither then I named, nor now I specify, fearing of these, as I
 “ found and felt of those; for so it pleased mr. CURWYN to open, read, and com-
 “ municate with divers your secrets, and, as I am informed, to send up to the
 “ council.

“ Things in these parts stand still in the same estate. The most of the nobility I
 “ will undertake to make assured, as I then made proffer, only one excepted,
 “ whose dictamens are far different from the rest of his *Murawes*; and he only hath
 “ been heard, accepted, and regarded, and well dispatched in these parts, albeit
 “ all are dismissed with hopes and helps little or great. How you may serve your-
 “ self of these men and these means, that either are already there, or presently are
 “ to follow, JAMES CURWYN in person will come to the place you shall appoint,
 “ and either by word or writ inform you more at large.

“ For our own house and hermitage, certain it is, the last pilgrimage you made,
 “ if you look not well about you, will put it in danger. For albeit in that journey
 “ you gained honour, love, estimation, and opinion of valour, resolution, and
 “ government of a mild, moderate, and merciful inclination and disposition, and
 “ so forth; yet on the contrary part, such, as were almost desperate, and driven by
 “ dangerous for their affairs in that court, thanked God on their knees, and
 “ plainly avowed, that an angel from heaven brought you thither to rouse up their
 “ dulled spirits in these parts. And the king himself, that languished before, and
 “ slept, and died living, holding all kind of suitors in suspense, without any kind
 “ of dispatch, was so nettled with the news of your success, that presently he awaked
 “ out of his dream, and dispatched more in three days at that time than was done
 “ in three years before.”

The writer of this letter remarks, that J. CUMMINS, who was then present in
 Toledo, had desired him to advise his lordship what had passed in particular in
 that court upon that accident of the taking of Cadiz. All men’s reasonings, reports,
 and relations of the earl were such, and so honourable, that from the first to the last

omnes omnia bene dicere. The king's verdict was, *Tal hidalgo non sia visto entre herejes*: the infanta's, *E de enemigo tan bien nos traça este Conde, que aria fiando amigo*: the rest of the council, *En verdad es hombre de grande governo*: the common people, *Lastima es de tener guerra con tan buena gente y tan nobile.*

Don SANCHO DE LEVA being in haste dispatched for *maestro de campo*, and sent with good provision with all expedition to Seville, said to don JUAN de Jedia, *Ho no os agradeço a vos otros por este despacho, si no al conde de Essex; par que si no vincra, mereria de hombre.*

The earl's giving his hand to kiss; his remaining in conversation with eight or nine Spaniards alone and unarmed; his protection given to all of a religious profession; his clement, courteous, moderate, and modest behaviour towards nuns, virgins, and dames of honour; his easy impositions and ransoms, especially in dismissing the president of the contratation house and Indian bishop of Cusco; all these circumstances had procur'd him such fame, love, renown and honour in all those parts, that they were to be exchanged for no treasure, no millions, no Indies. "And hereby, *says the writer*, your honour may see, how far they err, that are so peremptory and permanent in that opinion of persecuting the poor catholics at home, and staining, blotting, and blemishing other their heroical acts with this foul note and cruel characterisation of heading, hanging, and havocking their own blood and bowels."

It was thought, that the earl's conquest was to him in value five or six millions, and the loss to the Spaniards above ten: but his lordship miss'd the greatest part of the treasure, being buried under the dead carcasses in the cathedral.

What he did in his return at Lago, Faro, and the Groyne, was very closely concealed at court, and communicated to few on account of the baseness of their own behaviour. And if a ship, which his lordship sent home with sick men, had not been taken, and in it certain letters, which were interpreted, the particulars of the loss of Cadiz would have been strangely extenuated.

A corregidor of Cadiz deliver'd a message from sir ANTHONY STANDEN to a friend of his in the king's palace in the hearing of divers great men, which was, *que el era Catolico, y auxi pensava di morir; mas ser il conde de Essex su protectore no pudo decar de seguirlo in esta impresa, y per no estar al a puerta di don CHRISTOVAL di Moro y de don JUAN de Idiaques, si hallato entonces en Cadiz.*

The court of Spain were in deliberation, upon hearing of the earl's noble proceeding, to have sent a man known to him, to have treated with his lordship upon certain points, which he should know hereafter: and not long before another person of importance was dispatch'd by the way of sir ANTHONY STANDEN, to have treated with the earl upon the same affairs. But don JUAN de Idiaques's resolution at last was, that the earl being now in the pride and ruff of his victory, it was no time to deal by way of treaty and capitulation.

ss And

“ And thus much, *says the writer of the letter*, for your part of the place, with
 “ this only advertisement, that with as great facility you had taken Lisbon or
 “ Seville, as you did Cadiz, as appear'd by the general fear and flight out of both
 “ places.”

He then remarks, that in the court, upon the surprize of that city, there were great rumours, mutinies, outrages, and private meetings of the grandees; and deliberations to take the prince from his father, or the king from his favourites, which were now reduc'd to a duumvirate, don CHRISTOPHORO di Moro and don JUAN de Idiaques; one of whom was said to want a head, as incident to his nation, and the other a heart, so that there was fix'd up at the corners of the streets, *La nobile defensa di Cadiz per D. CHRISTOFORO di Moro y don JUAN Idiaques y si representa*; and the king coming out in public, and the prince in a procession in his regality, a man cried out, *Alegremos nos y par que dos medios reys encontramos, un vejo, que no quiere, y un mozo que no save*. But all these revolts were suddenly appeas'd, partly by the earl's departure, which was wonder'd at, and partly by the promises and protestations of the king and his privados to delay no longer the armada against England; and to that purpose a contribution was immediately made of thirty millions, not in money, but in the pay of men to the number of 70,000.

The duke of Medina Sidonia was like, besides the shame and dishonour, which he suffer'd, as being generalissimo of the ocean of Andalusia, to have don PEDRO de Velasco, captain of the guard, sent to confront him with the title of general of Andalusia; and the Adelantado with that of general *del Esercito*. Besides this the merchants and contratation house desir'd restitution of their goods, because the duke burn'd the fleet before order came from the court, which was to pay to the ransom demanded by the earl. The assurances given, that the king would prosecute the expedition against England with all possible expedition, had compos'd matters. The Adelantado, who was at Lisbon, was confirm'd general at sea and land, with ample authority to his contentment, and with don GABRIEL NINNIO of the council of war for maestro de campo, and the conde de Palma for general of the cavalry. The marquis de Montes claros, and divers other greatmen, SOVOIRA and BRITONDONA were now join'd with him: all manner of ships embark'd, the squadron of the Indies expected; and the Adelantado had, as he wrote, there more men than soldiers; for half of them could not tell how to handle an harquebus. When he came first to Lisbon, the four governors having order to confer with him in a place for that purpose, they all in their majesty sitting in chairs provided a little stool for the Adelantado, who entering saluted them in order, and looking for his place, and seeing the stool, ask'd what it meant. They answer'd, that there was his place. He in choler spurn'd the stool, and turn'd his back upon them, saying, *Locos y locos todos, y los que os a qui pusieron por gobernadores*. What pass'd on his part with the favourites before he accepted the charge; with what mind, provision, and resolution, he was coming against England; what capt. CISNEROS did in Ireland; what was the bait to draw men to their line; what means were propos'd to pacify all Christendom; what books were in the forge to accompany this machine; what was their subject; these were points, which the writer was not willing to commit to such dangers, as his letter was

like to pass; as also how the earl might prevent divers or most of those dangers, “ if
 “ it please you, *says he*, to relent a little in your hard kind of proceedings against
 “ catholics. But upon that hope and that condition, J. CUMMINS will not be
 “ induced to stir one foot, but retire himself into some corner to pour forth
 “ prayers daily and effectually for the remedy and redress of his poor brethren, the
 “ most part of which, he is assur’d, symbolise with him in the aversion from
 “ foreign government and invasions. If you think him necessary, and give him
 “ hope to prevail in this point for some mitigation and oversight for such, as
 “ sincerely seek their salvation without mixture of other management of estate, if
 “ you think the matter worth such expedition, send in post, and he will be with
 “ you, or where you appoint, in post. And this he assureth you, the only means
 “ to settle and confirm your credit gained in the voyage, to win the hearts of your
 “ compatriots, as you have of *externes* [foreigners,] is to use that courtesy and
 “ clemency with the one, as you have done with the other.”

The Indian fleet enter’d the bay of Lisbon without passing round the cape two days after the departure of the English.

There had been great dealing and capitulations in June past for the king of Scots. But who was his agent, what his offers, what his demands, what his dispatch, what his projects, in case his king perform’d not what was expected from him, tho’ points of importance to the earl of Essex to know, must be deferr’d till the informer should hear from his lordship, and be nearer him.

Mr. NORTH gave the most particular relation of all the ports, shipping, forts, and forces of England, that had been seen. He made proffers to take Hull castle, and to carry her majesty out of England. However he was like to be called before the inquisition for having two wives, one in England, and the other in Toledo. Capt. CRIPES was so necessitous, that he had scarce a shirt to his back. Mr. FIGER was recall’d from Lisbon as a man in too high favour with the governor, and too great a friend to his countrymen, and was commended to the bishop of Seguenza for assisting and defending one HOLLIDAY and WOLSELEY. Dr. STAPLETON for saying, that he would defend the book of succession with his tongue and pen, was now received into favour, and the pope solicited to send for him to Rome: and with regard to that book there remained something in the ink-pot.

The writer desires, in return for this letter, to be inform’d what Scots noblemen were in France or the Low Countries, especially concerning the earls of Angus and Errol, whom he knew *intus & in cute* to be men, who intended no hurt either to their own king or to England; which the earl of Essex should see testified with their own hands; and it was of consequence to gain them, since his lordship would have need of all, as the world went.

The dukes of Joyeuse, Espernon, Lorraine, and Mercœur, and the marquis de Villars still kept their agents and correspondents in Spain.

It was once resolved, that man, woman, and child, except those of a religious profession,

profession, should be perpetually exil'd out of Cadiz, and a garrison maintain'd with the revenues. But upon better consideration this design was laid aside.

The Adelantado was thought by the common people to be cruel, covetous, and not at all belov'd by his soldiers. Don GASPARD de Paredes solicited aid for don JUAN del Aguilla against the duke de Mercœur, in favour of the infanta; while mons. TURNIBON, that duke's agent, sought to fix the sovereignty in him and his posterity.

Don PEDRO de Valdes was extremely desirous of a post, but his pride would accept none but that of admiral, which don DIEGO BROCHERO of the order of St. JAGO already had. His treatment of young RADCLIFFE was barbarous; but he now said, that the earl of Essex having taken some of his friends in his expedition, he must for their sakes alter his style. He was the most rude, ungrateful, and inhuman Biscayner ever known, and a capital enemy to all the English nation without exception; which ought to be remember'd, if ever he fell again into the earl's hands.

The putting to death of F. MICHAEL SANCTOS, and the history of DONNA ANNA de Austria, and that of the prince of Arcoli, were not set down, as being stale, and nothing to the purpose of the correspondence.

The duke of Feria refused the government of Catalonia. It was said, that the constable and the duke of Passana were to accompany the prince's spouse.

Don BERNARDINO de Mendoza was in extreme disgrace, and lived like an hermit, abandon'd by all the world.

The writer of this letter adds, that if his lordship knew with what doubt he stood, and with what solicitude of finding a man faithful and to the purpose, to whom to commit the conveyance of it, he would not wonder at the counterfeit character, or the blots, disorders, and defects of style in it. That the conveyer of them was one THO. CHESTER, a man known to him only by name, to whom he sent his servant, who had taken of him a recēt for the two packets, one of which mr. CHESTER would send by the way of Rochelle to the mayor of Barnstable; the other over land.

“ The confidence I have, *says he*, your honour will open a gap, that men of good
 “ meaning may freely profess to serve you, maketh me to adventure my life, credit,
 “ and honour in sending this, and coming myself, if you call; the rather, for that
 “ I see the crisis is now at hand of this ten years contagion and sickness between
 “ Spain and England. And certain it is, either their monarchy must fall, or Eng-
 “ land must lie at their devotion very shortly. And upon this action is founded
 “ this festination, that hath driven them to haste, and me to venture; for before, all
 “ other machinations I held *pro ludo & joco*, and therefore contained myself without
 “ moving from the place I was, and course I followed: but now seeing the iron *in*
 “ *incude*, and their Trojan horse, which hath been these seven years in labouring,

‡ He had been ambassador in England, whence he was sent away.

“ near

“ near the walls, and the business reduced to ripeness and *ad ἔκτατον*, I could forbear
 “ no longer. For certain it is, this year coming either the Spanish monarchy will
 “ have a mighty blow, or our country a new face and form of men, manners, and
 “ masters. *Juravit, fidem dedit, in se suscepit; ignotum est, creditum est, tacitum est;*
 “ and so were matters here composed. And to this purpose are some sent into Italy
 “ to shew the necessity of the enterprize, the facility, the safety, in considering it,
 “ where neither the grandeur of Spain shall be augmented, nor the people of Eng-
 “ land tyrannised, nor other potentates or princes catholic prejudiced. If you
 “ cannot attend to give order in this case, commit it, I pray you, to my old host
 “ and friend mr. WAAD.” He subscribes this letter, *The man you met first and last*
in Wood-street.

The coldness, which had continued long between the lord treasurer and his nephew mr. BACON, on account chiefly of the attachment of the latter to the earl of Essex, came at last to some eclairsissement by means of the dowager lady RUSSEL, aunt of mr. BACON, and sister of the lord treasurer's lady. After a conversation with his lordship upon what had passed between her and mr. BACON in a visit, which she had made to him, she wrote to him on the 8th of September 1596^d, that in respect of secrecy she thought this the best way of making relation of the lord treasurer's answer, which she desir'd might be return'd as soon as read, without being imparted to any person, lest she should reap displeasure for her good will. “ I find, *says*
 “ *she*, my lord treasurer unfeignedly very honourably and friendly disposed to your-
 “ self, pitying himself your estate of sickness, and sorrowing to hear, that you have
 “ diminished what your father left you. He much misliketh your conversing with
 “ STANDEN and WRIGHT, who being at the first directed to the lord treasurer, you
 “ caused him, as he saith, to come to the earl, after you had procured him to come
 “ to yourself first. And, which he more misliketh, you wrote to the dean of West-
 “ minster, as a commandment from the earl, to keep WRIGHT still, who is said to be
 “ a papist and a maintainer by open disputations contrary to true religion
 “ blasphemously. Yet this WRIGHT and STANDEN be so inwardly with you, and
 “ such companions, as none can be greater; which he wisheth you to leave. Be-
 “ side he saith, that never did he mislike in his heart to have you embrace the
 “ friendship and kindness of the earl; but is glad thereof. Neither did he ever
 “ think the earl not his friend: only he misliked, that after such kindness so many
 “ years receiv'd from my lord treasurer, you would not impart so much to him;
 “ that would have been glad of any such good or other to yourself. He saith,
 “ that you know, that he went a day sooner than he would to Windsor once to
 “ prefer you in all kindness to her majesty, saying, that you were fallen sick by
 “ the way, but would return as soon as your sickness would permit. He prayeth
 “ you to set down, wherein justly in any one thing you can charge him with the
 “ least unkindness. For the seven score pounds laid out for STANDEN by his war-
 “ rant for her majesty's service, it was not his office to see you consider'd, but mr.
 “ WALSINGHAM's, who should have seen it paid. He confesseth he was offended
 “ with you for falling out with PLESSIS^e, who complain'd of it home, being to the
 “ king as he was; and for conversing with a bishop and other bad fellows, whereof

^d Vol. XIII. fol. 75, 113.

^e PHILIP DE MORNAY seigneur DE PLESSIS MARLY.

“ he wrote unto yourself. And yet, notwithstanding my lord had not suffered
 “ one^f to return into France to you, you sent for him again, as bad and lewd a
 “ fellow as could be. If you have more than a warrant for these and other deal-
 “ ings, he is glad with all his heart; but he hath great cause to doubt the contrary.
 “ He never knew, that you might have been one of the four chamberlains in
 “ France about the king, nor ever heard of it till now. He knoweth not what
 “ you mean by real assurance, for that you would believe no more words. He
 “ took it, that you meant, you would believe no more his words, saying, that he
 “ would not write nor bestow words but upon those, that would believe them. I
 “ answer’d, that I thought not that to be your meaning, for that you had letters
 “ from his lordship already; but rather some real assurance from her majesty by
 “ some deed to your good. He protesteth, that his son, mr. secretary, never did
 “ impart to him any word against you, till he told him, that you rail’d on him
 “ every where, having never deserved it of you: Therefore avoweth till now never
 “ to have understood any thing to have passed between you either to your mother or
 “ otherwise.” Lady RUSSEL observes, that she had done thus much of herself out
 of love to mr. BACON, whom she advised to write to the lord treasurer to his satisfac-
 tion in these points, or else to send to her such a letter, as she might shew his
 lordship, who had in truth dealt very honourably and kindly with him, in both
 reading mr. BACON’s letter to her, and making her read it again to him, and de-
 livering it to her back immediately, without imparting it to his son or any other
 person: which she would again procure, if mr. BACON would write to her, or else
 keep his letter to herself: “ And now, *adds she*, that I find the good father so
 “ well affected toward you, as in truth he seemeth to your good, I am comforted
 “ in my heart on your behalf, not regarding the other so much, but as his desert
 “ shall require: you know who. My lord was glad the duke [DE BOUILLON] was
 “ with you. He doth not remember, that ever he said, that you were a good
 “ trencher-man. He affirmed your answer touching religion - - - I thanked the
 “ earl for you.”

Before the receipt of this letter mr. BACON began one to lady RUSSEL^g, to re-
 turn her thanks for the honour of her visit, and to acquaint her, that having call’d
 his memory to an account of that, which upon the sudden, without any meditation
 or affectation, he had deliver’d, he hop’d dutifully, and he knew truly, to her ladyship
 for her satisfaction and his own discharge; and finding upon this review and strict
 audit, that truth and innocency gave him, to his exceeding great comfort, their
 general warrantise to save him harmless in substance, howsoever he might have
 erred in form of uttering it in such choice terms, as were befitting so weighty a
 charge and so judicious a hearer; he thereupon resolv’d to accept the assurance,
 which truth and innocence readily and freely offer’d to him, and to content himself
 wholly therewith, without importuning her ladyship with reiterations of tedious and
 irksome particulars by writing; beseeching her to increase his obligations and the
 merits of her kindness so far, as to store them in some little corner of her remem-
 brance, till her kind love and judgment saw fit time and occasions to command
 their appearance and plea in the behalf of her absent, sickly, and innocent nephew.

^f Mr. LAWSON.^g Vol. XIII. fol. 128, 135.

After having written this letter, he receiv'd that of lady RUSSEL, to whom he wrote on Thursday Sept. 9th ^a, that as he could not express in words how deeply he thought himself bound to her; so perceiving by it rather the depth of the lord treasurer's conceit, and his doubtful acceptance of his true and simple apology, than any stamp of his lordship's liking and credit thereof, he hop'd, that he would neither find it strange nor amiss in him, if with all reverent and dutiful regard to his greatness, he continued his former honest course in giving no just cause to his lordship's displeasure; the heaviest whereof if it should be his ill hap to have unjustly cast upon him by misinterpretations, misreports and sinister impressions, without his own desert, he should esteem himself unfortunate, but never be prov'd guilty.

He sent her first letter to the earl of Essex, who return'd him the following answer ^b.

“ Sir,

“ I do find your letter to my lady RUSSEL to be a very good and a wise letter,
“ and I would have come to you this afternoon to have heard the charge of my
“ lord treasurer and the particular answers; but I am by extraordinary business tied
“ to this place. I do exceedingly long to hear them. Therefore I pray you, let
“ me intreat you to set them down in writing.

“ I can send you no news, but that yesterday my lord treasurer and sir ROBERT
“ CECIL did before the queen contest with me, that tho' sir GEORGE CAREW * and
“ his fellows were appointed commissioners for her majesty's profit, to seize, keep,
“ and bring her all, yet I was to be charged, that nothing was brought home, for
“ this committed to them was no excuse for me. And this day I was more braved
“ by your little cousin than ever I was by any man in my life. But I am not nor
“ was not angry, which is all the advantage I have of him. I wish to you as to
“ myself, and rest

Greenwich this 8th of September.

Your true friend,

ESSEX.”

The lady RUSSEL having receiv'd mr. BACON's letter, wrote to him ^k, that it did not the least answer her expectation, since the lord treasurer had desired her to require mr. BACON to set down what unkindness he could once charge his lordship to have offer'd: that his lordship utterly mislik'd his conversing with STANDEN, whom he did not like: and that he desir'd the meaning of real assurance, and both first and lastly pitied his fickleness and diminution of his living by conversing with bad people. “ Surely, *adds her ladyship*, I must needs say, as I did write, that I
“ found him disposed very honourably and kindly towards yourself, and he seem'd
“ glad of any good to you, and of the duke's being there: only required to be satisfi-
“ fied in the points above written. Therefore you mistake me and my letter to
“ yourself, if you interpret otherwise. PLESSIS complained here of you.”

^a Ibid.

^b Vol. XIII. fol. 99.

* Afterwards president of Munster in Ireland, and earl of Totness. ^k Vol. XIII. fol. 76.

Mr. BACON immediately complied with the earl's desire in drawing up a relation of the conference between himself and the lady RUSSEL, which he had not finish'd till the morning of the 11th of September, on account of visits from his friends, which had occasion'd many interruptions, and no small hindrance in an action of memory. He wrote therefore to the earl¹, to desire him to excuse that delay, assuring his lordship, that his servant would that afternoon finish a fair copy of that relation, which he desir'd the earl to reserve to himself, and that it might not come to the sight or hands of any other person. In this letter he mentions his having receiv'd very late the night before a letter inclos'd from the lord HENRY HOWARD, and another from dr. HAWKYNs, whose packets he perceiv'd were specially laid in wait for, having not had one in due time since sir ROBERT CECIL was made secretary, who seem'd to be in love with dr. HAWKYNs's style.

The relation is drawn up in the form of a letter to the earl^m, and begins with observing, that since his lordship desir'd and would vouchsafe to understand and read the particulars of the lord treasurer's charge deliver'd most advantageously in *sublimi genere dicendi* by the lady RUSSEL, and his own plain extemporal answer, he wish'd from his heart, that he could conjure either the genius of the lord HENRY HOWARD, or that of sign. PEREZ, to assist him with the facility and grace, which they had in relating their own actions: which he protested to be so contrary and distasteful to his own humour, as that neither the lord treasurer's greatness, nor the lady RUSSEL's kind enchantments, could so much as move him to do that, which the least sparkle of the earl's desire had made him willing to undertake, resting assured, that his intire devotion and obedience should serve him either for a supply or release of any defaults whatsoever, saving in truth, wherein if he should be so unadvised or unlucky as to fail, he would submit himself to the lord treasurer's and mr. secretary's censure. Under which protestation he informs the earl, that the lady RUSSEL began with him thus:

“ Good nephew, are not you much bound to your aunt, that will make such a
 “ posting journey, only with one gentlewoman, first in a coach to Paris garden, and
 “ then in a wherry over here to you, to visit you, and to perform a very kind
 “ office?” Mr. BACON answer'd, that her merit and his own obligation were very
 great, but not greater than the thankfulness of his heart. “ Marry, nephew, said
 “ she, it is the same heart, that must ease my heart, which is almost choaked with
 “ grief to hear what I do:” and then she paus'd, looking wistly upon him,
 probably to see whether he was dismay'd. But those words serv'd rather as a trumpet
 to awaken, cheer up, and muster his spirits, and gave him occasion to reply,
*Nay, good madam, go on, I beseech you, and spare not to charge an innocent heart
 with advertisement of misreports or wrongful imputations: for otherwise in retaining or
 concealing any point, that importeth your nephew to know, his principal wish cannot possibly
 be fulfil'd, which is to ease your heart by satisfying you thoroughly, and justifying
 himself.* Upon this she said, “ Well, nephew, seeing you so well armed, I will
 “ not flatter you a whit, but will tell you, that all your bodily pains grieve me not

¹ Vol. XIII. fol. 19.

^m Vol. XIII. fol. 21.

“ so much, as the indisposition or alteration of your mind, which is said to be
 “ grown corrupted in religion, factious and busy, undutiful and unnatural. And
 “ all this I tell you from my lord treasurer, who protesteth upon his salvation,
 “ that he hath always lov’d you as a second father, and never so much as in thought
 “ wronged you.” *Madam, said he, here are very heavy propositions, and a protestation*
of great price. For the first, my hope and comfort is, that their proofs will be as light ;
which I expect likewise to understand from you. For my lord’s protestation, as it is com-
fortable to me, in that it pleaseth his lordship to make shew of kindness, by engaging a patron
inestimable to any Christian, so when I call to mind the contrary effects I have felt, I ap-
prehend the facility of his lordship’s so great an adventure. “ For that, nephew, re-
 “ plied she, let my lord look to it, and bethink yourself how to answer my proofs.
 “ For the first point, your familiarity with STANDEN, a fugitive, and WRIGHT, a
 “ seminary priest.” *Give me leave, said mr. BACON, to help you, madam ; and my*
lord HARRY, whom you should have done the honour to have named first. “ Ay,
 “ answer’d she, and him too.” At which very instant it happen’d, that mr. BACON’s
 man came and told him, that the lord HENRY HOWARD was below, who made no
 less haste to go away, than she was glad of such an advantage, saying, “ The daily
 “ resort of these unto you makes you odious. For the second point, you are too
 “ well known and beloved in Scotland to be a true Englishman ; and busy your-
 “ self with matters above your reach, as foreign intelligences and entertainment of
 “ spies. For the last, you have not only abandoned the kind old nobleman, but
 “ you do him ill offices, not only with the earl here, but in France and Scotland by
 “ means of your acquaintance. In one word, you oppose yourself more directly
 “ than any nobleman in England durst do, how great soever.” Upon which word
 mr. BACON was content to catch hold to interrupt her, perceiving, that she had
 produc’d and urg’d all her evidences, saying, *I see not why an honest poor gentleman*
may not apprehend as little, perhaps less, my lord treasurer’s greatness, as a rich nobleman,
the height of whose estate may make courage more pliable. Which conceit, tho’, at the first
hearing, it seems strange unto you, yet after you have heard my answer, which truth and
innocency will dictate unto me, I doubt not but you will find it more probable. For I confess
to you freely, good madam, that being to plead for the life of my reputation at the bar of so
near and dear a friend’s judgment, I am resolved, de me servir de toutes mes pieces
jusqu’ au fonds de mon sac, to prove as clearly as day light myself no way guilty, neither
in part nor whole.

And first with regard to his religion, he desir’d, that the lord treasurer would call to
 mind what confidence at his first going over into France seventeen years ago his lord-
 ship had in the firmness of his religion, since his lordship then advis’d and perswaded
 him by letters to embrace the acquaintance of so dangerous and notorious a traitor
 as dr. PARRY, which when the earl of Leicester so much resented, as to impeach
 mr. BACON to her majesty, the lord treasurer then receiving contentment and credit
 by his intimacy with PARRY by his lordship’s direction, and from his extraordinary
 trust in mr. BACON, clear’d all the mists of the earl of Leicester’s imputations, and
 constituted himself surety to her majesty for him, that PARRY could never shake either
 his religion or honesty. That after that time going to Geneva, and being lodg’d
 with BEZA, that divine dedicated his meditations to the lady BACON his mother
 for his sake. That in the latter end of his travels, when he went to see the French

king

king and his sister in the principality of Bearn, at the same time, that duke d'ESPERNON came thither in the prime of his glory, and mr. BACON was oblig'd to stay there longer than he had intended by a wrench of his foot, DANÆUS, professor of divinity, dedicated two of his works to him at different times. That upon his going thence to Bourdeaux, where by a relapse into a quartan ague he was forc'd to winter, it appear'd by the malicious information, which he had still to shew, of an old English mass-monger nam'd WENDEN, penn'd and subscrib'd by two English jesuits, and presented to the marshal MATIGNON against him, that his lodging was the receptacle of all rebellious hugonots; his pen their intelligencer, and the director of their commotions; his presence and assistance at their assemblies and communions no small countenance and encouragement to them, so that some of the court of parliament believing this information pronounc'd him worthy of the rack. But the marshal MATIGNON very honourably and kindly drew the matter into his own hand, and protected him in all quietness and safety.

Mr. BACON then proceeded to justify his own conduct in other parts of France, referring himself to sir EDWARD STAFFORD, who was at that time embassador there; and shew'd, that monf. DU PLESSIS MORNAY's prejudice against him arose from that gentleman's wife, who was exasperated, because he would not marry her daughter, and had taken the part of the principal minister at Montauban, whom she persecuted for censuring her excess in her head-attire, and because she was unwilling, that her husband should part with 1500 crowns, which mr. BACON had caused to be deliver'd on his own account to monf. BUZENVAL in England. His acquaintance with the bishop of Cahors he imputed to the necessity of his circumstances, after he had been refus'd that money by monf. DU PLESSIS, and to the kindness of the bishop, grounded on the good opinion which his uncle the marshal DE BIRON had profess'd of mr. BACON, to whom that prelate advanced the sum of 1000 crowns, requesting him to write a letter of recommendation to the lord treasurer in favour of two priests imprison'd by his lordship at Westminster: "Which request, *says he,*
 " of his I performed, partly to shew myself thankful towards the bishop, but prin-
 " cipally to save conduct mr. LAWSON, whom I was upon the point to dispatch
 " into England, not only for my particular business, but to convey and deliver
 " safely to my lord treasurer's hands certain advertisements very important for her
 " majesty's service and dangerous for myself, which, I thank God, are yet extant,
 " and doubt not shall be found by any indifferent judge to have deserv'd special
 " thanks and honourable reward of my lord's own hands towards the bearer, whom,
 " in lieu thereof, his lordship imprisoned and kept in durance ten months, giving
 " way, without any resistance by his grave authority and wisdom, to my mother's
 " passionate importunity, grounded upon false suggestions and surmises, authorised
 " by DU PLESSIS and his wife, and out of mere envy against LAWSON's merit and
 " credit with me, testified and approved by his lordship's own letter in the behalf
 " of the gentleman, for performing all things committed to his trust and charge
 " in his first voyage into England for my service. Thus, madam, you have heard
 " my particular confession of my faith, and such circumstances, as presently come
 " to my mind. As for my presenting of STANDEN, and that, which concerns him,
 " I will refer it to its due place, in answering the third and last point of your
 " charge; as also that of WRIGHT." *Touching the second point, I will shew your lady-*
ship

ship a letter written thirteen years ago by the late sir FRANCIS WALSINGHAM in her majesty's name, containing her gracious acceptance of my poor endeavours, and assurance of her princely favour and good opinion. When she had read this letter, she said, "God's body, nephew, thou art mightily wronged; for here is not only warrant, but encouragement." Yea, madam, answer'd he, if it had been my good hap to have found sir FRANCIS alive, he would have made that good, and more too. Is it not a very hard case, madam, that an honest loyal subject, son of so faithful a servant and true patriot, having so many years sown obedience, care, and expences, should reap no other fruits than jealousies, suspicions, and misinterpretations? I deny not, but that during my abode in France I rencountered and knew many Scots gentlemen both well and ill affected, but never sought unto them, nor made account of their acquaintance, till I had receiv'd the warrant you have seen: since when I confess to have tilled, as industriously as I could, so barren a soil, only for her majesty's service; which I hope his lordship will grace with fitter names than faction and outre-cuidance, namely, seeing such poor fruits, as grew in my ground, have hitherto come free both to her majesty and his lordship.

With regard to the last point, which he perceiv'd had not mov'd her ladyship least, he said, that he would first begin with excusing STANDEN and himself, by freely confessing, that when on the one side, at his first coming over, he found nothing but fair words, which make fools fain, and yet even in those no offer or hopeful assurance of real kindness, which he thought he might justly expect at the lord treasurer's hands, who had inn'd mr. BACON's ten years harvest into his own barn, without any halfpenny charge; and on the other, understood the earl of Essex's rare virtues and perfections, and the interest, which he had worthily in the queen's favour, together with his special noble kindness to his brother FRANCIS, who was by it no less bound and in deep arrearages to the earl, than mr. BACON knew himself to be free and before hand with the lord treasurer, he extremely long'd to meet with some opportunity to make the earl know, how much he honour'd and esteem'd his lordship's excellent gifts, and how earnestly he desired to deserve his good opinion and love, and to acknowledge thankfully his brother's debts, presuming always, that the lord treasurer would not only not dislike, but commend and further this his honest desire and purpose. Upon which confidence, when sir ANTHONY STANDEN, having certified his lordship of his arrival at Calais, was left there à l'abandon, without receiving any comfort or warrant from his lordship, to his no small discouragement and mr. BACON's discredit, upon whose mediation with his lordship sir ANTHONY wholly relied, mr. BACON made no scruple to address himself to the earl, and to present STANDEN to him, who first in respect of her majesty's service, and then for mr. BACON's sake, revived STANDEN's spirits, utterly damp'd by the lord treasurer's carelessness and contempt of him, with a noble welcome of a chain of 100 marks.

"By my faith, nephew, said the lady RUSSEL, if thy tale be true, TOPNAM is turned French." Nay, for GOD's sake, madam, answer'd mr. BACON, believe me now in this, whatsoever you do hereafter in other things; else I repent me to have spent so much time and labour. "Well, replied she, enough for STANDEN." And for me too, rejoin'd he, I trust, madam; at least in his case. Verbum enim sapienti. And by the time you have refreshed my lord treasurer's memory, his lordship will conceive the rest.

He then proceeds to the case of WRIGHT, for whom the lord treasurer, having set down, at two several times, interrogatories, did not then catch any hold of his answer; upon whom after the queen had extended her mercy, and mr. BACON having some particular infallible arguments of his loyal and dutiful heart to his sovereign and country, whatever his religion and profession were, he thought it far from humanity, much more from christian charity, to bar him his door and board: and as for the letter, which he wrote to the dean of Westminster, he had the copy to shew, and affirm'd, that it contain'd nothing, that might argue him either presumptuous or irreligious.

“ But, madam, *adds he*, this is but a work of supererogation to pain myself to satisfy my lord treasurer, whom her majesty hath censured, with admiration, what should make him so loth, yea so backward, to advance his nephews: which God knoweth my brother and I have found most true, howsoever it pleaseth his lordship to protest the contrary; namely after his son mr. secretary (whether with his lordship's privity, God knows) had denounced a deadly feud to an antient lady, my mother and his aunt, swearing, that he held me for his mortal enemy, and would make me feel it when he could.” *Ab vile wretched urchin!* said the lady RUSSEL, *is it possible?* “ Whether it be true or no, madam, *answer'd mr. BACON*, I refer to my mother, who marvelled, when she told me of it, that I did but laugh at it, alledging and expounding to her ladyship a Gascon proverb, which was, *Brane d'asne ne monte pas al ciel.*” By God, replied the lady RUSSEL, *but he is no ass.* “ Let him go for a mule then, madam, *rejoin'd mr. BACON*, the most mischievous beast that is.” At this she laugh'd heartily, and seem'd to be very glad to understand such a monstrous insolency, which brought her into very good temper, and alter'd her style quite from censures and reproaches to praise of his extemporal apology, and an intreaty, that he would set it down in writing. “ God forbid, madam, *said he*, that by such an arrogancy I should derogate so much from your merit, beseeching your ladyship to believe, that if I had not conceived full assurance, that your ladyship's creance with my lord treasurer, and kindness towards myself, would smooth the harshness and shadow the blemishes of this my free yet dutiful and true discourse in defence of Innocency, I would have excused myself at the first beginning.” But when he saw, that her ladyship press'd him with a re-charge to write to her, he was content, rather than he would exasperate her with a flat denial at the parting blow, to demand delay, promising her, that if upon farther deliberation he should find it meet or behoveful, he would set down what he had said: if not, he would render her reason and excuse by a letter, which the earl had seen.

“ Thus, my good lord, *concludes he*, the entire devotion of my heart, together with the unchangeable vow of perfect obedience, which it hath long since no less resolutely than freely sworn unto your lordship, and the confidence I have in your lordship's most noble nature and true love, have made more ready than apprehensive to present unto your lordship the rude chaos, which I have had no leisure scarce to dictate, much less to digest in better order. And tho' I had, yet should I have doubted, whether your lordship would not like it better as it is, to wit, simple, and just as I deliver'd, so near as I can remember, without affectation or
“ meditation,

“ meditation, than if it had been artificial and figurative, varnished with new
 “ colours. Howsoever, my good lord, may it please you to accept it graciously,
 “ and to drown all defaults in the merit of true obedience.”

The earl, after reading this relation, return'd it to mr. BACON the next day with the following letterⁿ:

“ Sir,

“ I do exceedingly thank you for your relation, in which I took so great pleasure,
 “ as reading it at my going to bed, I found it ran in my head all the night after.
 “ I will, as soon as I can get from hence, come to you, and farther confer with
 “ you what is both to be thought and to be done in this case, for I hold them both
 “ points of very great consideration. In the mean time I do safely return to you
 “ the relation. And so with my best wishes I rest

“ Your true friend

“ E S S E X.”

“ I have commanded REYNOLDES to send you the Gazette and dr. HAWKYN'S
 “ letter, which is very idle, and almost nothing but the same news in
 “ another tongue.

Greenwich this 12th day of September.

The day before, September 11th, mr. BACON complain'd in a letter to dr. HAWKYN'S^o, that his packets of late had come very tardy to his hands; which mr. JACKSON, the merchant, imputed to the doctor's often change of the means of his conveyances; and therefore he thought it best to confine himself to one, BARLOW, factor for alderman SPENCER. But mr. BACON fear'd, that the stop was higher, and that *aliquid latet, quod adhuc non patet, sed patebit*: in the mean time recommending patience for what was past, and providence for the time to come, he informs the doctor, that their earl, tho' he was continually baited like a bear of Paris garden with ban-dogs, yet shook them off lustily, and would tire them all: to which purpose he acquaints dr. HAWKYN'S in special confidence with the very words of the earl's letter to him on the Thursday before, concerning his having been more braved by secretary CECIL, than he had ever been in his life by any person. He then mentions, that the earl of Shrewsbury was to depart that day with the garter to the French king; that the marshal DE BIRON had defeated 900 Spaniards, and taken the cardinal's lieutenant and two counts prisoners in Artois: that the state of Ireland was said to be more dangerous than ever: and that the lord WILLOUGHBY of Eresby was at last arriv'd at Alborough in Suffolk, and would be welcom'd with the government of Berwick, as mr. BACON hop'd, who intended to write to his lordship the next day.

The return of the earl of Effex. from his successful expedition against Spain gave an occasion to the earl of Mar to write his lordship the following letter^p.

ⁿ Vol. XIII. fol. 97.

^o Vol. XIII. fol. 112.

^p Vol. XIII. fol. 118.

“ My lord,

“ Having heard of your most prosperous and happy journey, your great speed,
 “ and execution of such exploits, and the safe return of yourself and navy, I could not
 “ but signify unto your lordship a piece of that joy I do daily conceive of the good
 “ success of your most honourable and valorous enterprises, the glory whereof,
 “ altho’ it belongeth properly to her majesty, and will be accounted of all ages to
 “ come not one of the smallest honours, that hath befallen her in her reign; yet
 “ that you are the instrument honoured and employed by her majesty in so high and
 “ dangerous a service, deserves of all men eternal praises, and of your country to
 “ you a reward agreeable and condign to your so great merit. Your victory hath
 “ given comfort to many, yet it is most comfortable to the dwellers within the
 “ compass of this isle; wherein albeit we be exempted from the great pains and
 “ burden you have sustained in acting so redoubted an enterprise, yet cease we not
 “ to taste of the sweet fruits of that your memorable victory: the fruits I mean are
 “ the liberty of our conscience and country, the only precious things we possess in
 “ this life, for the which no perils have ever been insupportable to men of your
 “ valour. God grant the progress and ends of your actions may be conform to the
 “ beginning: so shall your fame and virtue be accomplished here, and renowned
 “ to the posterity to come.

“ Since your lordship’s departing there hath nothing occurred worthy of writing:
 “ only I may assure your lordship, the king, my master, remains constant in his
 “ accustomed love and affection towards her majesty, and is exceeding joyful of
 “ your lordship’s good fortune.

“ Thus much of duty I could not omit, as he, who loves no less to hear of your
 “ lordship’s honour than of his own. So wishing the continuance of your good
 “ fortune, I pray the Almighty to have you in his protection.

“ Your lordship’s very loving friend,

Falkland the 11th of September 1596.

“ M A R.”

The next day mr. BRUCE, in a letter to mr. BACON from Edinburgh^a, congratulated him upon the successes and return of the earl of Essex, confessing, that he had before thought his lordship’s enterprise extremely difficult and dangerous, and had been of FABIVS’s opinion, that it was best and most expedient to fight within the country for the liberty thereof. “ But as the Roman SCIPIO, *says he*, by advice and action
 “ made it known to his commonwealth, that it was assuredly their best to fight
 “ HANNIBAL at Carthage; so has your English SCIPIO by this happy defeat of the
 “ Spaniard in Spain altered my judgment by his semblable experience. I wish his
 “ lordship SCIPIO’s * *, and I trust he serves a queen and country will vouch-
 “ safe him a better fortune.” Mr. BRUCE then remarks, that nothing had occurred in Scotland of late of any moment. The queen was delivered of a daughter, and return’d to her health. The king remain’d steadfast in his affection and friend-

^a Vol. XIII. fol. 38.

ship towards England, and was not likely to be led another way by the crafts and charms of any person whatsoever. It was believed, that the earl of Huntley was come home; yet his lady had presented articles to the king and council, desiring a permission for him to return upon conditions exhibited to the council in writing. The council had accordingly consented to his return, referring the conditions of it to his majesty. ERROL was escaped out of Holland; and if he return'd home, it was expected, that he should find no less favour than the other. The earl of ANGUS's friends, and the duke of Lennox, who possess'd the estate of Angus by his forfeiture, were almost agreed to restore by infeoffment the earl's son to his whole estate. The kirk indeed storm'd at these things, and when they would be compos'd, mr. BRUCE knew not. There was great hurry and daily riding among the Scots borderers; yet he hop'd, that the two princes and their countries might be soon and easily brought to an agreement.

Mr. FRANCIS DAVISON, son of the deprived secretary, having received a very kind letter from mr. BACON, return'd him an answer from Florence on the 21st of September 1596, N. S. ^r, excusing his own long silence, thanking mr. BACON for his counsel of continuing his observations in his travels, and expressing his joy at the success of the earl of Essex, to whom himself was wholly devoted, and whose virtues his greatest enemies could not choose but commend and admire so far, that they could not wish him ill fortune; most honourable speeches of his lordship having been reported to mr. DAVISON by some from the emperor's own mouth at that gentleman's being at Prague the year before. He desires mr. BACON to excuse and recommend him to his brother FRANCIS and ANTONIO PEREZ; but informs him, that there was nothing of news of assur'd truth worth the writing, except the following particulars; that the king of Spain's armada in those seas of eighty gallies under ANDREA DORIA was to go out of Messina, where and about cape d'Otranto they had long lain hovering, on the 1st of that month, to meet the Turkish fleet, which they had long expected, of ninety gallies, but not over-well provided and furnish'd, which were coming from about Navarina and Modone in Negro-ponte, with a design, as was understood from some prisoners, to attack them; so that some great matter was expected upon their meeting. They had before their going out taken two English and three Dutch and French ships. The fame of the grand signor's vast preparations by land every day decreas'd, by reason of the great famine and mortality in the camp; and there was little apprehension of them that year, except he should winter, as he had given out, in Hungary. Vienna had been lately review'd, the fortifications repair'd, the suburbs made defensible, and a new garrison and provisions put into it to prevent the worst. The prince of Transylvania was strong in the field. The Imperialists were said to have lately taken Hatuan, tho' with some loss; whereby the passage was open'd into Transylvania, enabling them to join their forces on any occasion. The league between the Poles and Imperialists, after so long agitation, stood yet in very doubtful terms, the former demanding the arch-duke MAXIMILIAN's absolute renunciation of all pretences to their crown, and divers other hard conditions, before they would enter into the treaty of the league; but the Imperialists were unwilling to grant these terms till the conclusion of it.

Dr. HAWKYNs in his letter from Venice of the 22d of September, 1596, N. S. to mr. BACON^f, expresse his high satisfaction at the earl of Effex's safe return, and mentions his having done all the service in his power to the earl of Rutland, as an *affectionate dependant* of the former, and now departing from Venice to Padua, and thence to France in a few days. He mentions his daily contests with the creatures of Spain, who endeavour'd to diminish the reputation of the victory at Cadiz; and among other articles of news, observes, that the cardinal TOLETO died on the Saturday before^t, being thought by some to have been poison'd by the Spanish faction, because he began to incline to favour France. He adds, that it was written from Antwerp on the 31st of August, that RICHARDOT was return'd without obtaining any suspension of arms, the French king not being willing to hear of any truce without comprehending in it the queen of England and the states of Holland and Zealand.

About this time, tho' the day is not mention'd, the earl of Effex wrote a short letter to mr. BACON^{*}, inclosing in it two others, to be deliver'd to monf. DE LA FONTAINE, one for himself, and the other for monf. DES REAUX, the French embassador. His lordship informs mr. BACON, that he would be with him the next day about four in the afternoon; "but I will, *says he*, have none privy to my coming, "that I be neither pester'd with company, nor stay'd longer than I would; for "I must not be hence till I have finish'd something, that I am hammering."

His lordship, after having detain'd for some time RIVET, ANTONIO PEREZ's servant, who had been sent to him, dispatched him with a letter to his master, dated the 14th of September 1596, and written with great spirit and elegance in Latin[†]. He begins it with alledging, that if he had been dilatory in writing to ANTONIO, and had kept his servant too long, and now at last was short and confus'd in his letter, he should appeal to sig. BASADONNA for his excuse in these respects, who was a witness of his troubles. That in Ireland the rebels were finding employment for them; and in the borders of Scotland the robbers were harassing both kingdoms: and that now the expectation of the embassadors of the states general was turning the thoughts of the English court from the west and north towards the east. Nor could they stop there, but were called upon to look to the south, and considering the faith of France, while it was swearing to the league, its hopes, while marshal BIRON was conquering, its fears, if the Spanish army should return thither, and its intentions, while it was courting the states general by the duke DE BOUILLON. That these were great affairs in themselves, but still greater in England, where even small ones were carried on with vast effort and agitation. But these cares were only in common to him with other persons; and he was much more disturbed by those, which he bore alone. He was now reproach'd with what had been done or omitted in the late expedition; and that he might not seem to have deserved well in it, he was charg'd as guilty:

^f Vol. XIII. fol. 281.

^t The 14th of Sept. N. S. D'OSSAT to monf. DE VILLEROY, from Rome 17 Sept.

^{*} Vol. XIII. fol. 96.

[†] Vol. VII. fol. 91. The original draught

of this letter in the earl's own hand, with his alterations and corrections, is extant among the letters to and from him, collected by JOHN CASTLE, in the possession of the right hon. the earl of Egremont.

and when the attack levell'd against him fail'd, it was turn'd against his companions and friends, and a dispute no longer rais'd about the conduct of the war, but the booty. The virtues of œconomy were more insisted upon than the abilities of a general; and it was urg'd, that the whole plunder should have been brought into the exchequer. This was expected to have thrown him under difficulties, from which he could not have extricated himself; and all the artifices of his enemies were made use of upon this occasion. And tho' he was the only general of the English army, who at his own private expence had rais'd it, he was the only one, who was order'd to leave to others the booty acquir'd by the victory. For some adherents to the CECILS, who understood the duty and all the arts of quæstors, had been commission'd to take care, that the whole profit as well as glory of the expedition might be appropriated to the queen; and they own'd, that the earl had given them full powers for this purpose, and often press'd them to execute their commission with diligence and exactness. His lordship's defence therefore was, that if nothing was to be expected by the queen from the taking of Cadiz but the honour of the conquest, he was unjustly accused: if any thing more, those ought to be punished, whose business and duty it was to attend to it; and those ought to take shame to themselves, who had persuaded her majesty to entrust such persons. That for his own part, he had delivered up the ships, ordnance, and ensigns, as he would have done other things, if he had been allowed to make the proper use of the victory. The issue of these plots of his enemies being contrary to what they expected, and having, instead of destroying, render'd him more agreeable to the queen, they reviv'd old accusations, and watch'd his looks, presuming, that if state-jealousy could not be awaken'd against him, he would not be able to defend himself from the imputation of a vicious gallantry. But this, he observ'd, was most unseasonably objected; since he was now no longer an admirer of, or captive to the beauties of the court; and even a stranger to his former passions and indulgences. He was return'd to England with the loss of his complexion, and other advantages of person, and with a mind devoted merely to business. Upon his making his friend and his uncle, the one treasurer, and the other comptroller of the queen's household, and privy counsellors, it was thought proper to banish him to Ireland under the shew of governing that kingdom, and to allow him an army, and grant him his own conditions, if he would but consent to go thither. But he foresaw the consequence, and ask'd advice of the queen, offering himself for the service, but shewing with what design he was recommended to it by his enemies with such high compliments to him. But his determination was to continue at court, unless he should be permitted to go to Ireland with a considerable fleet, and such companions, as he should choose himself, and his own terms. “ But
“ why, *adds his lordship*, did I complain in the beginning of this letter, that I was
“ troubled, when in the progress of it I seem to boast? The fact is, I only represent
“ my own innocence, and do not make an ostentation of my actions. Let those of
“ my companions boast of them, who, when they had committed themselves to
“ the sea, and chang'd their climate, thought, that they had too much expos'd
“ themselves to danger. For my own part, I am conscious, and own it, that what
“ we did, was easy to be done, and what we omitted very obvious. It is not
“ sufficient to appear considerable by the comparison with men absolutely destitute
“ of courage and activity, unless all those things were done, which might have
“ been expected from such an army and fleet. But do not cease, ANTONIO, to
“ love

“ love me, nor be hasty in condemning me unheard. Wait for Effex’s apology,
 “ begun at the Groyne, when I was left there alone, and to be finish’d, when I shall
 “ get a little leisure for it. It treats of things past, present, and to come; and
 “ throughout it, tho’ I appear neither as an historian, a counsellor, nor a prophet,
 “ you will see my fidelity, my care, and my wishes.”

The original was in these terms:

“ Si te tardè salutaverim, si servum tuum nimis detinuerim, si jam breviter &
 “ confusè scripserim, me excusabit BASADONNA, qui testis est mearum molestiarum.
 “ In Hibernia rebelles nobis negotium facessunt : In finibus Scotiæ latrones utraque
 “ regna vexant: Sed expectatio oratorum Belgicorum nos statim ab occidente & sep-
 “ tentrione avocatos in orientem impellit. Sed nec illic consistentes meridiem
 “ spectamus. Fidem vestram, dum foedus juratis, spem vestram, dum victor est
 “ BIRONUS, metumque, si exercitus Hispanicus in Galliam redierit, denique intentiones
 “ vestras, dum per BOUILLONEM ordines Flandriæ ambitis, consideramus. Magna
 “ sunt ista, & majora hic, ubi etiam parvæ res magnis motibus agitantur. Sed hæ
 “ mihi curæ cum aliis sunt communes. Me magis vexant illæ, quas solus fero.
 “ Commissa vel omissa in istâ ultimâ expeditione quæ fuerint, jam exprobrantur.
 “ Et ne bene mereri videar, reus sum factus. Et cum jacula, quibus me accusa-
 “ tores petebant, me præterito, meos socios, mea, inquam, vincula manualia,
 “ amicosque feriissent, tunc non de bello, sed de prædâ controversum est. Œcono-
 “ micæ magis quam imperatoriæ virtutes requiruntur. In ærarium omnia dese-
 “ renda essent. Hic ut hæream expectatur. Dederunt autem vires meorum inimi-
 “ corum machinationes. Unus ego Anglicani exercitus imperator fui, qui privatis
 “ sumptibus exercitum cogerem, unusque, qui victoriæ prædam aliis relinquere
 “ jussus essem. CECILIANI enim quidam, frugi homines, qui non modo quæstoris
 “ officium, sed quæsturias artes omnes nôrunt, inventi sunt, illisque cura commissa
 “ est, ut tam emolumentum quam gloria reginæ tribuatur. Sed hi fatentur me iis
 “ commissiones quam amplissimas dedisse, & ut eas exequerentur sæpius monuisse,
 “ cum nihil tamen ab iis præstitum sit. Tunc respondebam, si nihil ex urbe vi-
 “ captâ a reginâ præter victoriam expectandum esset, injustè accusor. Si aliquid,
 “ luant ii, quorum cura munusque id fuit. Erubescant ii, qui, ut talibus crede-
 “ retur, reginæ persuaferint. Naves, tormenta, aquilas tradidi, aliaque tradidif-
 “ sem, si pro arbitrio uti victoriâ licuisset. Sed quam hoc inopinatum, ut quem
 “ isti machinatores perdere cogitabant, eum jam gratum reginæ reddiderint? Anti-
 “ qua igitur repetantur crimina; observentur etiam oculi Effexii. Si zelotypia
 “ statûs excitari non possit, lasciviæ tamen crimina nunquam depellet. Sed, DEUS
 “ bone! quam hoc inopportunè! Desiit esse formarum spectator. Nec ille jam sua vitia
 “ nôrit, nec eum fascinatrices istæ aulicæ. Coloratus, barbatus, negotiisque solum-
 “ modo deditus rediit. Amicum suum & avunculum reginæ domûs gubernatores &
 “ consiliarios fecit. Relegetur ideo specie imperii; committatur ei Hibernia; detur
 “ exercitus; modo eat, suas faciat condiciones. Sed prævidet; à reginâ consilium
 “ petit, se offert, sed patefacit tamen quo animo jam ab inimicis tantis laudibus
 “ onustus illuc commendatur. Detinetur tandem, & nisi magnâ cum classe electis
 “ sibi sociis, & suis conditionibus, expeditionem facere liceat, in aulâ manebit. At
 “ cur in exordio me turbatum querebar, cum in narratione jam videar gloriari?
 “ Innocentiam

“ Innocentiam narro, non meas res gestas ostento. De his glorientur focii illi mei,
 “ qui, cum fluctibus se committerent, cœlumque mutarent, nimium se periclitatos
 “ credebant. Scio ego, fateorque, quæ fecimus, facilia fuisse; quæ omisimus, quam
 “ perspicua. Hinc turbatus, hæc mea anxietas est. Non satis est comparatione de-
 “ terrimorum vel ignavissimorum hominum aliquis videri, nisi ea omnia gesta essent,
 “ quæ à tali exercitu tantâque classe potuerint expectari. Sed ne desinas, ANTONI,
 “ me amare; ne festines me inauditum condemnare. Attende Essexii apologiam
 “ prope Corunnam, cum solus essem relictus, inchoatam; cum aliquantulum otii
 “ dabitur, perficiendam. De præteritis, præsentibus, & futuris tractat. Ubique,
 “ etiamsi neque historicus, neque consiliarius, neque vates videbor, tamen fidem,
 “ curam, votaue mea cernes. Vale & semper ama tuum

ESSEXIIUM.”

ANTONIO PEREZ return'd an answer to this letter on the $\frac{1}{2}\frac{3}{4}$ of October 1596*, which he had received from RIVET but the day before upon his arrival at Roan. He thanks the earl for the many expressions in it of his antient love and favour, and advises him not to consent to go to Ireland, nor to trust to the conditions offer'd him, since his enemies would grant him every thing, with a view of removing him; and that he should learn caution in that respect from a late experiment. “ Cave tibi,
 “ my lord, ab Hiberniâ. Nunquam te tuamque virtutem occupes in defendendo.
 “ Ne te fidas conditionibus. Nihil non concedent, ut isthinc inimici te ejiciant.
 “ Is illorum finis, non tuæ gloriæ; immo finis tuæ æstimationis. Disce ex recenti
 “ experimento. Sta fortiter. Etiamsi omnes vires Anglicanas tibi concefferint,
 “ revocabant statim. Novi principes; novi astutias invidiæ, & belluæ istius con-
 “ jurationes tuam virtutem timentis. Ne te intra istum angustum orbem Hiber-
 “ niæ occludes.” He then advises his lordship to take advantage of the present confederacy between France and England, and to turn his thoughts towards HENRY IV. who had an high esteem and friendship for him, and would be of use to him in any event. “ Habes modo occasionem præsentis confederationis: memineris tui.
 “ Horum, quæ sunt transacta, oblata per me huic regi. Redeamus ad illa omnia, ad
 “ illam alteram latiore[m] tibi hunc regis amicum utilem in
 “ quocunque eventu se tibi jam oblatum adhuc integrum. Statuo tibi sedem ubi
 “ olim cogitabas. Post illam amissam Ibericam, nullam ampliore[m] judico, nullam
 “ propinquiorem amicis; & inimici tanquam præsentem revereantur atque timeant.
 “ Eo ego tendebam quando isthæc cogitabam. Ea cœpi tractare ex abundantia
 “ amoris & curæ de te. Dom. BASADONNA, tibi declarabit istam rudem chartam,
 “ sed amore & fide politam. Responde, dirige me, ut ad culmen tuæ gloriæ,
 “ vindictæ inimicorum, præmii tuæ virtutis pervenire possitis. Agricultura (quid
 “ dixi agricultura?) natura tota axiomata statûs nos docet, Qui non seminat, non
 “ colligit.”

Mr. BACON took the opportunity of sending by RIVET an answer in French to a letter, which mons. DE SANCY had written to him upon his departure from England, to confirm to him what he had before protested with all sincerity and affection, that no person could more esteem so valuable and honourable a friendship, nor take

* Vol. VI. fol. 90.

† Vol. XIII. fol. 4.

more pains to preserve and cultivate it by all fuitable means, than he would do, being incited to it not only by the considerable rank, which monf. DE SANCY held, and the great interest, which he had in the favour of his moft christian majesty, a prince, whom his heart honoured and defired to ferve more than his pen could exprefs, but likewise by monf. DE SANCY's own personal merits. This affurance he defires might be accepted in as good part, as he fhould embrace the honour of monf. DE SANCY's commands. He then requests him, that as he knew his friendship and refpect for ANTONIO PEREZ, he would permit him to attelt the gratitude of PEREZ, who had very largely proclaimed in England his obligations for monf. DE SANCY's favours to him, which mr. BACON, as one of the moft inconfiderable of PEREZ's friends and fervants in power, tho' not in affection, would always be ready to acknowledge in all humble and faithful fervices. He then refers to monf. DE LA FONTAINE concerning a particular relating to himfelf, and concludes with defiring monf. DE SANCY to prefent the inclos'd letter to the king, and to add to it what his prudence and humanity towards thofe, who lov'd and esteem'd him, would dictate in favour of one, who would ufe his utmoft efforts to merit any good office, which monf. DE SANCY fhould perform to him.

Mr. BACON having reason to fufpect his coufin mr. HENRY WOTTON's fincerity towards him, and that he had not forwarded into Italy the letters of the earl of Effex in recommendation of dr. HAWKYNs, put his lordfhip in mind, as he told mr. REYNOLDES on the 15th of September 1596^w, to know of fig. GUICCIARDIN, whether he had received, while he was in that country, a letter from the earl to himfelf, which mr. WOTTON had been charged to convey with thofe, that were written in the behalf of dr. HAWKYNs to Venice; for which his lordfhip now faid mr. WOTTON muft and fhould answer. Sir ANTHONY STANDEN touches upon the fame affair in a letter from the court to mr. BACON of the 16th of Sept. ^x, in which he informs him, that the earl had told him the night before, that he would be on the day of the date of this letter with mr. GUICCIARDIN; whom fir ANTHONY having the day before examin'd upon the point of the earl's letters to Italy, mr. GUICCIARDIN had affur'd him, that fince his leaving of England he had never received above one fingle letter from his lordfhip, and that written about or a very little before the time of his lordfhip's departure for Cadiz; for the better clearing of which he had brought the letter with him, by confronting which and mr. BACON's notes the fecret might eafily be difcover'd. As for any other letters either for the great duke or to any perfon at Venice, he flatly deny'd his knowledge of them. He faid, that within fourteen days he muft return, and that he had fpoken fecretly with the queen a whole hour, by whom he was wonderfully well received, and as fecretly fent away.

Sir ANTHONY STANDEN mentions likewise, that fir ANTHONY ASHLEY had fent an embaffage to his father-in-law in Staffordfhire to comfort him with refpect to any apprehenfion of his troubles; alledging, that a dozen knights were, as well as himfelf, in the fleet for the like caufe; and that their caufes were general, and would fhortly be ended to his efpecial double credit. “ He is coupled, *fays fir ANTHONY*, with “ goggle-ey'd PHILIPS, who write daily the one againft the other the moft enorm

^w Vol. XIII. fol. 59.^x Vol. XIII. fol. 2.“ *stuff,*

“ stuff, that hath been heard of, accusing bitterly each other of their heretofore
 “ undiscover’d knaveries; and among other, he accuseth ASHLEY of a mere poison-
 “ ing; a pretty pastime for afflicted honest minds: but herein they manifest their
 “ honesty and religion. The queen hath used sir JOHN BUCK, come from the lord
 “ WILLOUGHBY, with great honour and favour, and writes this day to my lord by
 “ him. We all hope some considerable news, seeing our charitable earl apprehends
 “ the cause, as I see he embraceth it indeed.”

Mr. BACON’s Gascon servant, JACQUES PETIT, being sent by his master to attend upon the lord RICH, who accompanied the English ambassadors to France, wrote to him from Dover on Thursday the 16th of September 1596^y, when they were just going to embark, an account of their journey thither, that on Saturday the 11th of that month the earl of Shrewsbury arrived at Rochester, where he lodg’d, and thence went the next day to Canterbury, where he stayed till Tuesday afternoon, when he proceeded to Dover, having on Wednesday sent on board part of his horses and the rest the day following, amounting to the number of 240. His lordship defray’d the charges of all the persons attending him, as sir ANTHONY MILDMAI did those of his company. The commander of Dieppe had left Dover on Tuesday morning.

The return of the earl of Essex occasion’d dr. HAWKYNs to write to his lordship on the $\frac{1}{2}$ ^z of September from Venice^z a letter of congratulation upon it; in which he remark’d, that the envious Spaniards in that city endeavour’d to blemish the success at Cadiz with malicious cavils of cruel sacking and speedy quitting it; to which he had answer’d with the example of Corbulo in TACITUS, *Artaxatis ignis immissus deletaque & solo æquata sunt, quia nec teneri sine valido præsidio ob magnitudinem mœnium, nec id nobis virium erat, quod firmando præsidio & capeffendo bello divideretur, vel si integra & incustodita relinqueretur, nulla in eo utilitas aut gloria quod capta essent.* He then inserts the news from various parts, and remarks, that the Spaniards in Venice, who, during the time of his lordship’s being at sea, durst not appear in the piazza, now came abroad in swarms, and did nothing but boast of the Adelantado’s galleons and the Spanish millions against the next year. He concludes with mentioning, that mons. DE MAISSE, who had been resident ambassador there from France many years, had taken his leave that day in the college of the doge and signoria, in order to return the Tuesday following into France; that the king was indebted to him 25,000 crowns; and that his place was like to be void for some time, a secretary being left to supply it.

Mr. BACON wrote to dr. HAWKYNs about this time^a complaining of the want of his letters, which was regretted both by the earl of Essex and the lord keeper; acquainting him with the arrival of the ambassadors of the states general, and desiring him to procure more intelligence, if possible, from Rome or Milan, for the satisfaction of those two great men, “ who, *says he*, love and join very honourably
 “ together, out of which correspondency and noble conjunction betwixt MARS and
 “ PALLAS, betwixt justice and valour, I mean betwixt so admirable a nobleman as
 “ the earl, and so worthy a justicer as my lord keeper, I doubt not very famous

^y Vol. XIII. fol. 45.^z Vol. XIII. fol. 265.^a Vol. XIII. fol. 20.

“ effects will daily spring to her majesty’s honour, the good of the state, and the
 “ comfort of both their lordships particular true friends.”

The queen having given orders to the lord treasurer for the payment of 3000*l.* to the king of Scots, his lordship in a letter from the court on the 18th of September 1596 desir’d mr. DAVID FOULIS, that king’s embassador ^b, to come to him to receive that money.

His lordship a few days after this fell under her majesty’s displeasure, express’d in very reproachful language to him, on account of his not agreeing to her opinion in an affair relating to the earl of Essex, to whom therefore the lord treasurer on the 22d of September sent the following letter ^c.

“ My lord,

“ My hand is weak, my mind troubled; and therefore my letter must be shorter
 “ than the subject offered me, and a few lines interpreted with favour, until I may
 “ by speech add a commentary or a paraphrase.

“ I came from the court with the burden of her majesty’s displeasure, expressed,
 “ as my lord Buckhurst and sir JOHN FORTESCUE did hear, with words of indignity,
 “ reproach, and rejecting me as a miscreant and a coward, for that I would not
 “ assent unto her opinion, that your lordship ought [not] to have the profit of the
 “ prisoners; wishing her to hear you both with what conditions your lordship
 “ received them; and so her majesty was to direct the compt. But herewith her
 “ majesty increased her ireful speeches, that I either thro’ fear or favour regarded
 “ you more than herself; which she said she did otherwise observe in me. But
 “ hereof I have no comfort to write much now, being come thence laden with
 “ grief for her so implacable displeasure only for this your cause. I am farther laden
 “ with report of your displeasure also, whereof my lady RUSSEL hath advertised me
 “ largely by her letter; so as having found myself oppressed with her majesty’s dis-
 “ pleasure, I see, that I shall be kept down with an overweight of your dislike of
 “ me, altogether without any meaning of my desert; so as I am in a worse case than
 “ the sense of the old verse, *Incidit in Scyllam qui vult vitare Charybdim*, for my mis-
 “ fortune is to fall into both. The danger of the one doth not free me from the
 “ other. Her majesty chargeth and condemneth me for favouring of you against
 “ her. Your lordship contrarywise misliketh me for pleasing of her majesty to
 “ offend you. My case were miserable, if against you both I had not comfort by
 “ God thro’ a good conscience; and therein I will rest, being otherwise I see no
 “ possibility worthy to shun both those dangers but by obtaining of license to live an
 “ anchorite, or some such private life, whereunto I am meetest for my age, my
 “ infirmity, and daily decaying estate. But yet I shall not be stopped by the dis-
 “ pleasure of either of you both to keep my way to heaven.

“ Thus your lordship seeth, how rudely with a weak hand, how discontentedly
 “ in the world’s eye, and how well contentedly in God’s sight, I do write at this

^b Vol. XIII. fol. 95.

^c Vol. XIII. fol. 136.

“ time;

“ time; referring all particularities for the ground of your offence to be discussed
 “ at your will hereafter. From my house at Theobalds the 22d of September 1596.

“ Your lordship’s,

“ as you will have me at your commandment,

“ WILL. BURGHELEY.”

The earl’s answer was in these terms ^d.

“ My very good lord,

“ I have received a letter from your lordship sent to me by my lady RUSSEL; to
 “ which, with your lordship’s favour, I do now make answer.

“ The honour your lordship doth me to write upon the first notice given you,
 “ that I had sense of some unkindness from you, is greater than I could challenge;
 “ and yet the occasion of writing in so strange a style less than I think my lady her-
 “ self, that heard me, did apprehend. Your lordship applieth to me the phrase of
 “ *displeasure*, and to yourself of being *kept down*; when both the matter and manner
 “ of my speech was full of reverence to your lordship, and humble in itself. I know
 “ the weakness of mine own state; and I am striving every day to make the world
 “ know the quietness of my heart, and the temper of my affections, so as if I should
 “ receive hurt from your lordship, I would rather sit down with loss than seek to
 “ right myself by contention. Whether I did receive prejudice by your lordship’s
 “ speech or no, I will make yourself judge, when I next wait on you. In the mean
 “ time I pray your lordship believe, that I have no ambition but her majesty’s
 “ gracious favour, and the reputation of well serving of her. And if your lordship
 “ shall hear or apprehend any thing, that may make you think I deserve them not,
 “ if you make me know it, I will either be cleared by making my just apology,
 “ or reformed, when once my fault is proved to me, and by your lordship sooner
 “ than by any man. For I have ever desired, and so do, that your lordship were
 “ well edified of me; which if I may obtain, your lordship shall find me

“ Most disposed to do your lordship service,

“ Sept. 23.

“ R. ESSEX.”

The lord treasurer replied as follows ^e.

“ My good lord,

“ As at my last writing to your lordship I had two impediments to give liking to
 “ my letter, the one, which was the lesser, my rude and weak-handed writing, the
 “ other the unquietness of my mind; so now you may evidently see, that the first
 “ continueth without likelihood of amendment; the other, I trust, your lordship
 “ will by my present words see changed to the better with likelihood of amend-
 “ ment.

^d Vol. XIII. fol. 133.

^e Vol. XIII. fol. 93.

“ Your lordship’s letter, sent me by my lady RUSSEL in answer of mine, giveth me
 “ a full contentation, with more respect of me than I am worthy, saving in honest
 “ desire to deserve your lordship’s favourable censure of me; only I challenging good
 “ will for good will, which I perceive your lordship well disposed to yield me. And
 “ if I shall not be able with deeds to shew so much good will, as in measure you
 “ shall exceed mine, I will be a debtor to your lordship, until I shall be able to
 “ make an equation. The prejudice, which your lordship noteth to have received
 “ by my speeches, I know not, but I shall be content, I hope, to satisfy you; or
 “ otherwise, if I can, to make amends.

“ And so finding my hand unable to walk any farther, I take my leave of your
 “ good lordship in God’s peace.

“ Your lordship’s fully disposed

“ Sept. 24 1596.

“ to deserve your good will,

“ WILL. BURGHLEY.”

Mr. GEORGE GILPIN, the English resident in the united provinces, in a letter to the earl of Essex from the Hague of the 22d of September 1596^f took notice, that all things had remained quiet since the siege of Hulst, for the surrender of which count DE SOLMES was not yet clear’d*, but must wear away the disgrace by time; since otherwise he would never recover his credit.

The marshal DE BIRON’s incursions had put all Artois into alarm, and drawn the cardinal archduke’s troops into those parts for their defence. But news was just come to the Hague, that part of his forces were return’d into Brabant; tho’ where to be employed was uncertain.

There was a design in Holland of trying, whether it could be practised to pay the foldiers by the poll, and maintain the companies stronger.

The states of Holland were still met in ample numbers, having been kept together the longer because of the duke DE BOUILLON’s arrival, who came to the Hague on the Wednesday preceding, and on the Saturday had his audience, where he laid forth his message and the cause of his coming thither; what he had done with the queen of England, and desir’d to be performed by the states, requiring, that deputies might be appointed to confer with him, and that he might have a good and speedy resolution. The answer of the states for that time consisted in thanks and other compliments, concluding with a desire, that he would deliver the proposition in writing, in order to be further consider’d and determin’d upon; which he consented to, and deliver’d his proposition on Monday afternoon. On the morning of which day mr. GILPIN had presented to them the queen’s letters, which he perceiv’d did not a little

^f Vol. XIII. fol. 124.

* He was discharg’d the service of the states of Zeeland; but he was still entertain’d in that of the

states general. METEREN, l. xviii. fol. 392, verso.
 & GROTIUS, Histor. l. v. p. 253. Edit. Amst.
 1658.

content them. And tho' it was very unlikely, that any thing would be resolved before the provinces had return'd their answers, yet it was hoped, that some good would be effected.

Sir ROBERT SIDNEY was then at the Hague with the duke DE BOUILLON, whither he had brought with him the chains, which the earl of Essex had sent over as presents to monf. DUIVENWORD and monf. SERBEANTS, who not being nor appearing there before sir ROBERT's departure, he left both the chains with mr. GILPIN to be presented by him with such speeches, as the occasions might require.

Mr. GUICCIARDIN being upon his return to Italy, mr. BACON in a letter to the earl of Essex on the 24th of September 1596^g, acquainted him with it, and that it greatly imported his lordship's honour to bolt out the truth of what became of his letters, which mr. WOTTON himself had told mr. BACON, the earl had given him special charge to write and send, one to the duke of Florence, and another to sig. FOSCARINI, the most antient senator in Venice; " which my cousin affirming, *says* " *mr. BACON*, to have deliver'd to CORSINO, under your lordship's correction, me- " thinketh he ought to be charged and challenged as accountable for them; not " doubting but that otherwise he will take heart to redouble his treachery hereafter." He informs his lordship likewise, that mr. FOULIS, the Scots embassador, having been, as it were, refused audience, to know for his own discharge, and the king his master's full satisfaction, whether her majesty was resolved to defalc one thousand pounds of the accustomed gratuity, was obliged to write to her to the same effect, alledging, that he could not do otherwise without incurring the king's displeasure, if he should have accepted of the lord treasurer's subtraction as authentical without her majesty's approbation.

Mr. FOULIS's letter to the queen procur'd immediately one from secretary CECIL dated from the court on the 25th of September^h, to inform him, that he, the secretary, had made her majesty acquainted with mr. FOULIS's motion concerning the course to be appointed, and that she had read his letter; to both which matters the secretary would be glad to deliver to him her majesty's resolutions: and therefore if mr. FOULIS would the next day between two and five in the afternoon come to court, the secretary would meet him at his chamber, and farther confer with him than by letters he could do.

The next day mr. BACON sent to the earl of Essexⁱ an account of a cause in chancery between his cousin mr. ROBERT BACON and his aunt the lady RUSSEL, in which he commends the judicious care and provident kindness of the former towards his fatherless nephews and nieces, and charges her ladyship with a most violent passionate partiality and dishonourable inconstancy. For which reason, if the earl should, upon perusing mr. ROBERT BACON's draught, find that gentleman's intention towards the orphans, and his choice of the two brothers mr. ANTHONY and mr. FRANCIS BACON for confidence, not only justifiable, but commendable, he desired his lordship to notify so much to the lord keeper, who was to hear and deter-

^g Vol. XIII. fol. 16.

^h Vol. XIII. fol. 94.

ⁱ Vol. XIII. fol. 17.

mine the matter on the Friday following. To this letter the earl returned this answer^k.

“ Sir,

“ I will stay your messenger no longer, tho’ I cannot write largely. I thank you
 “ for your cousin BACON’s and my lady your aunt’s papers, and find you have made
 “ a true judgment. My lady is very kind to me, and desirous to negotiate for
 “ me, as I will acquaint you, when I see you. I have many good stories for you,
 “ and am now as full of businesses, as our state is full of faults and cracks; not
 “ that I carry a commonwealth in my head, but that I compare two confused pro-
 “ portions together.

“ I will take knowledge of my lord WILLOUGHBY’s kindness to you, and love
 “ all those, that love you, and be proud, when my worthy friends do so well
 “ approve the choice of my affection and trust. And so wishing to you as to
 “ myself, I rest

“ 26th of Sept.

“ your true friend,

“ E S S E X.”

The same day mr. BACON wrote a letter to mr. REYNOLDES^l concerning some points, which he desired to be communicated to the earl, who in the margin of that letter return’d his answer to them; particularly in the paragraph, in which mr. BACON said, that he dar’d affirm, that his lordship’s favour towards sir THOMAS CHALONER *was not sown in a barren soil*, the earl added, *It is disputed*. In another passage mr. BACON recommended the case of the orphans of the late bishop FLETCHER, and that his lordship would procure the queen to refer it to some counsellor, considering their uncle dr. FLETCHER’s devotion to the earl, and the good use, which might be made of it, according to his lordship’s occasions. To this request his lordship answer’d, *I will solicit the queen for them*: and to that of mr. BACON for a sight of his apology, he wrote this direction to mr. REYNOLDES, *Let him see that copy, that is in your hand, as far as you had written when I last read it. Bring it back presently after you have read it; for I will alter most of it, and especially the apology*.

Dr. HAWKYNs in his letter from Venice of the 4th of October 1596 N. S.^m continued his solicitations for letters of credence to that state, and lamented the departure of his good friend monf. DE MAISSE the French ambassador; and among other news, mentions, that the pope had lately sent one with bulls to excommunicate a Frenchman for being consul for the English and French nations at Alexandria in Egypt; and that the signoria of Venice, after having for a long while strongly oppos’d the admitting of a new index of prohibited books, had now by force that week submitted to it, causing it to be proclaim’d, tho’ greatly prejudicial to the best libraries of Italy, the bookfellers crying out, that they were undone.

Mr. PETIT, upon his arrival at Dieppe in the train of the English ambassadors,

^k Vol. XIII. fol. 98.

^l Vol. XIII. fol. 91.

^m Vol. XIII. fol. 257.

sent on the 26th of Sept. O. S. a long account in French to mr. BACONⁿ of the circumstances of their voyage, since their first departure from Dover on Thursday the 16th of September, on which day sir HENRY PALMER return'd from Flushing; and said, that he had had a very good voyage in convoying the duke DE BOUILLON thither, and in his return, and that the wind was now very favourable for Dieppe. Upon which the earl of Shrewsbury embark'd at six in the evening, and reach'd Lidd that night, being attended with twenty-two ships and barks, four of which were men of war. But the wind continuing contrary, they return'd to Dover on Sunday in the evening. The next day at six in the evening they set sail again, and arrived on Thursday morning, Sept. 23, at Dieppe, where the earl of Shrewsbury was receiv'd and entertain'd at supper by the governor, who having been before inform'd by the son of mons. DE LA FONTAINE, that his lordship did not speak French, that gentleman was employ'd as interpreter. The earl invited the governor to dinner the next day; and on Saturday hunted, and on Sunday heard a sermon in his chamber preach'd by his chaplain. The French king was not yet come to Roan, but expected there soon; as the embassador was to set out thither on the 29th of September.

Mr. BACON on the 1st of October 1596 wrote to mr. BRUCE at Edinburghⁿ, acknowledging his judgment and kindness in conjecturing so rightly the true cause of his silence during the absence of the earl of Essex, “ whose person and fortune, *says* “ *he*, I confess my spirits attending could not attend any other duty; giving you “ humble and very hearty thanks for absolving me before I pleaded in bar so just an “ excuse for myself. Now, sir, to satisfy your expectation and confidence, which “ you testify in your letter, to wit, that my spirits being reviv'd by the honourable, “ happy and safe return of the earl, should endeavour to make amends, I am bold “ to present you here inclos'd certain papers, which I thought worthy your reading “ and mine own sending by so trusty a bearer, who, I hope, will constitute himself “ surety and answerable both for my mindfulness and thankfulness towards you, “ whose virtue I honour, and whose friendship and good will he knoweth I make “ special account of, and I shall be most ready to demonstrate and aver more and “ more, according to time and occasions, and my small ability, by true and faithful “ effects.” He then informs him of the earl of Essex's intention to answer very soon the earl of Mar's honourable kind letter by the way of conveyance agreed upon, and that his lordship had desired him in the mean time to present his most affectionate remembrance and thanks to the lord Mar by mr. BRUCE's friendly delivery. He adds, that as he was writing this, news was brought from Ireland of the arrival of 600 Spaniards there to join with O DONNEL; which was the more credible, as it had been certified before by Spanish advertisements. He concludes with the remembrance of his duty and service to the earl of Mar, and a desire of mr. BRUCE's acceptance of a small token, which he presum'd to send to him, only in respect of the royal countenance of his sovereign represented therein in exquisite workmanship.

Mr. JOSEPH JACKSON, a merchant, just return'd from Fontarabia, having had no

opportunity, when he waited upon the earl of Effex, to communicate some things, which he thought of importance, sent them soon after in a letter to mr. BACON^p, in which he observ'd, that Spain was in such want of ordnance, that to furnish the king's gallies at Port Passage, they took from merchant ships all that they had even to faulcons, and brought from St. John de Luz all that were to be had for money: and by reason that the English ships sold a considerable number of ordnance at Rochelle, there were not wanting some there, who, notwithstanding their profession of the reformed religion, carried them daily to Spain, without incurring any danger of the inquisition. That it was certain there were twenty-six great ships at Passage, ready to depart for Seville before his coming, but they had few or no ordnance in them, which were not to be had for money. That Lisbon and other places were in extreme want of corn; but that there was a considerable number of ships in the east-countries bound for those parts, laden with corn, which was the reason, that the English ships could scarce get any. On which account all good Englishmen wished, that order were taken in time to turn the easterling fleet into England, by which means there would be as great plenty there, as there was dearth then, and the enemy kept in the greatest extremity.

A few days after the receipt of this letter, mr. JACKSON was sent by mr. BACON to the earl of Effex with one to his lordship, dated the 1st of October 1596^q, to deliver his knowledge, and answer any question, which his lordship should demand concerning mr. ROLSTON for his own discharge, and other occurrents of those parts, whence he was lately come. And mr. BACON desir'd his lordship to comfort the honest man with assurance of his favour and countenance, by acquainting the lord admiral with the great wrongs done to him by one PALMER to the peril of his life, and the hindrance of her majesty's service. He took this opportunity likewise to remind the earl of mr. WRIGHT, who expected either to be charg'd by the lord treasurer and secretary, who had commanded his restraint in her majesty's name, or else to be relieved and restored to his former liberty by the earl's mediation.

Mr. BACON's zeal for the service of dr. HAWKYNs induc'd him to request the lord keeper in a letter of the 1st of October 1596^r, to honour the doctor with his testimony to the earl of Effex: and he wrote to the same purpose to the lord WILLOUGHBY of Eresby, who return'd him the following answer^s.

“ Noble sir,

“ Men on the rack use to confess without ceremony; and I, that this night have
 “ had no rest, cannot better reply to the fulness of your kind professions, than
 “ that I will *sub dio*, when I am out of my torments, make my protestations good
 “ to love and respect you while I live. What you write concerning our good friend
 “ dr. HAWKYNs, I would think myself very happy, if I could do him any good
 “ office, as due of right both for his own good deserts, as also for his love to me.
 “ I will not therefore slack the first opportunity, whensoever I shall see my lord:
 “ and tho' I am bound thereunto in my own particular, yet I confess I am the

^p Vol. XIII. fol. 102, 204.

^q Vol. XIII. fol. 173.

^r Vol. XIII. fol. 171, 198.

^s Vol. XIII. fol. 156.

“ readier because of your recommendation, as I shall always be in all other
 “ things, wherein you will comfort me so much, as to dispose freely of me. And
 “ so I rest

“ Barbican 2d Oct. 1596.

“ Your most assured to my uttermost,

“ P. WILLOUGHBY.”

Of this letter mr. BACON gave dr. HAWKYNs an account^t, informing him likewise of the news brought from Ireland on the Thursday before, of the landing of five or six hundred Spaniards there, most of them leaders, with good store of double pistolets. He observ’d also, that the earl of Essex had with the bright beams of his valour and virtue scatter’d the clouds, and clear’d the mists, which malicious envy had rais’d against his matchless merit, and stood now in very good terms with her majesty; “ which, *says he*, hath made the old fox * to crouch and whine, and to
 “ insinuate himself by a very submissive letter to my lord of Essex, subscribed in
 “ these terms, *Your lordship’s, if you will, at commandment.*” He added, that the earl had promis’d to send to the doctor the next week an hundred crowns besides his ordinary allowance, which should not fail to be remitted to him in due time, and beforehand; and that now at last his lordship’s letters of recommendation in the doctor’s behalf were discover’d to have made a great voyage from the court to a merchant’s window in London, by mr. WOTTON’s dutiful care and discreet address.
 “ It is no small comfort to me, I assure you, *says mr. BACON*, to see, that he, that
 “ wrongs me or my friend, cannot by any cunning scape scot-free. He knoweth
 “ not which way to turn himself, having no other shift but to say, that the first was
 “ sent, and these were but the duplicates, which it pleased his lordship very honou-
 “ rably to sign, to the end, that being sent at two several times by divers messen-
 “ gers, the one might hit right. But let us leave my cousin for such as he is, and
 “ doubt you not, but I have and will improve this my cousin’s prank and your disaster
 “ for his shame and your advantage the best I can.”

The same day, October 2, he wrote a letter to his mother^v, informing her of the landing of the Spaniards in Ireland, and that this had been foretold often, and long enough before to have been prevented, if any advertisements, how timely and true soever, had been current, *unless they carried the stamp of the golden sheath,*

^t Vol. XIII. fol. 164.

* The lord treasurer BURGHLEY. See his let-

ter of the 22d of September.

^v Vol. XIII. fol. 142.

B O O K IX.

THE earl of Shrewsbury, embassador extraordinary to HENRY IV. upon his arrival at Roan, sent the lord HENRY HOWARD, the common friend of the earl of Essex and himself, in a letter from thence on the 3d of October 1596^w, the particulars of his voyage and of his entertainment since his landing in Normandy. He observes, that the French king had been at Gallion seven leagues from Roan above a fortnight past, and would as gladly be at that town, as the earl could wish him. But the preparations making there for the king's reception were such, as could not be ready for him until Tuesday the 5th of October. He promis'd to give his lordship audience the next day after his arrival at Roan, and the day following to take his oath to the league, and the third day to dispatch the ceremony of the garter; which the earl said would be quick work, if it held, as he heartily wish'd; since, notwithstanding all the honour and favour, which the king had done and should do him, he intended to stay there not a minute longer than of necessity he must. "Here, *says he*, shall be a kind of parliament of consultation held, after I am gone, by the greatest estates in France, who will attend on the king at his entry, which will be worthy seeing. The king must of necessity dispatch me the sooner for that cause, whereof I am very glad. The duke DE MAYENNE hath excused his not attending on the king at his entry here. Belike he is loth to be brought, as it were, in triumph to this place: but he hath shifted it off by another fine device, as I hear. The king hath sent the duke D'ESPERNON in all haste for his sister from Fontainebleau to come hither; but she being discontent, for that the king will not suffer her to marry the count DE SOISSONS, it is doubted she will refuse to come. The most of the great ladies are already come hither, and the marquise MONCEAUX, the king's mistress, came hither on Tuesday privately with a great belly; which I think shall be laid in the king's own lodging in this town, where now she is. She looketh daily to be delivered." In this letter was inclosed the following account, drawn up by his lordship's order, of his voyage and reception in France. On the 14th of September the two embassadors embark'd at Dover for Dieppe, with the wind somewhat favourable, which soon changed; but by tiding they reach'd the Nefs the 17th, from whence they were driven the 19th by contrary winds to the Downs near Sandwich. They set sail again on the 20th with a favourable gale for Dieppe, but that night were becalm'd; however by the help of tides, and at last of a tolerable good wind, they came to Dieppe in the morning of the 22d, where the governor received them at the shore with his presence and shot from the castle; and the same night feasted them, with the gentlemen, who accompanied them.

The next day mr. STRANGWAYS died at Dieppe, and was interr'd the day fol-

lowing, divers gentlemen and others, both English and French, of the reform'd religion, solemnising his funeral. On the 27th they departed from Dieppe, dismiss'd with shot from the castle, and accompanied by the governor; and were met four miles short of Cleare by monf. DE FERVAQUES*, and about an hundred, as was supposed, of Norman gentlemen. That night they supp'd and lodg'd, and the next day din'd at Cleare, monf. SURENE, maitre d'Hotel, and marshal of the king's camp, monf. COQUET, comptroller of his household, and divers others of his officers, receiving and attending them. The diet there was honourable and plentiful for those, whom it was provided for; but almost all the company found hard lodging, and the town was so small and poor, that the multitude, whom the king's officers had not provided for, could not get victuals for money. On the 28th monf. DE FERVAQUES conducted them to Roan; and the duke DE MONTPENSIER met them a mile from that town, accompanied with at least 600 gentlemen well mounted, and conducted them thro' the greatest part of it to the lodging appointed, the streets, windows and shops being fill'd with a vast multitude of spectators; and then the duke departed from the earl, and went the next day to Gallion to the king, to whom mr. EDMONDES was sent the next day with thanks for his gracious favours, and to desire his pleasure for his lordship's access. On the 1st of October the chancellor of France visited the earl, having by a messenger before alledg'd his indisposition for his excuse of not coming; and he signified in all courteous and kind terms the king's great desire of his lordship's good entertainment, and testified his own readiness to procure whatever might be for his lordship's best contentment, declaring the respect and service, which both the king and himself ow'd and would ever perform to her excellent majesty; the like profession having been made before by the governor of Dieppe, monf. DE FERVAQUES, and the duke DE MONTPENSIER. On the 2d mr. EDMONDES return'd to the earl, with most gracious salutations from the king, and with answer, that the king desir'd to be excused from coming to Roan till the 5th, because the preparations for his entry could not be ready sooner; that his lordship should have access on the 6th; and that he would take the oath the 7th, and receive the garter the day following.

The earl of Shrewsbury sent likewise the following advertisements*, dated the same day with his letter; that it was resolv'd to hold the assembly at Roan, to the calling of which the king was unwillingly drawn by urgent necessity, and much more so to a general assembly of the states, being apprehensive, that he should be solicited by it for the redress of divers things, which would scarce receive present reformation, and especially to be pressed in the matter of his marriage.

The points likely to be handled in the assembly were to settle an order for the levying of the king's receipts, and to suppress the number of officers employ'd therein, the payment of whose fees amounted to a great sum of money: to give some ease to the common country people by disburdening them of the taxations, which they bore: to procure the new impositions to be generally receiv'd into the towns, and the clergy to consent to the sale of some lands, with the allowance of

* GUILLAUME DE HAUTEMER, sieur DE FERVAQUES, made knight of the holy ghost 8th January 1595-6, N. S. * Vol. XIII. fol. 230.

the pope. For the first point of the treasurers, they had already began to take order, that where in each of the seventeen generalities throughout the realm there were before ten treasurers and other ten under-officers, call'd *esleus*, of the first there should remain only two, and of the other three; by which means there would be saved to the king above two hundred thousand crowns in their salaries. But this was the more hardly digested, because upon the like intention of proceeding lately in that course with them, they had been, in consideration of fines drawn from them particularly, re-establish'd by new edicts.

The marshal DE BIRON remain'd still in Artois, and often visited the enemy, but not without great difficulty to support his army, which, as he complain'd, was in great necessity for want of pay. He persuaded the king to undertake the siege of Dourlens, Ardres, or Hesdin.

The ambassador of Savoy had audience of the king two days before at Gallion, and in his speech represented, as the king had since declar'd, of how great advantage the peace with his master would be to the king, and likewise how necessary it was, desiring him not to be dissuaded from it by those, who only regarded their particular ends; alluding to monf. LESDIGUIERES. The king answer'd him, that he heard his servants in all counsels of all kinds, but only embraced that, which he knew to be fittest for the benefit of his realm. He referr'd the ambassador to the constable, monf. DE BELLIEVRE, monf. DE VILLEROY, and monf. DE SILLERY, to treat with him; and in the mean time defray'd his expences.

It was advertised at Roan from many parts, that the king of Spain had made a general stop of all shipping in his kingdom, in order to take revenge of the late descent at Cadiz; which he was said to feel so sensibly, that he wish'd to live only till he might satisfy his vengeance: and this misfortune was the reason of his displacing his principal counsellors, the count don JUAN DE IDIAQUES, and don CHRISTOFERO DI MORO, whom however he had since recall'd, but increas'd the number of his counsellors of war of persons of quality. That upon the assurance of his design to revenge the disgrace, he had obtain'd of the subjects of Spain a contribution of thirty millions to be rais'd in twenty years, which was fifteen hundred thousand crowns a year: and for the same purpose he had lately withdrawn his troops, which were in Bretagne, except only 300, who were to remain at Blavet; and he intended likewise to recall the forces employ'd in his gallies against the Turk; which would make 10000. Nor was there any endeavour to conceal, that these preparations were intended against England.

The archduke MAXIMILIAN had of late taken a place of considerable importance from the Turk, who had yet made no farther progress with his army, which was much lessen'd by sickness and other causes.

The late death of the cardinal TOLETO* at Rome was much lamented in France,

* FRANCIS TOLETO, born at Corduba in Spain. being at Rome gain'd a great reputation, and became preacher to three popes, PIUS V, GREGORY

on account of his learning and reputation for integrity, and his having been the principal instrument of persuading the pope to absolve the king.

Monf. SCHOMBERG was shortly expected to go to treat with the duke de Mercoeur, with whom no hopes were conceiv'd of any present agreement, because as he enjoy'd so large a contribution by the truce, he would be unwilling to change his condition, till he should find necessity more to press him.

It was now in question, whether the duke DE MONTPENSIER should go forward with the marriage of the daughter of LONGUEVILLE, which the king endeavour'd to prevent, and to match him with the duke DE JOYEUSE's daughter, in order to hinder the suit made to her by the count DE VAUDEMONT, the duke of Lorraine's second son, she being a very great fortune.

The occurrences in Scotland at this time were transmitted by mr. ASTON to mr. HUDSON in a letter dated at Lithgow the 3d of October 1596^a, in which mr. ASTON observes, that it had been given out, that the convention of the 28th of September at Dumferling should be for the baptism and custody of the young princess, but in substance was for hearing the offers of the earl of Huntley*, which were, first, to enter into a bond of a thousand marks, and give his eldest son in pledge not to practise either against the religion or state: secondly, to remove from his company all papists whatsoever: thirdly, to receive into his company a minister to be appointed by the kirk, to have conferences daily, and within certain days to satisfy the church, or else to abandon the country for ever. But the ministers would no way hear of him†, which would breed a mischief; and they began to speak somewhat plainly, that the queen and duke of Lennox were the only movers in that matter. The treasurer, to his great commendation, had manfully ridden out this storm, and refused to yield to any condition, till the church should be satisfied; on which stood the only question.

The baptism of the young princess was appointed at Edinburgh the 28th of November, where the king would desire several of the nobility, and no stranger to be witness, except the queen of England. The lord LEVINGSTON was to have the fostering of the child, who accepted of it the rather, because the earl of Mar had the prince.

The commissioners for the borders, the abbot of Newbottle, the lairds of NETHERBOND, TRANQUARN, and KERINGELL, and mr. GEORGE YOUNG, were to meet on the 8th of November upon the west march.

The warrant was said to be sign'd in England for 3000*l*. to the king of Scots, which was a less sum than was look'd for.

XIII, and URBAN XII. Under the pontificate of GREGORY XIV, INNOCENT IX, and CLEMENT VIII, he was employ'd in several important commissions, which did not however prevent him

from composing learned commentaries on several books of scripture.

^a Vol. XIII. fol. 254.

* SPOTSWOOD, p. 417,—422.

† Ibid.

The ambassadors were return'd out of Denmark.

The laird of BACLUGH continued still in custody, having been refus'd his liberty, till the queen of England's pleasure should be known.

The voyage to the isles was like to stay for want of money; and the companies lay still at Glascow, and could get no pay.

The earl of Errol was reported to be lately landed quietly in the north. And the duke of Lennox was agreed with the earl of Angus, and had obtain'd 20000 l. for that earl's son to enjoy the estate of his father, who was himself to leave the country.

Mr. BOWES wrote likewise the next day from Edinburgh to mr. HUDSON^b, acquainting him, that the convention at Dumferling was short and slender, and that by it the baptism of the young princess was appointed to be solemnised at Edinburgh on the 28th of November, to which her majesty would be invited to be a witness, and no other prince; for it was meant, that the solemnization thereof should be done without great ceremonies or charge. The custody of the child was granted to the queen his mother, for which the lord LEVINGSTON was an earnest suitor. But because the lady his wife was a papist, and near the censure of excommunication, his suit would be opposed; and it was expected, that the lord SEATON would have the education of the princess.

The earl of Huntley's cause had been remember'd at the late convention, and it was resolv'd, that he should not be heard before he be retir'd out of the country, and should have submitted and reconciled himself to the church, and given satisfaction to it. This for the present had contented the ministers, and their great storms were calmed. But if all things were true, the affair would be reviv'd, and with some danger.

The lord OGLEBY and mr. PETER YOUNG*, late ambassadors to the king of Denmark, were return'd with rewards, and reports of the great triumphs shewn at the coronation of that king.

Mr. BACON the same day return'd in French an answer^c to a letter, which he had receiv'd from the laird of Holyrood-house. In this answer he observ'd, that as he was persuaded, that mr. KELLO†, that lordship's relation, had already inform'd him of the just reasons of his silence, he would not now insist upon that point; but thank'd him for his letter, which expressed such a regard for his friendship, and assur'd him of his resolution and readiness to return all the services in his power. He sent him at the same time inclos'd some papers, which he would find not unworthy of his perusal,

^b Vol. XIII. fol. 220.

* Great almoner of Scotland. He had been preceptor to the king, by whom he was knighted, in 1604. He was born August 15, 1544, and died 7 January 1623, at the age of 84. See his

life written in Latin by dr. THO. SMITH.

^c Vol. XIII. fol. 147.

† Of whom there are some letters to mr. BACON written in 1599.

desiring him to reserve them to himself, and that the eccho of his, mr. BACON's, name, might not rebound to the ears of the English embassador, whose office it was to observe and report what he thought would be agreeable at home. For other particulars he referr'd to the bearer of this letter, his most dear and intimate friend.

At this time mr. FRANCIS BACON sent an excellent letter to the earl of Essex, dated October 4, 1596, of which, tho' printed in his works, it will be proper to insert the substance here, as it gives so much light into the character of his lordship, and his present situation. This letter was grounded upon what mr. FRANCIS BACON had begun and intended to have said to the earl at his house at Barn-Elms, where the countess of Essex chiefly resided. He desir'd him to consider, whether his lordship had not reason to think, that his fortune comprehended that of mr. FRANCIS BACON: whether that gentleman shifted his counsel, and was not consistent in it, tho' there were some, who would give the same counsel then, which he should, but that they then should derogate from that, which they had formerly said: and lastly, whether his lordship had taken hurt at any time by his careful and devoted counsel. For tho' his lordship had told him, that he having submitted, upon mr. FRANCIS BACON's well meant motion, at Nonsuch, where the earl renew'd a treaty with the queen of obsequious kindness, she had taken advantage of it; yet he suppos'd, that his lordship believ'd since, that this did much attemper a cold malignant humour then growing upon her majesty towards him, and had done him good in consequence: He then repeats what he had said to the earl the last time, *Martha, Martha, attendis ad plurima, unum sufficit*. "Win, says he, the queen. If this be
 " not the beginning of any other course, I see no end. And I will not now speak
 " of favour or affection, but of other correspondence and agreeableness, which,
 " whensoever it shall be conjoined with the other of affection, I durst wager my life
 " (let them make what *prosopopæias* they will of her majesty's nature) that in you she
 " will come to the question of, *Quid fiet homini, quem rex vult honorare?* But how is
 " it now? A man of a nature not to be ruled; that hath the advantage of my af-
 " fection, and knoweth it; of an estate not grounded to his greatness; of a popular
 " reputation; of a military dependance. I demand, whether there can be a more
 " dangerous image than this represented to any monarch living, much more to a
 " lady, and of her majesty's apprehension? And is it not more evident than de-
 " monstration itself, that whilst this impression continueth in her majesty's breast,
 " you can find no other condition, than inventions to keep your estate bare and
 " low; crossing and disgracing your actions; extenuating and blasting of your
 " merit; carping with contempt at your nature and fashions; breeding, nourishing,
 " and fortifying such instruments, as are most factious against you; repulses and
 " scorns of your friends and dependants, that are true and stedfast; winning and
 " inveigling away from you such as are flexible and wavering; thrusting you into
 " odious employments and offices to supplant your reputation; abusing you, and
 " feeding you with dalliances and demonstrations to divert you from descending
 " into the serious consideration of your own case; yea and percase venturing you
 " in perillous and desperate enterprises?" He then proposes what he thinks would
 be proper to remove the five wrong impressions, which had been conceiv'd of his
 lordship. With regard to that of his nature being opiniatre and not ruleable, he
 wish'd, that he would absolutely turn all matters past, which could not be revoked,
 upon:

upon insatisfaction, and not upon his nature or proper disposition. And that since he seem'd to avoid (in some respect justly) the resemblance or imitation of the earl of Leicester and the lord chancellor HATTON, yet, it might do him much good between the queen and him, to alledge them, as often as he found occasion, for authors and patterns, because there was no readier means to make her think him in a right way. That when at any time, upon occasion, he happen'd in speeches to do her majesty right, “ (for there is, *says he*, no such matter as flattery amongst you all) I fear you handle it, *magis in speciem adornatis verbis quam ut sentire videaris*; so that a man may read your formality in your countenance; whereas your lordship should do it familiarly & *oratione fidâ*.” That he should never be without some particulars on foot, which he should seem to pursue with earnestness and affection, and then let them fall, upon taking knowledge of her majesty's opposition and dislike. Of which kind the weightiest might be, if he offer'd to labour in the behalf of some, whom he favour'd, for some of the places then void, choosing such a subject, as he thought her majesty likely to oppose: and if he should say, that this was *conjunctum cum alienâ injuriâ*, mr. BACON would not answer, *hec non aliter constabunt*, but that commendation from so good a mouth would not hurt a man, tho' it should not prevail. A less weighty sort of particulars might be the pretence of some journies, which at her majesty's request his lordship might relinquish; as if he should pretend a journey to see his estate towards Wales or the like; for as to great foreign journies of employment and service, it stood not with his gravity to play or stratagem with them. And the lightest sort of particulars, which yet were not to be neglected, were in his habits, apparel, wearings, gestures, and the like.

The impression of greatest prejudice next was that of a military dependance: wherein mr. FRANCIS BACON could not sufficiently wonder at his lordship's course, that he should say, that the wars were his occupation, and go on in that course; whereas he should have left that person at Plymouth, except when in council, or in commending fit persons for service for wars. He was indeed infinitely glad of his lordship's late expedition to Cadiz, now it was past, the rather because he might make so honourable a full point for a time, and had property good enough in that greatness, so that there was none, who could in many years ascend near him in competition. Besides which, the disposing of the places and affairs both concerning the wars, as he increas'd in other greatness, would of themselves flow to him; which would preserve that dependance in full measure. It was indeed a thing, which of all others he ought to retain, considering the times and the necessity of the service; but he should keep it in substance, and abolish it in shews to the queen, who lov'd peace, and did not love charge. And as this kind of dependance makes a suspected greatness, it should be a sleeping honour for a while, and his lordship should cure the queen's mind in that respect. And therefore when mr. BACON heard his lordship's designing to himself the place of earl marshal or that of master of the ordnance, he did not so well like of either, because of their affinity with a martial greatness; but of the posts then void would propose to his lordship that of lord privy seal; as it is the third in rank of the great officers of the crown, and had an affinity with the court of wards, in regard of the fees from the liveries, was a fine honour, quiet place, and worth a thousand pounds a year; as the lord admiral's father had it, who was
a martial

a martial man ; as it fitted a favourite to carry her majesty's image in seal, who bore it best expressed in heart ; and, as the chief reason, because it would divert the queen from the impression of a martial greatness. To obviate which, if his lordship should not remit any thing of his former diligence at the star-chamber, and continue such intelligences, as were worth the cherishing, and pretend to be as bookish and contemplative as ever he had been ; all these courses would have both their advantages and uses in themselves otherwise, and serve very aptly to this purpose. “ Whereunto, *says* *mr.* BACON, I add one expedient more, stronger than all “ the rest, and for my own confident opinion, void of any prejudice, or danger of “ diminution of your greatness ; and that is, the bringing in of some martial man to “ be of the council, dealing directly with her majesty in it as for her service and “ your better assistance ; choosing nevertheless some person, that may be known not “ to come in against you by any former division. I judge the fittest to be my lord “ MONTJOY or my lord WILLOUGHBY : and if your lordship see deeplier into it “ than I do, that you would not have it done in effect, yet, in my opinion, you “ may serve your turn by the pretence of it, and stay it nevertheless.”

The third impression was that of a popular reputation ; which because it is a thing good in itself, being obtain'd, as his lordship obtain'd it, *bonis artibus*, and being well governed, was one of the best flowers of his greatness both present and to come, it should be handled tenderly. The only way was to quench it *verbis* and not *rebus* ; and therefore to take all occasions to the queen to speak against popularity and popular courses vehemently, and to tax it in all others : yet to go on in his honourable commonwealth courses as he did. “ And therefore, *says* “ *he*, I will not advise you to cure this by dealing in monopolies or any oppressions. “ Only if in parliament your lordship be forward for treasure in respect of the wars, “ it becometh your person well. And if her majesty object popularity to you at “ any time, I would say to her, *a parliament will shew that*, and so feed her with “ expectation.”

The fourth impression of the inequality between his estate of means and his greatness of respects, was not to be neglected. For till the queen found him careful of his estate, she would not only think him more like to continue chargeable to her, but also have a conceit, that he had higher imaginations. The remedies were these, first to profess it in all speeches to her : next in such suits, in which both honour, gift, and profit may be taken, to communicate freely with her majesty, by way of inducing her, to grant, that it would be this benefit to him. “ Lastly, *says* “ *mr.* BACON, to be plain with your lordship (for the gentlemen are such, as I am “ beholden to) nothing can make the queen or the world think so much, that you “ are come to a provident care of your estate, as the altering of some of your “ officers ; who, tho' they be as true to you, as one hand to the other, yet *opinio* “ *veritate major*. But if in respect of the bonds they may be entered into for your “ lordship, you cannot so well dismiss yourself of them, this cannot be done but “ with time.”

For the fifth and last impression, the advantage of a favourite ; as severed from the rest, it could not hurt, so join'd with them, it made her majesty more fearful
 VOL. II. Y and

and shadowy, as not knowing her own strength. The only remedy to this was, to give way to some other favourite, as in particular he should find her majesty inclined, “so as the subject, *says mr. BACON*, hath no ill nor dangerous aspect towards yourself. For otherwise, whosoever shall tell me, that you may not have singular use of a favourite at your devotion, I will say, he understandeth not the queen’s affection, nor your lordship’s condition.”

Mr. ANTHONY BACON, on the 6th of October 1596, advertis’d the earl of Essex^d, that mr. FOULIS, the Scots embassador, in taking his leave of him that morning, had requested him to present to his lordship his most humble duty and service, and to signify, that tho’ it was an exceeding grief to him for his particular, that jealousy and envy should debar and deprive him of free and frequent access to his lordship, whom he intirely honour’d; yet he comforted himself with the assurance, which he had, that there was no other cause, why his dutiful respect to the earl, and any honourable favour from his lordship to him, should be prejudicial to both. But his lordship’s noble mind, and intire honour, were never spotted by any unlawful and dishonourable advices to her majesty against the safety of the king his master’s person, or the merit of his respectful kindness at the queen’s hands. In due acknowledgment of which he desir’d mr. BACON likewise to assure his lordship, that what reason or hard measure soever himself had receiv’d either in conceit or effect from the queen and some of her chief counsellors, yet he would always continue sincerely devoted to his lordship, and readily receive his commands for the service of her majesty, which otherwise he thought not himself in particular any way bound to respect. After mr. FOULIS was return’d to his lodging, and ready to take horse, “he scribbled me out, *says mr. BACON*, the inclosed, which I protest unto your lordship, made me blush all alone in reading of it: to see my sovereign, as he well observed, so ill served, and a king, *ne fut il que roy de feves*, so absolutely scorned with dangerous and damnable insolency, made me think of a verdict pronounced, when sir ROBERT CECIL was christened secretary, to wit, that her majesty had made work for the tinker.”

He wrote again to the earl in the afternoon of the same day^e, inclosing a letter from mr. JOSEPH JACKSON to himself, and another from JACQUES PETIT, containing the account of the voyage of the two embassadors to France. He desir’d his lordship likewise, at the request of mons. VANEIL, to put the queen in mind of returning an answer to the count Palatine; and inform’d him, that dr. GOODMAN, dean of Westminster, had brought to him mr. WRIGHT, and taken him back, upon mr. BACON’s having refus’d to retain him alone till he knew his lordship’s pleasure and purpose, to whom mr. WRIGHT had requested him to remonstrate, that the only chamber, which the dean could spare him at Westminster, was so very low, dampish, dark and melancholly, that this, added to the conceit of his causeless restraint, would cost him his life that winter; which as he was most ready to employ for the earl’s honour and service, according to his lordship’s commandment and direction, so his trust was, that his lordship made too much account of his humble and serviceable affection and endeavours past, to let him languishing pine away.

^d Vol. XIII. fol. 170.

^e Vol. XIII. fol. 172.

The next day the earl wrote from the court then at Nonfuch the following letter to the lord HENRY HOWARD^f.

“ Noble lord,

“ We had never in this court so busy a time. Therefore you must pardon me,
 “ if your footman find his dispatch so long unanswered. We are to provide for the
 “ saving of Ireland, the contenting of France, the winning of the Low-Countries
 “ to such conditions, as they are yet far from; and the discovering and preventing
 “ of the practices and designs, which are now more and greater than ever. But
 “ now I do send your lordship my best thanks for your advertisement and also for
 “ your good news from Petworth. I will perhaps jerk some of our gallants with
 “ their own rods, and then the queen shall see truth and fraud opposite one against
 “ the other, yet that I do not persecute my very enemies but as I am forced. I do
 “ return to you my brother of Northumberland’s letter, and rest

“ Your lordship’s kindest cousin and truest friend

“ E S S E X.”

“ Your letter was immediately burnt. Nonfuch this 7th day of October.”

His lordship sent likewise the same day two letters to mr. BACON, the first inclosing one to mr. GILPIN^g, the English resident in Holland, recommending to him sir WILLIAM WOODHOUSE, mr. BACON’s nephew, who was going abroad with a view of marrying the sister of sir HORATIO PALLAVICINI’s wife, a fortune of 10,000 *l.* in money and 200 *l.* a year in land. The other letter was in these terms^h.

“ Sir,

“ I cannot write so often as I wish for. We have our hands and our heads full.
 “ We see more dangers than we know how to prevent, and have more present
 “ businesses than we have sufficiency to wield. This I think strange, when I con-
 “ sider the experience of the one, and the quickness of the other of our dispatchers.
 “ *Sed et asellus agilis invenitur, & senio piger pardus.* I do now think they may
 “ err, when I see they lack judgment to cover their faults, as appears by the in-
 “ closed you sent me. I wish you all happiness, and rest your assured friend

“ E S S E X.”

“ Nonfuch this 7th of October.”

Mr. BACON in a letter written the same day to the lord WILLOUGHBY of Eresbyⁱ, desired him not to impute it to presumption, which vice, what other imperfections soever he might be subject to, his friends should always find him free from; but to a most earnest desire and care, which he had to omit no occasion of exemplifying his intire devotion to his lordship by effect, that he presented to him a late adver-

^f Vol. XIII. fol. 270.

^g Vol. XIII. fol. 236, 271.

^h Vol. XIII. fol. 239.

ⁱ Vol. XIII. fol. 223.

tisement of an antient, honourable and confident friend * of his of the Scottish nation, who, tho' unknown to his lordship, was more at his commandment than of some great ones in England, whom he had cause to know and see by reason of his place. The purport of the advertisement was, that his lordship ran great risques many ways in countenancing and conferring with so dangerous and hollow a man, as ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS, lately proclaim'd traitor, and put to the horn by the king of Scots, who had openly declar'd, that he held all those to be his enemies, who shew'd DOUGLAS any favour; whose fortune being thus utterly desperate, and himself most infamous for having betray'd three of his sovereigns, the father, the mother, and now the son, lord WILLOUGHBY might easily consider, how little he would stick to play some treacherous part with him, if by his cunning insinuation he could procure any confidence with his lordship. " This, *says* mr. BACON, was
 " deliver'd unto me within these 48 hours by him, who, besides the high and due
 " estimation he hath of your lordship's virtue and merit, having understood my
 " faithful vows to your lordship, and your lordship's good acceptance and promise
 " of honourable correspondency, protested with no less confidence than affection to
 " me, that if her majesty placed your lordship at Berwick, your lordship should be
 " able with one word to do more honour and service in respect of your noble re-
 " putation and well willers, than the late governor^k could do with his blasphemous
 " oaths and threatnings, or sir THOMAS CECIL^l should be able to do, tho' he
 " mustered his father's bags and his own together. Thus much, my good lord,
 " the king's minister, who returned the other day towards Scotland, requested me
 " to certify and assure your lordship of, which I have hazarded by letter upon such
 " conditions, as I have craved at your lordship's hands by capt. HAMBRIDGE, not
 " knowing how often *ce pot pourri de* DOUGLAS might press your lordship with
 " his visitations; to whose wisdom and secrecy I recommend the reservation of the
 " contents of this my letter, or of any other the like I shall have occasion to write
 " hereafter, without ever naming me to any whomsoever as author of such im-
 " portant advertisements."

The apprehensions of an invasion from Spain induc'd the lord WILLOUGHBY of Eresby to draw up at this time the following discourse about preventing such an invasion^m. " It is commonly, *says his lordship*, spread in Italy, and Germany, the preparation the king of Spain makes for his revenge of our honourable English attempts, and his invasion of our state. The reasons apparent, which move him to it, that to a man of war it were more easy to lose a crown and kingdom than his provisions, and the expectation of all his dependents; which reasons particularised were fitter for a discourse than a short memorial. What comes into my mind fit for such a time, as this is like to prove, I presume not worthy the accepting, but worthy the examining, to give matter to sharp conceits to judge farther and better, whilst I, as a passenger, which have my whole adventure in the vessel, wish as well for my little, as he, that hath a double proportion.

* Mr. DAVID FOULIS.

^k HENRY CARY lord Hunston, whose custom of swearing and obscenity of discourse are taken notice of in his character by sir ROBERT NAUNTON.

^l Eldest son of the lord treasurer BURGHLEY, and afterwards created earl of Exeter.

^m Vol. XIII. fol. 201.

“ To invade us doth answer both his ambition and revenge; but the manner of his invasion is rather to be feared in our removed parts than our main body; and therefore if any such be weak or infected with faction or ill accidents, they are to be fortified and renewed; wherein the work of one excellent perfect man will sooner cure than many glorious bragging mountebanks, which do sound like the strings framed of wolfs and sheeps guts. Those extreme places assur'd, if there were many of the selected companies mounted for speed to repair to the sea side, for * * to fight in small squadrons to hinder an enemy landing to grow in order, and to themselves from the enemy's shot, whereunto great squadrons are subject. I am invaded, and must adventure mine own life to make special use thereof. These may serve to barricado passages, and make them difficult taking, at pleasure, till it be ripe a great blow, and

“ I join not with them, that would fortify * * coasts, too long a scale to make a perfect plat of; for if such * * were made, their easy winning would serve for more encouragement to the enemy than defence to us.

“ But as I like not them, so like I as ill those, which are against all fortifications. I could wish under better correction, that in those countries near landing in any danger there were in the heart thereof some especial town truly fortified; which if it be done by men practised, esteeming their honour more than the title of engineers, will not amount to so great a charge, as it is commonly with much fraud laid before princes. Whereunto might be gathered all faithful persons for their assurance with their goods and the wealth of the country; wherein a magazine might be made of all provisions, as well for a strong garrison's use, as to succour or supply an army near about it, by sending no less necessary materials for the body of an army, than the blood, which the heart distributes, is for the life of the body. And if before such a place an enemy would sit down, he were in apparent danger to be ruined. CÆSAR himself hardly escaped the like danger before Alesia by VER-
CINGETORIX.

“ The circle and centre of the country shortly run thro', it followeth what spirits are to be raised to play faithfully their parts within the circuit thereof. God be thanked, the realm was never better provided of a royal chief and sundry well-bred gentlemen for action. Yet if occasion were, that these should be divided into many parts, as it is not unlikely there would be found few enough, for tho' many can fight well, some command well, and some counsel well; yet hardly are singular men found, who can do them all well, so many things appertain thereto of the cream of all sciences, as well in their practice as theoric.

“ And therefore against such a time there should be a worthy council of war, and especially selection made of mens sufficiency, and wherein they most particularly excel, that one part might supply the imperfection of the other, and all parts serve perfectly for the maintenance of the whole.

“ Here by the way I cannot choose but utter some grief to see that, which especially

cially importeth our state in danger, that a man shall not find, if he travel half Europe, such untowardness in the places most secured and freed from danger, as amongst us. If it were examined in what order our munitions and artillery with their officers are at London, the fountain of all, and so consequently derived into the country, it would make us quake at it, which now we value not a counter, so long as we take account of men more fit to reckon than return such services, as the wasted charge of her majesty and the danger require. But this needs a whole discourse, and such a warlike chancellor, as the earl of Essex, to have the whole matter in conscience and good duty debated before him; for here we may not allow under any colour or title covetousness or public parsimony, since howsoever you deck him, he will prove an harpy, and contrary to sound judgment and weal public. As for mine own part, I know no man like to redeem this danger, if himself take not the office and pains for her majesty and the state's service, it is so and flaked with custom only, which hath cost the queen dear. But he, I doubt not, would perfect this office, and reduce it to as good order, as don JUAN MANRIQUE LAURA did for the Spanish king, before whom all things were as confused amongst his arsenals and garrisons, as here, I fear me, upon good inquisition it will fall out with us. But, as I said, to particularise in writing, it would be too long, which in proof would be easy. Thus much shortly to provide at home, before we pass farther abroad.

Our especial foreign enemy, as is aforesaid, is the king of Spain, who is to annoy us with his levies and armadas, which he can bring out of Spain, Italy, Milan, Naples, and Sicilia, the islands and borders of Africa, his mercenaries from Ragusa, &c. with these to make a general head: or else particularly to annoy us with the army led by the cardinal, reinforced by our adverse party in Germany, the house of LORRAIN, BURGUNDY, &c. by him, as it were, to make a frontier war upon the sea-coasts of the Low Countries and France: or if he mainly assault us not in this sort, then to move this war by scattered troops seditious and factious in Ireland, Scotland, and other adjoining islands, which he may have hope to compass by force, faction, or bribery. To attend this storm, and not to provide a safe shelter before it fall, will peradventure wet us thro' our best cloaths and safeguards. To avoid it is to clear the air beforehand. These great clouds will be long in gathering; and if one principal of them be dissolved, it will be more easy to disperse and blow over the rest.

The Spanish king's best chief and captains most approved and practised in the wars are those, which are with the hot-brain'd cardinal. If they were broken, it would be notable beginning of our good fortunes, and their ill. The opportunity seemeth to offer itself fitly unto us. He at this instant is affronted with a brave enemy of his, the young marshal DE BIRON. If on the other side the count MAURICE joined with sir FRANCIS VERE might with their forces march towards him from Ostend suddenly, and that an army from hence of 10,000 men, led by some principal chief, as the earl of Essex, might land under colour to besiege Calais or Dunkirk, all the three armies having correspondence at one choice time to put in execution this design, in all human reason it were to be hoped, that the cardinal would utterly be defeated. For the sending over of handfuls of men breeds long and great charge,

charge, and no hope of event, but consumption of time, men, and money, as hath been hitherto too well experienced.

The objections, which may be made against this enterprize, will be the difficulty to raise treasure sufficient, and accord the humours of so great commanders. For the first, if it be but bruited, that the journey is undertaken for the getting in of Calais or Dunkirk, even from Plymouth to Berwick all along the maritime towns of England, it will hardly be credited what contribution will be willingly yielded. And, to say truth, the next way to join any place is first to be masters of the field, whereby they shall secure their own camp, and bereave the besieged of all succour; and for the most part, after such victory, such places are surrender'd without any blow striking. For the other point, to accord the different humours of the great chiefs, if they marched all in one body, it might be somewhat doubted: but being disjointed, and having one rendezvous appointed them by so regal a power as her majesty's, and one end determined by the same power for them all to execute the plot formerly well projected, methinketh all hardness is taken away.

In the antient wars of the Romans in CÆSAR's and POMPEY's times, how many kings have so consoorted and join'd themselves in Greece and Africa, is not unknown to the perfect historians. SCIPIO stood upon points enough; yet forbore much to the king of Africa in the defeating of CÆSAR's troops. The like patience hath been modernly used by great persons in their wars against the Turk. And no doubt these worthy chieftains being tempered now a-days would yield to each a little to the gaining of the whole to so good a purpose, as the commonwealth of the three principal countries, England, France, and the Netherlands. Besides, the thing is not of so long continuance, as weariness of time might breed alteration: and for the most part present community of danger breeds more communion of love and association of those, which equally undergo it. And as for glory, the enterprize obtain'd, there would remain enough for every one to share, and enough there would be to sing praises to God for such deliveries, and eternise the memory of that royal government, which procured the same.

“ Thus, *concludes his lordship*, in the beginning as I promised, I have postingly
 “ run thro' certain remembrances, leaving relations to them, which are more copious,
 “ and have more time, strength and ability, than I at this instant have; knowing
 “ besides the arch-master shall look into this, who can of the least period hereof
 “ make a long and perfect line to better purpose, and to use curiosity, rather to
 “ invent better, than to blame my honest and faithful care to do them and my country
 “ the truest service I can.”

This discourse was sent by the lord WILLOUGHBY to mr. BACON with the following letter^a.

“ Sir,
 “ Confident of your love I send you the chalk come out of a fit of the gout, which
 “ if you deem it any thing worth, you may make a figure of three, imparting it to

^a Vol. XIII. fol. 162.

“ the

“ the earl of Essex; otherwise a cypher, that it may end where it begun. I know
 “ the sea is plentiful of itself, and yet a little rundle adds sometimes matter to his
 “ swelling; which made me so bold, as the hope of exchange I have to learn more
 “ by your learned and sweet conversation in matters of importance; wherein I know
 “ you virtuously bestow your time. I will say no more, for when I have said all, it
 “ is too little to deserve such a friend; but do my best to shew him how faithfully and
 “ unfeignedly I am

“ wholly yours

“ Barbican Oct. 12, 1596.

“ to my uttermost,

“ P. WILLOUGHBY.

“ Give me leave, good sir, to crave of you a sight of those letters, which were
 “ written by the noble earl of Essex concerning this his honourable last voyage. I
 “ dare assure you of my honour they shall be with me as in your cabinet. Thus
 “ much I pray you, sir, if you have them, as I understand.”

Mr. BACON in his answer the same day^b told his lordship, that he thought it not meet nor good manners to detain his servant till he had read over the discourse, but would not fail to peruse it immediately, and, according to his lordship's most favourable kind permission and the privilege of true friendship, would without flattery or presumption deliver first freely his simple conceit to him, and then with his leave present it to the earl of Essex, whose letter to the lords of the council he sent inclos'd.

In the beginning of this month of October 1596, mr. BACON having received a favourable account of the disposition of his uncle the lord treasurer from his aunt the lady RUSSEL, inform'd his mother of it in a letter of the 8th^c, telling her, that the lady RUSSEL had sent him word, that he should be of good cheer, for that his lordship had not only received satisfaction in what she had deliver'd him from that gentleman, but was thereby well disposed to do him all the good, which he could:
 “ Which comfortable message, *says he*, of her ladyship's I accepted with more
 “ thankfulness, than I mean to rely upon with confidence: for τὴν πίστιν ἀπίσω; In
 “ the mean time I have cause to acknowledge it is a token of God's special good-
 “ ness towards me, that it hath pleased him to bless my extemporal answer, which
 “ truth and innocency did dictate unto me without meditation or affectation, so far
 “ forth, as that it hath dried up the torrent of my lord treasurer's mighty indigna-
 “ tion, at the least by shew and his own profession, and so authentical a testimony
 “ as my lady RUSSEL's.” With regard to the state of public affairs, he uses the earl of Essex's *judicious description*, as he styles it, in his lordship's letter to himself of the 7th of October, that her majesty's council *had their hands and heads full, and saw more danger than they knew how to prevent*; “ Ireland, adds mr. BACON, growing
 “ worse and worse, and France, notwithstanding all forms and solemnities of amity
 “ and league, internally discontented, and consequently dangerously doubtful.”

^b Vol. XIII. fol. 241.

^c Vol. XIII. fol. 143.

The next day, October 9, mr. BACON wrote to dr. HAWKYNs^d, that this letter was only an usher to those, which he should shortly receive from him by his very good friends sir THOMAS CHALLONER and mr. GUICCIARDIN, who both had assur'd him, that they would join in love to the doctor, and readiness to do him any friendly office in their power; which mr. BACON desir'd him to accept with all thankful respect towards them, he having establish'd a correspondence with them both. He then informs him, that tho' the lord WILLOUGHBY and himself had not been able to meet in body, yet their minds rencounter'd daily by mutual and faithful effects; "by whose honourable love and good opinion, *says mr. BACON*, I esteem myself more enriched and happy than mr. secretary did by the unnatural legacy of the late lady DACRES^{*} of the goodly house at Chelsea; thinking it very meet, that you should signify in your next to his lordship what singular contentment I take in so precious a purchase, and how exceedingly careful and ready his lordship shall always find me to cherish and conserve it." He then remarks, that by reason the court was at Nonsuch, where the earl of Essex attended most diligently, he had not yet had his lordship's leave for sending the queen's and earl's pictures; but hop'd, that they would be ready before mr. GUICCIARDIN's departure. That Irish matters grow worse and worse; and for France, what outward shew soever there was by formal solemnities of amity and league, yet the French king's inward discontentment made them dangerously doubtful to England.

MONS. DES REAUX, the French ambassador to queen ELIZABETH, was now treated with remarkable neglect by the English court, having since the departure of the duke DE BOUILLON to Holland lived extremely private and much discontented, without being at all visited by any courtier, and determin'd to leave England as soon as he could obtain leave of the king his master^e. An account of this being sent by mons. DE LA FONTAINE to the duke DE BOUILLON, the latter in his answer from the Hague of the 9th of October 1596 N. S.^f express'd his surprize at this coldness shewn to mons. DES REAUX, and at the contest, which had been rais'd with the Scots ambassador, whom the duke desir'd mons. DE LA FONTAINE to assure of the reverse of what had been reported to that ambassador; of the falsity of which report he thought he could not give a more certain proof, than that such proceedings, as were imputed to him, were absolutely inconsistent both with his own prudence, and the common interests of their two sovereigns. He was persuaded likewise, that the Scots ambassador was too wise to form such a judgment, and would conclude, that it was only an artifice design'd to embroil them with each other, and treat such fictions with the same contempt and indignation, which the duke would shew upon the like occasion, and not suffer them to make the least alteration in the amity, which ought to be supported between the two kings. That the ambassador would see by the inclosed extract what the duke had written to the king his master upon the conference, which had been between them; from which extract the ambassador might see whe-

^d Vol. XIII. fol. 165.

^{*} ANNE, daughter of sir RICHARD SACKVILLE, and sister of THOMAS SACKVILLE, lord Buckhurst, afterwards earl of Dorset. She was widow to GREGORY FIENES, lord Dacres of the south,

VOL. II.

who died in 1594, without issue by her.

^e Letter of mr. ROWLAND WHYTE to sir ROBERT SIDNEY Oct. 2. 1596. SIDNEY papers, vol. ii. p. 7.

^f Vol. XIII. fol. 221.

ther there was any probability in the report. He then mentions his hopes of the success of his negotiations with the states general to the satisfaction of his king, foreseeing only a little delay in it from the necessity of treating upon the proposition made by him with the advice of the other provinces, which was daily expected, and that the said treaty would be soon concluded, as all parties shew'd the utmost frankness and readiness in the affair. In the extract of the duke's letter to the French king, he acquaints him, that two days before he had seen the Scots agent, who let him know his thorough discontent with the queen of England, on account of her refusing to comply with the duke's requisitions for inviting the king of Scots into the league, at the same time thanking the duke for the good office, which he had done in that respect, and assuring him, that the king his master would be sensible of the honour of being invited into, and renewing the alliances with his majesty. And as the said ambassador affirm'd, that the king of Denmark was now crown'd*, tho' queen ELIZABETH had denied it to the duke, the latter was of opinion, that the voyage of mons. ANCEL to Scotland could not but be now more seasonable than before. The duke added, that the states general had an agent with the king of Scots; and that himself would treat with them for their assistance to engage that king.

Some circumstances relating to the French ambassador in England appear from a letter of mr. BACON to the earl of Essex of the 12th of October^s, in which he advertis'd his lordship, that in the afternoon of the day before he had been *consistorially visited* and entertain'd four hours by the two ministers of the French church. Mons. CASTOL came first to him expressly, as he said, to certify to him for his own discharge, that he had heard an hour before, that mons. DES REAUX had moved the queen for the Gascon thief; which kind of proceeding seem'd to mons. CASTOL, as he declar'd, no less strange than it was offensive to him, if it were done without the earl of Essex's privy and leave; and he commended highly her majesty's reserved answer to the ambassador's pressing importunity, that she would be thoroughly inform'd, before she granted her pardon to the criminal: which mons. CASTOL, with no less judgment than dutiful respect to the earl, wish'd might not be carried so smooth a way by the ambassador's creance and sollicitation, but that the principal acknowledgment should be render'd to his lordship's bounty, whose servants had been so unjustly and deeply interested. While mons. CASTOL was discoursing with mr. BACON in this manner, mons. DE LA FONTAINE interrupted them, and upon mons. CASTOL's giving place to him, began to signify to mr. BACON, that the ambassador had been at court on the Friday preceding, but could not meet nor speak with the earl either before or after his being with the queen, tho' he had intreated sir FRANCIS VERE to procure him that favour. He then told mr. BACON, that her majesty had given good contentment to mons. DES REAUX by her gracious usage of him, which, he said, came in good time, since that ambassador was much disgusted for remaining solitary at his lodging, without any respectful visitation. Mons. DE LA FONTAINE "did not stick, *adds mr. BACON, imprecative* to let me understand, " that both the duke DE BOUILLON and himself had found your lordship much " alter'd since your return, taking exception to your lordship's cold reservedness: " which, if he had known, how welcome tidings it was to my poor self, he would

I

* On the 29th of August, N. S.

s Vol. XIII. fol. 242.

" have

“ have kept to himself. In the end he excepted by name against sir THOMAS BASKERVILLE for not visiting and communicating with the ambassador, considering he is very shortly to live and serve under the king his master. Thus your lordship sees how memorative and thankful the French humour is, which predominating so much in a minister, your lordship’s wisdom, I doubt not, will find cause every day more and more rather to restrain than enlarge any other favour than compliments towards them.” In this letter mr. BACON sent inclos’d to the earl the lord WILLOUGHBY’s discourse upon the means of preventing the king of Spain’s invasion of England.

The next day mr. BACON sent another letter to the earl ^h, that he had been requested by dr. FLETCHER, the civilian, who understood, that dr. RICHARD BANCROFT had obtain’d his *Congé d’eslire* for the see of London, to desire his lordship to remember his suit for the reversion of a prebend of St. Paul’s, and that in favour of his nephews, the orphans of the late bishop, the payment of whose debts into the exchequer becoming due within ten days, dr. FLETCHER confess’d, that he knew not how to turn himself, unless it should please her majesty, thro’ the earl’s mediation, to do a princely charity in granting the stalment at an hundred pounds a year. Mr. BACON mentions likewise, that a very honest gentleman and confident friend of his, the queen’s servant, had that afternoon in a visit told him, that sir ANTHONY ASHLEY had within the last eight and forty hours offer’d any service without exception, not only against sir GILLY MERICKE, but the earl himself; and that secretary CECIL should afterwards say to one near him, who desir’d his favour for ASHLEY’s place, that now was the time to break the knave’s neck before he had recover’d by false humility and insinuation a *ne-noceat* from your lordship, or extorted favour from his father and him by some desperate effect. Mr. BACON also repeated his solicitation to his lordship for letters of recommendation in favour of dr. HAWKYNs to the duke of Florence and the Clarissimo Fuscarino, which mr. GUICCIARDIN promis’d to convey safely to him, that gentleman and sir THOMAS CHALONER having been with mr. BACON that afternoon with a request, that he would learn of the earl what day they might attend to take leave of his lordship, and to receive his commands.

Dr. HAWKYNs had before this in a letter to mr. BACON from Venice of the 11th of October N. S. ⁱ after giving him the news from several parts, desir’d a particular account of the taking of Cadiz, and the reasons of leaving it, in order to assist a person, who was writing a relation of that event. He observes also, that himself was in an hand with a relation of the state of Ferrara, as it was at that time; of which he had made choice before others, because he guess’d it might be a principal subject, if not prevented, of diverting the wars, then in France and other places, into Italy, it being almost a maxim of experience, that hitherto for the most part the chief wars of christendom had their end in Italy, as might be seen in those of CHARLES V. He intended by the first opportunity of sending to present it thro’ mr. BACON’s hands to the earl of Essex, and afterwards to proceed with others of the Italian states, and to conclude with Venice, as the largest and most intricate; in order to shew, that he had not been altogether idle or careless of his lordship’s commandment. He

^h Vol. XIII. fol. 161.

ⁱ Vol. XIII. fol. 234.

then added, that the two ALDOBRANDINI's, the pope's nephews, had as a pension from the king of Spain 3000 crowns each; SANTIQUATRO, nephew to the late pope INNOCENT, 1500; GESUALDO, dean of the cardinals, 1000; MONTALTO 1000; GALLO MARCIANO, a creature of SIXTUS QUINTUS, 1000; PARAVICINO ROMANO, a creature of GREGORY XIV. 1000; the bishop of Pistoia 500; and the same sum was granted to abbot LIPPOMANO a Venetian, brother to GIERONYMO the Venetian bailiff at Constantinople, who upon suspicion of intelligence with Spain had been sent for home in chains, and drown'd by the way within sight of Venice; and the same to the auditor of cardinal LANCELOTTO, and 300 to the son of the king of Spain's agent at Rome.

Mr. BACON, after writing his letter to the earl of Essex on the 12th of October, having received one from monf. CASTOL, the minister of the French church, sent it inclos'd the same day to mr. REYNOLDES^k, wishing, that monf. CASTOL's denisation might be procur'd by the earl's means, out of regard to his entire devotion to his lordship, his special respect to his lordship's servants, and "his antient acquaintance and confidence with and to myself, *says mr. BACON*, whereof he giveth, as you may see in the beginning of his letter, good proof by his free, pleasant, poetical jargon of his own companion, of mr. secretary, of HARRY BROOKE, and sir WALTER RALEGH; all which have their proper marks and items therein. I refer to my lord's leisure and your discretion, whether you will present the sight of his letter to his lordship or no; who, I doubt not, but according to his honourable regard and custom for their indemnity, that honour and love him nothing near the infinite worth of his lordship's virtues, but yet more than they esteem their own advancement or safety, burneth all my letters, that contain any advertisement of importance or prejudice."

The earl of Essex in a letter to mr. BACON the next day, Oct. 13, excused his abrupt departure from him the day before^l.

"Sir,

"I do write this to excuse my hasty and unmannerly coming away. I was so surpris'd with company, as I was glad to take coach, and break loose. I was to visit my lord WILLOUGHBY and my lady RUSSEL, and yet to be at the court in a good hour. How this could have been performed, if I had suffered the tide to break in upon me, you may easily judge. I will ere this week end come of purpose to see you, and will never be known of coming beforehand, or see any body else. Till then I send you my best wishes, and rest ever

"Richmond this 13th of October.

"Your true friend,

"E S S E X."

To this letter mr. BACON return'd an answer the next day^m, desiring the earl to reserve his works of supererogation for those, who were *parvæ fidei*, protesting, that if

^k Vol. XIII. fol. 219.

^l Vol. XIII. fol. 235.

^m Vol. XIII. fol. 160.

he knew the motive of the earl's respectful letter to have proceeded of his doubting of any presumptuous expectation or conceit in him, but only from his lordship's superabundant kindness, "I should, *says he*, freely complain to your lordship's good self of yourself, the unspeakable honour and comfort of whose presence how highly soever I esteem, yet far be it from me, that my most earnest particular desires should ever exceed the bounds of your lordship's conveniency or mine own duty."

Mr. BACON having some time before sent a letter to HENRY IV. that king honoured him with an answer dated at Roan October 24, 1596, N. S.ⁿ expressing his satisfaction in that letter, which had confirmed to his majesty Mr. BACON's affection to the good of his state, of which the duke DE BOUILLON had render'd so favourable a testimony, that the king was desirous of returning his thanks by this letter, and assuring him of his good will towards him, the real effects of which he should experience on all occasions, that should offer.

The king wrote likewise the day following to the earl of Essex^o, that he had always found his lordship most true and faithful in all respects; and that he could now say as much, upon the testimony, which the earl had given him by his letter, of the goodness and virtue of the earl of Shrewsbury, who had conducted himself with great prudence and honour in the execution of the queen's commands, to whose pleasure he, the king, had deliberated how to accommodate as far as possible his own affairs, in such a manner, that she might have occasion to commend him, and not complain of their new confederacy or their antient friendship, in which his lordship should have a great share; his loyalty to her, and affection towards him, having gain'd him that merit, which he, the king, would for ever acknowledge, as the earl of Shrewsbury would inform him, to whose fidelity the king referr'd himself.

Mr. BACON having written to lord WILLOUGHBY of Eresby his judgment of his lordship's discourse, that nobleman sent him on the 14th of October the following answer P.

" Sir,

" I much thank your affection to interpret the best, and like my lump the better, that out of your better judgment you have afforded it some fashion. If your love had not been, it could not be, that so cold and dry marl should deserve so fruitful titles. The best of it is, there be some things necessary immediate for the state's service to be seconded, as reformation and election. If my lord of Essex do not take that office, none in England can use it. If he have it, he shall have one eye to see into the disbursing of the queen's treasure of wars, whereby he may judge the better of the rest; and to a man of his place to have insight and dealings therein is of no small importance. I humbly thank him, he nominated me to the place; but as the time and danger is, I would lose any thing most dear to me, so he had it. Questions or difficulties upon any of the other heads will by discourse be easily

^a Vol. XIII. fol. 192.

^o Vol. XIII. fol. 243.

^P Vol. XIII. fol. 163.

“ answer’d and maintain’d. I crave pardon to end these abruptly, I have been so
 “ frequented this afternoon with fundry company, as I am exceeding weary. I
 “ hope to be able to visit you shortly, and ever will rest

“ Your most faithful and unfeigned

“ friend to use,

“ P. WILLOUGHBY.”

Sir ROBERT SIDNEY, governor of Flushing, in a letter to the lord treasurer BURGHLEY from thence on the 15th of October 1596^r, inform’d him, that there had come the day before out of Spain certain ships, in one of which was a Dutch sailer, named JACOB BARTELLO, who had related to him the following particulars. He came from Lisbon on the 12th of September N. S. after having been a long time in the gallies, from which he at last made his escape, and said, that at Lisbon there were forty-four Dutch ships, fly-boats and hulks, and twenty ships of the king of Spain; and at St. Andero twenty-four, with PEDRO DE VALDES, of which six were great new ships, call’d apostles; but they had got no ordnance in them, and it was not known, when the gallies, which were sent to Naples to bring it from thence, would return. At Oporto in Portugal were three ships, which must also come to St. Andero. There were also fifteen gallies. All this fleet was in readiness, and to be commanded by the Adelantado of Castille. Their course was said to be for England, and particularly the isle of Wight, which when they should have taken, they would attempt Portsmouth. This, he said of his own knowledge, would be done that winter. And to that effect they had taken Dutch pilots by force, whom they paid very well, and who had assur’d them, that they knew the places exactly. The meeting of the whole fleet together was to be at Ferrol. There were likewise at St. Sebastian twelve small fly-boats laden with soldiers, which were at the first wind to come to Calais. Sir ROBERT SIDNEY told the Dutch vice-admiral of it, in order that he might give warning to the men of war of the states, which lay in those parts. Sir ROBERT was also of opinion, that it would be proper, that the like should be done to the queen’s ships in the narrow seas; since it would be to great purpose to have these Spanish ships cut off. The sailer said, that in the fleet, which was to come for England, there was a considerable number of land-soldiers, but all raw fellows, except the garrison of Blavet, which were 2000, and to be commanded by VALDES.

This was all, that sir ROBERT understood from the sailer: but the merchants of Middleburgh had advertisement, that there were sixteen millions granted to the king of Spain for the invasion of England.

The prohibition continued in Holland, that no ship should go from thence into Spain; but sir ROBERT fear’d, that the merchants would underhand find some means to get thro’, and either there must be traffic, or there must be ships of war out of Holland set to sea; otherwise many of the sailors would run over to the enemy.

The troops of Zealand had some days before made an attempt upon Hulst, but without success; the enemy having known of it two or three days before; for it appeared to be a plot of the states; and a matter, which pass'd thro' so many, could not be long secret.

The cardinal arch-duke was at Brussels, and his troops about Arras, where the inhabitants kept as good watch against him as against the French.

There had been a report at Flushing just before, that the French had lost certain ensigns: but it was not confirmed.

COUNT MAURICE was said to be gone abroad with some troops of horse; but it was not known whither. Some thought upon some enterprize; others, that he was gone secretly to meet his brother the prince of Orange at Emmerick in Cleve. This sir ROBERT SIDNEY had from a servant of the count, but did not think it much to be trusted till there should be some other confirmation; which, if true, the lord treasurer would undoubtedly receive from mr. GILPIN.

There was come to Middleburgh a Scotsman, named LOGGY, who, as sir ROBERT was informed, had been banish'd from Scotland, and prisoner at Brussels. Sir ROBERT did not know the man; but if the lord treasurer would have any thing done to him in any sort, and give any directions on that subject, sir ROBERT would obey them.

He sent a copy of this letter to the earl of Essex, to whom he wrote the next day, that he had received one from his lordship by capt. BASKERVILLE's man, by whom he had returned an answer to it, with which he doubted not but his lordship would be satisfied. He observes, that he was himself well contented, that the earl should bestow the company upon the person, whom he recommended; but for the castle he desir'd to be excus'd, having given a promise long before to another: neither indeed was it fit for him or that government to have any man in that place, whom he did not perfectly know; it being a place, which, if not well handled, would give great occasion of complaint, which sir ROBERT must answer for, and yet be not at all acquainted with it. He had written to the lords of the council about the cautionary companies, and the extreme want of captains at Flushing; and as this letter would come to the board, he desir'd his lordship to give his furtherance to it. He had written to the lord treasurer and lord admiral the intelligence lately brought from Spain, in order that they might be the more willing to join with his lordship, upon whom the undertaking of any action must necessarily fall. And if the earl was desirous to see the Dutch sailor, who brought the news, sir ROBERT would procure him to go over into England. But he averr'd very constantly, and would lay his life upon it, that the Spanish fleet would sail for England that winter.

Sir ROBERT SIDNEY had, since his writing to the lord treasurer, spoken with

LOGGY, who seem'd to know of great practices in Scotland, and intended to meet with them. He was unquestionably a man of good parts; but men of his profession would ever praise their own commodities. He had not acquainted sir ROBERT with them, but said, that he would either write them to the earl of Essex, or steal over to England himself; for otherwise he was bound in 2000 *l.* not to go thither or into Scotland.

The Scots conservator, as he was call'd, was sent for home to answer the escape, which the earl of Errol had made from him. The whole matter had most probably been related to the earl of Essex by VALCK; for “they of this province, *says sir* ROBERT, were much troubled, lest her majesty should lay unto them the ill-looking to him.”

Sir ROBERT wrote likewise a letter, tho' of an earlier date, to the lord HENRY HOWARD^f, in answer to one, which he had received some days before; and which not requiring a speedy answer, and as he was then to go immediately into Holland with the duke DE BOUILLON, he presum'd, that he might stay till his return to Flushing that day. “Now therefore, *says he*, I will give your lordship many great thanks for your lordship's kindly remembring of me, confessing myself beholden to no man more for his courtesies and friendly proceedings than unto you. And to come to your lordship's letter, howsoever the success may avow the choice, yet am I glad, that our new counsellors were brought in by the earl. Those, which are lukewarm, will trust more in him; and such, as be assured unto him, will be glad to see he hath power to do his friends good. For the third place yet unbestowed, I believe it will not be long cold; for my lord chamberlain will not leave to urge to have an assistant; and since it is a place so near joined unto his, it is to be presumed, that his liking shall be requir'd; and both sir WALTER RALEGH and sir JOHN STANHOPE are men very gracious. I am glad, that my lord proceeds so well. He can blame no body but himself, if he fare amiss. For I do not see any thing in the court, that can withstand so great a virtue. My lord BURGH's going into Ireland I do well believe, such exceeding want of choice have we of worthy men. God send his employment there may satisfy as well the necessities of the service, as it will his own desires.”

With regard to affairs in Holland, sir ROBERT SIDNEY observes, that the duke DE BOUILLON had been very well received there, and lodged in the princess of Orange's house, where his expences were defray'd by the states. He had had an audience, and given in his proposition and demands in writing; but had yet receiv'd no answer; yet hop'd to have granted to him the means to maintain about the king his master some good troops of horse and foot. “Perhaps, *adds sir* ROBERT, it will not be over well liked of at home, if he thrive so well here. But the queen's letter in general terms did so exhort these men to deal well by the king of France, as they have wherewith to excuse themselves for whatsoever they shall agree unto. These letters, or a commission to that purpose, I should have had the delivery of; but alter'd it was, I know not how. Good my lord, if you can, find it out,

“ from whence the change did proceed.” He then mentions, that the cardinal arch-duke was quiet, his army seeming to require rest: and the other side was very weak, and very glad, that the cardinal let them alone. But all possible care was taken, and in a short time they would be well provided. It was said from Spain, that the king was very busy in taking measures, that his country might not be for the future subject to the invasions from England. “ But God, *says* *for* ROBERT, will have his
“ hand over all kings, and give means to the pulling down of that power, which
“ seeks to tyrannise over all the world.”

Dr. HAWKYNs in a letter from Venice to Mr. BACON of the 25th of October 1596 N. S. † takes notice, that from Rome there were no matters of importance by reason of the pope's absence, who with his two nephews the cardinals, and cardinal BARONIO, the great historiographer, had been now almost for a month past at Frescati, fifteen miles from Rome, for his diversion, to return at All Saints day. There was not long before come to Rome one RICHARD WALPOLE, brother of HENRY WALPOLE, apprehended in England a year before, both being jesuits. This RICHARD was the writer of the intercepted letter, which Dr. HAWKYNs had sent to Mr. BACON in January before, and was thought to be sent now out of Spain by father PARSONS, who sway'd all the English in those parts, to help to temper the outrageous tumults in the English college at Rome, or for some other purpose, which Dr. HAWKYNs could not yet find out. WISEMAN, the Irishman, grand prior of Malta for the English nation, to which office he was chosen by the interest of cardinal FARNESE, and recommended often by cardinal ALAN in his life-time, and who had attended the cardinal arch-duke in his journey towards the Low Countries at Easter last as far as Genoa, as a most devoted dependant of his, was now come out of Spain to Rome, and lodg'd in the palace of cardinal FARNESE, the reason of his coming being thought to be for some service of the king of Spain, of whom he was said to have obtain'd a good pension, and particularly for some design against Ireland; the depth of which Dr. HAWKYNs could not yet sound, but would hearken after it. Yet it was probable, that the pope would not agree to any great matter of a sudden, considering the league offensive and defensive between England and France, he discovering himself every day more in favour of France; and it was thought, that he would do much more, were it not for the duke of Sessa, the Spanish ambassador at Rome, who was accounted the most forcible or rather violent ambassador in his negotiations ever employed by Spain. And the doctor mention'd, that himself in conversation with the secretary of the pope's legate at Venice recounting to him marshal DE BIRON's successes in Artois against the Spaniard, the secretary heard him with great applause, and said, that he doubted not but to see the Spaniard go shortly *in mal'hora*.

Mr. BACON acquainted Dr. HAWKYNs on the 16th of October 1596 ‡, that he now sent him a bill for 100 crowns, and would not fail between that time and Christmas to procure the earl of Essex to send him 200 crowns more: that his lordship stood in very good terms both with prince and people: that the earl of Shrewsbury's return from France was daily expected: that Ireland was in greater

† Vol. XIV. fol. 22.

‡ Vol. XIII. fol. 166.

trouble and danger than ever: and that the earl of Lincoln was return'd from the landgrave of Hesse, no less charg'd with most princely honours and liberalities, than he had left behind dishonours, clamours, and curses for his base miserliness and insupportable fancies or rather furies.

Mr. FRANCIS DAVISON being at Lucca, sent a letter thence to mr. BACON on the 16th of October 1596 N. S. ^w expressing his satisfaction in having understood by his father's last letter, that mr. BACON had not only bestow'd the reading upon his relation of Saxony, but had likewise presented it to the earl of Essex, to whom he now inclos'd a letter of congratulation upon his lordship's successes in Spain. " I am
 " ashamed of myself, *adds he*, that I have no new relation or discourse ready of
 " some of those parts of Italy, whereby I might both have testified my duty to his
 " lordship, and made some amends for the errors and oversights of the last. But
 " the uncertainty of his lordship's coming home, and some indisposition, that I
 " have had of late, have constrained me, much against my desire, to take a longer
 " date. I trust my noble lord will no more decrease his wonted favour to my
 " unworthy self for neglecting or delaying some necessary offices and services, than
 " my devotion to his lordship, being only founded upon his excellent virtue and
 " worth, can receive increasing by the augmenting of his honour or fortune. I am
 " now in a private corner of Tuscany, where there is little news stirring, and there-
 " fore I hope you will expect the less. If any thing fall out worthy the advertise-
 " ment, you shall from time to time hear of it."

Monf. DE SANCY sent the French king's letter mention'd above to mr. BACON in one from himself to that gentleman from Roan of the 26th of October 1596 N. S. ^{*} in which he told him, that he had presented his letter to the king, to whom it was highly acceptable, as he would see by his majesty's answer, and find by real effects, when any opportunity should offer, the king having us'd as kind expressions of him, when he receiv'd his letter, as he could wish for; that he, the king, had an high regard for his merit, and greatly esteem'd his friendship; so that mr. BACON had no occasion for any good offices of monf. DE SANCY, since his majesty remember'd him so well, and spoke of him every thing, that his friends could have suggested. With regard to the offer, which mr. BACON made to monf. DE SANCY, of his friendship, the latter desir'd him to believe, that he highly valued it, and would always endeavour to preserve it by all services, which he could desire, requesting him to continue him in the good opinion of the earl of Essex, and to let his lordship know, that he did not write to him, not for want of affection, but that he might not oblige his lordship to an answer, knowing his great engagements. That upon his having anxiously enquir'd into the state of the soldiers and sailors, which had return'd with the earl from Spain, he was glad to understand, that they were come back rich and thoroughly satisfied with his lordship, who would find them, and others after their example, ready for a new expedition, when he should undertake one, tho' those, who lov'd him, were not of opinion, that his fortune would be established by many such voyages. That his lordship was in a country of better fortune, than France was at that time, and could make a better choice, than his friends there,

^w Vol. XIII. fol. 252.

^{*} Vol. XIV. fol. 76.

amidst their own distresses, could advise him to. For which reason mons. DE SANCY would not attempt to give him counsel, tho' his affection for his lordship would not allow him to conceal his sentiments from a gentleman, who stood in that relation to his lordship, in which mr. BACON did. He would not write to him any thing relating to public affairs, except that it was evident, that during that winter neither the French nor Spaniards would perform any action of consequence, but would each of them prepare for the spring; and that France would expect the assistance of England, if the Spaniards did not turn the attention of the latter towards Ireland, in which she was happy to be employed only in that corner of her dominions separated from herself, while France was attack'd at the four corners and in the middle of her kingdom.

The constable MONTMORENCY wrote the same day from Roan a short letter ^r to the earl of Essex, in answer to one delivered to him from his lordship by mr. EDMONDES, who had confirmed to the constable the earl's esteem of him, and would now assure his lordship of the constable's regard for his good opinion, and his resolution to preserve it by all possible services.

Mons. DE LESDIGUIERES wrote likewise the next day, October 27 N. S. to the earl ^z, that it would have been an honour and satisfaction to him to have been able to have made himself known to his lordship by some signal service, rather than by this letter; since the glory of the earl's name obliged him to endeavour to merit that favour, rather than to desire it. But since his situation plac'd him at a distance from any hopes of being able to shew his regard for his lordship by any real effects and services, he would not delay any longer this testimony of his desire of the power and opportunity of doing it. He requested his lordship therefore to receive these few lines as a pledge of his devotion to his service, and to assure himself, that there was no man in the world more zealously disposed to it, or who would think himself more honour'd by his lordship's good opinion; and that he should not be at so remote a situation, but that the power, which the earl had acquir'd over him by his merits, would always keep him entirely at his lordship's command; of which he had desir'd mr. EDMONDES to give his lordship a more particular assurance.

Mr. WRIGHT, the jesuit, began a letter to mr. BACON from Westminster of the 21st of October 1596 ^a, with declaring, that as his dutiful affection to the state was known to mr. BACON, so he could not but make that gentleman acquainted with those things, which he judg'd in any case to concern the good and conservation of her majesty and her kingdoms; and therefore inform'd him, that there came to him the day before a priest, whom he had known in Spain, and who acquainted him of his arrival at London six days ago, by the way of Holland. He mention'd likewise, that just before he left Spain, he with five more had presented to the king a printed book, intitled *The martyrdom of father WALPOLE*, a jesuit, executed at York; which book the king read, and let them kiss his and the prince's hands, directing them to acquaint all the catholics in England, that he would succour them with all means possible. "This I write, *says mr. WRIGHT*, to the intent, that my

^r Vol. XIII. fol. 248.

^z Vol. XIII. fol. 249.

^a Vol. XIII. fol. 173.

“ lord may know the king’s disposition, and whether I should dissuade this priest
 “ from any such relation, because it might breed some inconvenience. If I endea-
 “ vour to dissuade him, perhaps he will have me in a jealousy, and infame me
 “ among some catholics. But whatsoever chances, I will prefer the good of our
 “ state and my lord’s pleasure in this point before mine own reputation. He said
 “ also, he knew most certainly, that there were sixteen new ships prepared in
 “ Calais in France to endamage us. I hardly can believe there can be so many, for
 “ I cannot see from whence they should come. This man, I think, will come to
 “ me again, and give me such intelligence, as he hears. I would know my lord’s
 “ pleasure, whether I might entertain him with such means, as I know best to
 “ compass such relations, not prejudicating in any manner the safety of our state,
 “ or no.”

Mr. BACON sent this letter to the earl of Essex the same day, informing his lordship^b, that he had returned no answer to mr. WRIGHT by writing, nor sent for him, tho’ the dean of Westminster had given the latter leave to come to him, till he knew his lordship’s mind, whose presence, before his return to court, he requested but for a moment.

The next day, October 22, mr. BACON wrote to his mother^c, that the earl of Shrewsbury, who was daily expected from France, had been entertain’d there very royally in outward shew; whether from the heart or no, God knew, and time, the mother of truth, must discover: and that from Ireland there were cross advertisements from the lord deputy on the one side, and sir JOHN NORREYS on the other, the first, as a good trumpet, sounding continually in his letters the alarm against the enemy, the latter serving as a treble viol to invite to dance and be merry upon false hope of a hollow peace; and that these opposite accounts made many fear rather the ruin than the reformation of the state, upon that infallible ground, *quod omne regnum in se divisum dissipabitur*.

Dr. HAWKYNs in his letter to mr. BACON from Venice of the 1st of November 1596 N. S.^d acquainted him, that WISEMAN, the Irish grand prior of Malta for England, whom he had mention’d in his last, was with all the interest and countenance of cardinal FARNESE negotiating with the pope for the king of Spain concerning the design against Ireland, of which the Spaniards thought themselves sure by reason of their intelligence there, and that by their several former attempts they should at last hit the mark. Yet the doctor did not believe, that the pope would consent to any great succours; and that all he would do would be to remit the right, which the church pretended upon Ireland, into the king of Spain’s hands. The preparations were said to be great, the Adelantado carrying with him many of the nobles of Spain as adventurers. Forty or sixty oxen were intended likewise to be made use of for drawing the artillery from place to place. The duke de Mercœur’s brother was said to be lately come to Rome to request the pope’s mediation in an accommodation between the French king and the duke, the latter being forc’d to it by necessity, having lost six or seven of the chiefest forts in Bretagne, whence

^b Vol. XIII. fol. 159.

^c Vol. XIII. fol. 141.

^d Vol. XIV. fol. 169.

7000 Spaniards old soldiers were reported to have been sent for to the cardinal archduke, who had made a strict arrest of all the shipping of Flanders and Brabant.

It was written from Rome, that the English college at Doway was broken up, or rather quite dissolv'd. It was pretended to be for fear of the plague, tho' there died but one Englishman, and he not of the plague; and no scholar of the college. But the true cause was faction and division amongst themselves, the juniors combining and banding against the seniors. The society was variously dispers'd, some twenty of them gone to Brussels and Antwerp, others lately come to Rome; but three of the principal of them were gone to England, whose names were dr. GIFFARD, lady GIFFARD's son, one of great account amongst them, as the ablest man of them all; dr. MATHESON, and dr. YOUNGER, all Oxford men. It would not therefore, as dr. HAWKYNs observ'd, be amiss to lay out for them with diligence, since there might be drawn from them something of importance.

The doctor had heard nothing from JACOMO MARENCO for six weeks past, nor should before the return of the latter from France, where he was negotiating by means of ANTONIO PEREZ to obtain the consulship of the French nation at Genoa, for which he had a competitor. So that the doctor doubted, that MARENCO could not well attend that service, which he had undertaken, and hitherto but weakly performed; but he hop'd himself before his own return to plot a good correspondence for half the charge; which he had done before, if he had not trusted to sir GRIFFIN MARKHAM, whereby he had been hitherto disappointed.

Mr. BACON in a letter to dr. HAWKYNs of the 23d of October 1596^e inform'd him, that on the Monday or Tuesday following at the farthest the Stode fleet would depart, and in it sir THOMAS CHALONER in mr. GUICCIARDIN's company, who had promised to do the doctor all the good offices in his power, and to convey the earl of Essex's letter to sig. FUSCARINO, and to reserve that of his lordship to the duke of Florence till he should hear from the doctor. That there was yet no bishop of London, but it was thought, that dr. BANCROFT would be shortly advanc'd to that see; because the archbishop set up his rest on him, not only as a recommender, but as a surety to answer for all his faults: notwithstanding which the lord treasurer and his son endeavour'd to pass him by. But the earl of Essex seconding the archbishop, as he would do upon very honourable conditions, dr. BANCROFT's preferment, tho' it might be delay'd, was not like to be disappointed.

Sir CHARLES DAVERS being at Dieppe in October 1596, wrote thence to the earl of Essex on the 23d^e, that as he could not suffer any opportunity to pass, by which he might express the honour and duty, which he ow'd to his lordship for the favours, that he had received from him, so he could not omit writing by the bearer of his letter, who was best able to give testimony of his devotion and grateful mind. "The king," *adds he*, hath committed a letter to the earl of Shrewsbury to be deliver'd to "the queen in my behalf^e. I beseech your lordship to advise with my lord, how

* Vol. XIII. fol. 167.
 † Vol. XIV. fol. 67.

* He liv'd abroad in banishment on account of having kill'd a man.

"the

“ the same may be used to my best advantage; for tho’ the proof of the last gave
 “ me little cause to look for any great effect, yet do I conceive, that being deliver’d
 “ by so good a hand, it cannot but do some good.”

The earl of Essex on the 25th of that month wrote two letters in Latin in favour of dr. HAWKYNs, one to the grand duke of Tuscany, and the other to sig. FUSCARINO, a Venetian nobleman. These letters were dated from the court at Richmond; and in the former ^g he observes, that he had written to his highness not long before to the same purpose of recommending the doctor; but being apprehensive of his letter’s being intercepted or lost by some accident, he now troubled the duke again upon that subject. That the doctor was a man well polish’d by the studies of humanity, and who having resided several months at Venice for his improvement, was desirous of seeing Florence, and of offering his highness all the observance and duty, which the earl wish’d might be paid by all his friends, and of continuing in that city for some time for the advantage of enlarging his knowledge. The earl therefore, out of regard to the doctor’s various learning and merits with respect to himself, requested the duke, to allow him to live at Florence or in any other place in Tuscany under his highness’s protection; which favour would be suitable to the character of so great a prince, and returned by his lordship with all the devotion and services in his power. In the letter to sig. FUSCARINO the earl presum’d, that the doctor was not unknown to him, as he had resided several months at Venice, where he own’d, that he had been treated with such humanity, and found that city every way so proper for his improvement in knowledge, that he was desirous of continuing there a little longer. But finding it of importance to him to have the countenance and favour of some of the chief persons in that city, he wish’d to be introduc’d to the acquaintance of sig. FUSCARINO by his lordship’s letters, who the more readily granted them, on account of the doctor’s accomplishments in learning, and his zeal for and services to his lordship, who would think a great obligation to himself whatever kindness sig. FUSCARINO should shew to the doctor.

These letters were entrusted to mr. GUICCIARDIN and sir THOMAS CHALONER, who were going to Italy; the latter of whom in a letter, dated the same day, October 25^a, acquainted mr. BACON, that he had received mr. REYNOLDES’s two letters, the one in recommendation of himself to the great duke, the other to himself, containing some points of advertisement how to bear the matters committed to his charge, to the advancement of his reputation. “ With what gratefulness of mind, *says he*,
 “ I accept the noble earl’s liberal favours, I desire, as a chief benefit of God, that
 “ I may deserve, to satisfy the expectation of his lordship; and unto yourself, whom
 “ I acknowledge to be the first author of manifesting my firm zeal to his lordship’s
 “ virtues, I will give my endeavour to refer my actions and courses of travel as
 “ often as trusty messengers and occasions shall offer means.” He added in the postscript, that as he was going to seal up his letter he received mr. BACON’s with two others inclos’d therein; “ which proceeding, *says he*, from the bounty of so honour-
 “ able a lord moves me to unquietness in myself, until I have testified something

“worthy of his lordship’s graces. I despair to satisfy fully. My diligence and
 “desire to deserve well must therefore help to support my imperfections.”

By this gentleman mr. BACON sent a letter to dr. HAWKYNⁱ, telling him, that he knew not what to add to sir THOMAS’s report of general or particular occurrences, but that, which himself could not deliver of himself, which was, that he honour’d the earl of Essex very heartily, and that his lordship accepted very honourably, and made special account of his intire devotion and good parts: that there was a reciprocal confidence and correspondence establish’d betwixt sir THOMAS and himself, mr. BACON; that he went nobly recommended both by the earl and the lord WILLOUGHBY: “And that it hath pleased him, *says mr. BACON*, to assure me,
 “that he desireth much, and will not only embrace our friendship, but endeavour
 “to deserve well of you. You shall receive by him her majesty’s picture *enliminure*.
 “As for that of my lord Essex, I cannot yet recover any worth the fight, but
 “I hope in time I shall, when his lordship shall have so much leisure, as to
 “fit it out.”

Upon the receipt of the earl’s letters to the grand duke and sign. FUSCARINO; mr. BACON wrote another to dr. HAWKYN^k on the 26th of October^k, that after he had deliver’d his former, and given the farewell to sir THOMAS CHALONER, he had receiv’d the two inclos’d from the earl at the court open; “whereby, *says he*,
 “I can assure you of the greatness of his lordship’s merit, and your observation;
 “which I doubt not but yourself shall find by proof, first at sign. FUSCARINO’s,
 “then at the great duke’s hands, who in their wisdom will easily discern a difference
 “betwixt these letters and those of course.”

Mr. BOWES, in a letter to mr. HUDSON the same day from Edinburgh^l, inform’d him, that the great convention would be held at Holyrood-house on the 2d of November; in which the matters of the borders would be treated of and resolv’d; and it was probable, that the important questions between the popish earls and the ministers would come under deliberation, and that some of the principal ministers might be farther put at than had been look’d for. For the matter was grown hot; and daily increas’d, so that it was likely, that some great effects would follow hereupon, especially upon the summons intended to be sent by the church against the lord president, the bishop of Aberdeen, and PATRICK MURRAY, for their traffic with the earls. Mr. BOWES added, that mr. DAVID FOULIS was return’d from England in health, but discontented.

Mr. ASTON wrote also the same day from Lithgow to mr. HUDSON^m, that on the 2d of November, the king, queen, council and all were to go to Edinburgh: that mr. DAVID FOULIS’s negotiation had not prov’d so profitable, as was expected; that he imputed the cause of his hard usage rather to others than to the queen herself. That he had given great language, and thereby thought he had done great service. Many were of opinion, that the king meant not to seek any more pay-

ⁱ Vol. XIII. fol. 168.

^k Vol. XIII. fol. 169.

^l Vol. XIII. fol. 207.

^m Vol. XIII. fol. 259.

ment of the queen's gratuity: of which opinion were several of the council. Mr. Aston knew, that the king was of opinion to have discharg'd Mr. Foulis that year after it was stay'd, but only for the earnest suit of Tho. and Rob.

The day appointed for the meeting of the commissioners was the 10th of November. Several of them excus'd themselves on account of sickness and other occasions. It made the king hasten the sooner to Edinburgh. His majesty thought, that they would meet, but Mr. Aston believ'd not; yet the day would be continued.

All the wars of the borders were come to the east march between Sir ROBERT CARY and KER of Cesford. But the west and middle marches were quiet.

What gave the greatest uneasiness then was some jealousy between the king and the ministers about HUNTLEY's and ERROL's coming home. The question was, whether their offers should be heard before they had satisfied the church. The king had given them oversight till a day, and either to satisfy by that day, or else to leave the country for ever, and not to practise in the mean time against the religion, or state, or quiet of the country. This was thought reasonable by many to take away all opportunity of practice with foreigners; and the ministers themselves were not against the return of the earl's, if they would first satisfy the church. But there were some, who blow'd the coals between the church and them, especially those Edinburgh and St. Andrews. And Mr. Aston did not doubt, but that at the meeting of the king and his council all jealousies would be remov'd by good handling of the treasurer and secretary.

The baptism of the young princess held for the 28th of November; and the queen of England's deputy was expected on that occasion, but no other desir'd but Mr. Bowes.

Monf. DES REAUX, the French ambassador, having intended a visit to Mr. Bacon on the 26th of October, but being prevented by the increase of that gentleman's pains, the latter wrote to him the next day in French^a, to thank the ambassador for the honour, which he had design'd him, and of which he had been inform'd of by the lady Rich; and to assure him of his gratitude to him on that account, and to desire him not to measure the sincerity of his zeal for his most Christian majesty and his ministers by the exterior duties, which his bodily infirmity hinder'd him from paying in a proper manner. To this letter the French ambassador wrote a very polite answer[†], that Mr. Bacon's excuses were quite unnecessary, tho' suitable to his known civility and courtesy, as his merits and virtues were highly revered both abroad and at home. These, added to his regard for his most Christian majesty, and the common good of the two crowns, were the strongest motives to the ambassador to esteem him, and to declare himself ready to shew that esteem by any services in his power. He regretted his indisposition, and promised himself, at his

^a Vol. XIII. fol. 202.

• Vol. XIII. fol. 229.

return from the court, whither he was now going, the honour of visiting mr. BACON.

Mr. FRANCIS DAVISON wrote to his father a long letter from Lucca on the 6th of November 1696 N. S. ° in an answer to one from his father to mr. SMITH of the 11th of September, wherein he had exprefs'd some resentment on account of his son's expences, which he thought indiscreet and immoderate. The son imputes the father's chagrin to other reasons, which the latter had mention'd in his letter to mr. SMITH, probably the preferment of sir ROBERT CECIL to the post of secretary, and his own disappointment of it; “ and which may, *says mr. FRANCIS DAVISON*, “ and that most justly, give you much greater cause of inward discontent. Miserable “ estate of times, and more miserable estate of men, that live in them, where great “ virtue is a man's ruin; either none, or else ill merits the highway to advancement, “ and a man's noblest and most glorious actions nothing but weights to thrust down “ himself and his friends, and bring up his enemies in the balance of his prince's “ favour! But my noble lord[*of Essex*], I doubt not, being rooted in her majesty's “ favour and countenance by so great an enterprize as this his journey hath fallen out “ to be, will be able himself to ride out both this and any other storm, as well as he “ hath done those heretofore. But whether he shall be able to bring in any of his “ friends to strengthen him (of which all the world thinks he hath need) or keep out “ his greatest enemies, who will seek by all possible means to overthrow him, I now “ neither see nor hope for. I write perhaps more liberally than the dangers letters “ are subject to would permit. But where good words will prevail nothing, nor “ ill can reduce a man into worse estate than he is in, there is both want of judg- “ ment and liberty not to disburthen his own passions. Without question my “ lord's fortune is hard, and his enemies estate most fortunate. If my lord break “ their necks, as nature hath broke their backs, they may comfort their fall with “ the nobleness of the author; and his *arch-enemy* (*i. e.* made like an arch) may “ glory in himself, that *Æneæ magni dextrâ cadit*. But what glory shall it be to him, “ that hath so notably beaten the greatest monarch of the world at his door, to cut “ off such a viper's tail; or being a Hercules, to beat a pigmy? But if he be van- “ quished (*quod Deus omen avertat!*) without question all the world shall never make “ me confess, but that bumbasted legs are a better fortification than bulwarks, and “ St. GOBBO a far greater and more omnipotent saint than either St. PHILIP or “ St. DIEGO. For yourself, I doubt not but that you bear this accident with your “ wonted resolute constancy and virtuous magnanimity, as I seek with that poor “ revenge, which words afford, to sweeten the bitterness of my mind. I pity poor “ Cambridgeshire; I lament the court; and I wish the amendment of your fortune; “ and I only sustain my burthenous hope with this, that *tolluntur in altum, ut lapsu* “ *major ruant.*” He then vindicates himself concerning the articles of his ex- pences, and afterwards observes, that his father's last letter had so dash'd his pro- mised relation of Tuscany, that he was resolved not to proceed in it, till he should hear how the earl of Essex accepted the last, and what favour the other was like to expect. He desires letters of recommendation not only for France, but the courts of the emperor, duke of Saxony, count Palatine, duke of Wirtemburgh, &c. which he in-

tended to see at his return from Italy. He mentions, that that day se'nnight the father and eldest son of the Interminelli were publickly beheaded in the Piazza at Lucca, but spake nothing to the people, the father dying much more resolutely than the son, who was a doctor of law, tho' the former had the miserable disadvantage of seeing his son dead upon the scaffold, when he came to it. The gates of the town were all shut but one, and that very strongly guarded; 500 soldiers in the town, 200 usual, the rest sent for on purpose; the walls were well fortified, well guarded, and all the ordnance bent. The cause objected, (for in matters of state there was a public judgment or sentence read) that the father would have sold the right and patents of divers castles, then in the hands of the signoria, which he claim'd from his supposed ancestor CASTRUCCIO, as some said, to CAPONE, as others affirm'd, to cavalier VINTA, but as all asserted, to the use of the great duke, to whom the emperor should have confirm'd the sale and privileges. The pope was reported to have come to the knowledge of this design, and betray'd it, as one, between whom and the great duke there was no good intelligence. The duke was highly exasperated with the whole proceeding as a matter, which concern'd him both in honour and interest. And, what was most strange, tho' two thirds, if not three fourths, of the gentlemen of Lucca, who were only capable of office, were allied to the criminal, yet so dear was public liberty, and so much the bond of a man's country exceeded all others, that of 130 voices he had not above 12 for the saving of his life, nor was there almost any one, who blam'd the justice of the sentence, or lamented his execution: since which, of his other two sons, who were in prison, the eldest, a priest, was said to be strangled the last night privately in prison, and the other, a fine young gentleman of 17 years of age, and altogether innocent of the fact and consent, immured in prison. The other son, who was at Antwerp at the taking of his father, and thought to have been fled into England, was taken, as mr. DAVISON was informed, and on the way to be brought to Lucca, to receive such punishments as the rest. Their goods and houses were confiscated and sold, the tables of their genealogy, valued at 500 crowns, burnt, and so not only the house absolutely extinct, of which none had been left but the father and his children, being the most antient and noble of all the silk-winders and fellers of thread, but even the memory thereof quite effaced.

The other news mention'd by mr. DAVISON was of much more importance; that there were about ten days before six Englishmen ship'd at Leghorn for Spain, lately come from Rome, and all sworn to kill the queen. The one call'd himself BAUHLING, or BARBER, or BARKER, a Lincolnshire man, formerly a batchelor of arts of Corpus Christi college in Oxford. Another was FERCOX, son to a mercer in Cheapside; and the names of the other four were not known to mr. DAVISON, who doubted not, but they had one false brother at least amongst them, who would so behave himself, "as I, *says that gentleman*, shall have no need either to *informare* or *Topclifizare* *, being an office, to which I have no great stomach."

The earl of Essex being at the court of Richmond in the end of October, wrote thence to mr. BACON the following letter †.

* Alluding to one mr. TOPCLIFF, who, as and prosecutor of papists.
was observ'd already, was a zealous discoverer † Vol. XIII. fol. 238.

“ Sir,

“ I propofe, God willing, to go to London this night. If it fo fall out, I will
 “ vifit you before my return to the court. In the mean time, I pray you, will
 “ WRIGHT to deliver you fome more particulars concerning him, that came
 “ lately from Spain; and if he came lately, and be able to fay any thing of im-
 “ portance, he fhall come to me both fecretly and fecurely. I wifh you all
 “ happinefs, and reft

“ Your true friend

“ Richmond this 29th of October.”

“ E S S E X.”

Mr. REYNOLDES likewise the fame day inform’d mr. BACON^v of the great alarm of the Spanish preparations, which were fomewhat hotly apprehended; and that the intelligence, as far as mr. REYNOLDES could learn, agreed with what mr. BACON had already feen in fir ROBERT SIDNEY’s letter.

Mr. BACON having, in confequence of the earl’s letter, immediately written to mr. WRIGHT to know, whether the perfon juft come from Spain could inform his lordfhip of any thing of importance; Mr. WRIGHT, in his answer from Weftminfter on Saturday the 30th of October^w, told him, that fince his laft letter, he had not fpoken with that perfon, nor receiv’d any more particularities from Spain, except that there were fix of his profefion come from thence; but that if he return’d to him, he would induce him, as forcibly as he could, to repair to the earl, if he thought him able to fatisfy in any good part his lordfhip’s expectation. “ But I
 “ am afraid, *fays he*, that my reftRAINT will give the reft a fufficient warning; not that
 “ I doubt of my lord’s promife, but for that I fee his honour’s good endeavours fo
 “ maliciously croffed. For I affure you, my ftate is fuch, that if it had not been
 “ the good mind I bear to my prince and country, and the good opinion and affection
 “ I had conceived of my good lord and your worfhip, I would to God I had for
 “ my own intereft gone to Jerufalem, there to have lived among the Turks rather
 “ than in England; for there I had both enjoyed liberty and religion, whereof I
 “ am here deprived.” He then represents the rigour of his confinement, that he
 was *chamberlefs, manlefs, moneylefs, libertylefs, and friendlefs*: “ And moft of all,
 “ *adds he*, it grieveth me, that my liberty and life feem to be wholly fubject to his
 “ pleafure, whom all wife men I talked with beyond the feas hold not only for
 “ our capital enemy, but alfo void of all religion, honefty, and charity towards
 “ God, himfelf, and his neighbours, changing his fefts as the chameleon his
 “ colours, wallowing in avarice and riotoufnefs, debafing, exalting, imprifoning,
 “ and killing who ftandeth in his way, to hinder or further the project of his am-
 “ bitious defigns.” He defires therefore, that the earl of Effex would obtain for
 him a laft favour, that of banifhment out of England, fince life without liberty is a
 continual death. “ Neither fhall his honour, *fays he*, be afraid, that I will ever be
 “ fo unnatural to my country to procure any foreign invafion, which I know fuf-
 “ ficiently incenfed thereunto already; or help in any cafe to further thofe actions.

^v Vol. XIII. fol. 140.

^w Vol. XIII. fol. 272.

“ For if you know I would not go thither to give relation from thence hither, how
 “ much less will I be false to my native soil? But if it shall not so please his honour
 “ to favour me, I would request him to set down some order, or what he would
 “ require at my hand, if I had my liberty; and I will put in effectual sureties, both
 “ that I shall be forthcoming, and that I shall perform whatsoever his lordship im-
 “ poseth upon me. If I had obtained my liberty, perhaps better intelligence had
 “ been given of matters than I fear hitherto hath been related. But howsoever
 “ my case shall stand either of liberty or restraint, I am most ready to serve her
 “ majesty and his honour in whatsoever lieth in my power, to the honour and glory
 “ of God.”

Mr. BACON sent this letter of mr. WRIGHT's to the earl inclosed in one from himself^a, tho' the contents of it made him both angry and surpriz'd, to see mr. WRIGHT fallen into such a fit of impatience.

Mr. BACON's old friend THEODORE BEZA having written a letter to monf. CASTOL from Geneva on the 1st of November 1596 O. S.^b, the latter communicated it to mr. BACON. In this letter he complains, that their distance allow'd them so few opportunities of hearing from each other, and expresses his joy, at the account, which had been brought him, of monf. DE LA FONTAINE's miraculous escape with his life, in the accident mention'd above, which happen'd to him on the Thames. He observes, that the city of Geneva was still preserv'd by providence, notwithstanding the dangers, to which it had been expos'd from the duke of Savoy, and was now cover'd by the truce agreed upon till the beginning of the next year, and in hopes of a favourable issue of the assembly at Roan, either in a war between the king of France and that duke, or some tolerable peace, which should comprehend that city. That as monf. CASTOL could not be a stranger to what had pass'd in the synod at Saumur*, and the assembly at Loudun†, which had continued so long, and was now translated to Vendosme‡, he would not enter into the particulars of it, but only remark, that as on the one hand they blessed God for inspiring so holy and firm a union, so on the other they were astonish'd at the boldness, or rather impudence, of some persons, who had presum'd to open their mouths for the introducing some innovations and innovators, the consequence of which could be nothing but confusion, and at last horrible desolation; a conduct, which was never the least expected from some of them. He pray'd, that God would restrain these presumptuous and inconstant spirits, and especially the false zealots for peace, who wanted to reconcile light with darkness, and were so blinded by the just judgment of God, as to raise a question, whether the body, of which antichrist was the head, was a true church, or not; and consequently whether those, who had separated from it, were schismatics and heretics. He wish'd, that such persons would appear in their real and proper light; and observ'd, that the ministers of Geneva had written upon the subject with great frankness and sincerity. and, he hop'd, with success. With regard to himself, he said, that for this year past, tho'

^a Vol. XIII. fol. 144.

^b Vol. XIV. fol. 133.

* BENOIST hist. 1^e edit. de Nantes, tom. 1.

k iv. p. 175.

† Ibid. l. iv. p. 165.

‡ Ibid. p. 177.

he had not suffer'd either by a fever or any acute disease, and enjoy'd an extraordinary share of ease for so advanced an age as that of 78 years, yet he was grown so infirm, that he was generally confin'd to his house, and sometimes to his bed; but had put his last hand to his larger annotations upon the new testament, which were actually in the press.

CHARLES BLOUNT, lord Montjoy, being sent to Portsmouth, of which he was governor, to examine the state of that place, in a letter from thence to secretary CECIL on the 2d of November^e, observ'd, that the intelligence of a great fleet setting forth in Spain coming from many places, and much agreeing, was likely to be true; and that the least, which the Spaniards could intend, was to convey men into the Low-Countries, and by the way to take some revenge upon England. That on those parts they could do nothing worthy of their attempting; tho' they might on the Isle of Wight or Portsmouth, the one being a corner of England of some fame abroad, full of wealthy men's houses, and hard to be succoured; the other carrying the reputation of the chief fortress of England, the taking of which with the ordnance and other munition would be at the least much honour to them. That, which they must do on the Isle of Wight, was either to stay on it, which, his lordship thought, they would not, because there were few places to be made strong, no havens, but open roads, and not fit for their purpose, if they intended invasion, being divided from the main; or else to spoil the chief houses, which lying far asunder, and their forces not to be divided, would require more time than would stand with their haste. For Portsmouth, they might ride with their whole fleet near the shore off the island of Portsey, land their men, and take the passage into the island, before it was possible for his lordship to call in the country to make any head; and it would be difficult to defend the town by so small a garriſon even from a sudden violence. But if the whole forces, appointed to succour the place, which were 2000, and lay far asunder, could come thither intirely and at one instant, yet he look'd not to find 600 of them well arm'd, not one leader able to direct, or scarce even to obey, nor any of those spirits, who must always be mix'd with those companies, which do great matters. "And, sir, *adds he*, besides
 " more particular respects, and the necessity of our defence, I think few things
 " have concern'd the estate more than the success of this fleet, tho' their attempt
 " be only the spoil of some one place; the honour were so great to beat the king of
 " Spain at home, and to repulse him here: and the sway, that reputation beareth
 " in these matters of war, makes him so sensible of his late blow, and so hasty to
 " heal it. And this, sir, I doubt not but will be done, if there be order, out of
 " especial care and more than of course, taken for the discharge of all places in danger,
 " which I think are not many; and chiefly by filling them with as many good
 " spirits, as may be spared, for they must be the soul of the country's body, who,
 " believe me, sir, will not fight but by example, and drawn out by others valour
 " will do as much as any nation in the world." For the Isle of Wight, he observes, that it were good, that the nearest parts of Dorsetshire, Wiltshire, and Hampshire were order'd to be in more than ordinary readiness: and for the place he proposes the greatest part of Hampshire and the nearest of Sussex, and the marquis of Win-

* Original letters to the earl of Essex, collected by JOHN CASTLE, clerk of the privy seal.

chester to bring down the forces from other countries, which should come to their supply; but if this were not order'd by the lords of the council, the lord MONTJOY was apprehensive, that the marquis would keep the best men about himself. The greatest advantage for giving the enemy a blow at his landing would be horse; and therefore too many could not be directed to the first place attempted. In Portsmouth if the queen would please to have a greater store of arms, the lord MONTJOY could presently arm a number of poor people about that place, who were excellent marksmen and good bodies, but not able to furnish themselves, and his lordship had but 50 muskets in store. “The fortifications of the town, *adds he,* “are little farther finish’d than PAULESUR and I shew’d my lord treasurer by a plat “about half a year past: for since I have only wrought with the garrison and some “few else to draw the little money, which is left, to the uttermost, it being far “unable to finish the whole work. I pray, sir, if it be thought necessary, let “PAULESUR be sent down to make the best of this, that is done, or to do what is “else requisite. Thus much, sir, upon the first face of things here I have gather’d; “whereof if you think any thing fit or worthy of their lordship’s knowledge, I “beseech you to impart it to my lords of the council for the discharge of my duty.” He added in the postscript, that he had that day dispatch’d a little pinnace, that row’d with oars, for the coast of Spain, to return immediately upon any discovery; and that he thought of sending another to lie not far from the Isle of Wight.

This lord MONTJOY was descended of a very antient and noble family, the fortune of which was much sunk by the extravagance of his grandfather, his father’s obstinate pursuit of the philosopher’s stone, and his brother’s profuseness^d: He was educated at the university of Oxford, and thence remov’d to the inner Temple. He was first introduced to the court at Whitehall at about the age of twenty; and the advantages of his person, an agreeable countenance, and tall stature, recommended him to the immediate notice of the queen, then at dinner, who asking her carver, who he was, could receive no satisfaction from him, till a farther inquiry being made, she was inform’d, that he was brother to the lord WILLIAM MONTJOY. This inquiry, with the eye of her majesty fix’d upon him, according to her custom of daunting those, whom she did not know, made the young gentleman blush; which her majesty observing gave him her hand to kiss, encouraging him with gracious words and looks; and turning her speech to the lords and ladies said, that she had no sooner observ’d him, but that she saw, that there was in him some noble blood, with some other expressions of pity towards his house, and then again demanding his name, said to him, “Fail you not to come to court, and I will bethink myself, “how to do you good.” His fortune was at that time very small, and that, which he succeeded to afterwards in 1594^a upon the death of his brother, was no more than a thousand marks a year. His natural bashfulness and modesty, with his inclination to travelling, and to arms, in which he distinguish’d himself in the Low-Countries, and in Bretagne in France under sir JOHN NORREYS, would have stood in the way of his fortune at court, if the advice of a friend, and the express command of her majesty, had not brought him to a stricter residence there. For having twice

^d NAUNTON’S *Fragmenta regalia*.

^a CAMDEN. ELIZ. p. 635. NAUNTON is mis-

taken in saying, that his brother died shortly after his admission to the court.

or thrice stolen away without the queen's leave or knowledge into Bretagne, where he had a company, she sent a messenger to him, with a strict charge to the general, sir JOHN NORREYS, to see him sent home; and upon his return she demanded of him in very reproachful expressions, how he durst go over without her consent? adding, "serve me so once more, and I will lay you fast enough for running. You will never leave till you are knock'd over the head, as that inconsiderate fellow SIDNEY* was. You shall go, when I send you. In the mean time see, that you lodge in the court, where you may follow your books, read, and discourse of the wars†." His first appearance gave jealousy to the earl of Essex. For sir CHARLES BLOUNT, as he then was, having run one day very well at tilt, the queen was so highly pleas'd with him, that she sent him in token of her favour a queen at chess in hold, richly enamel'd, which his servants the next day fasten'd to his arm with a crimson ribband. The earl, as he pass'd thro' the privy chamber, espying this, and sir CHARLES's cloak under his arm, the better to display it, inquir'd what it was, and for what cause there fix'd? Mr. FULK GREVILLE answering, that it was the queen's favour, which the day before, after the tilting, she had sent to sir CHARLES BLOUNT; the earl, in a kind of emulation, and as tho' he would have limited her majesty's grace, said, "Now I perceive every fool must have a favour." This bitter and public affront coming to sir CHARLES's ear, he sent his lordship a challenge, and they met near Marybone park, where the earl was wounded in the thigh, and disarm'd. The queen missing them was very curious to know the truth, which being at last told her, she swore by God's death, that it was fit, that some one or other should take the earl down, and teach him better manners; otherwise there would be no rule with him. But this incident was the beginning of the friendship between the earl and sir CHARLES, which the queen herself then establish'd. He succeeded that earl as lord deputy of Ireland, in which he continued till the beginning of the reign of king JAMES I. by whom he was made lord lieutenant, and at his return to England was sworn of his majesty's privy council, and soon after made master of the ordnance, and had a grant of two hundred pounds yearly old rent of assise out of the Exchequer, and as much more out of the dutchy of Lancaster, to him and his heirs for ever, besides the country of Lecale in Ireland, together with other lands in the pale there, which after the decease of MABEL countess of Kildare were to fall to the crown for want of heirs male of her body. He had also the full superintendency of all Irish affairs, no dispatches passing to and from the lord deputy, sir GEORGE CAREW, afterwards earl of Totness, but thro' his hands as lord lieutenant. He was knight of the garter, and at last created earl of Devonshire, which honour he did not long enjoy, dying on the 3d of April 1606 of a burning fever after a sickness of nine days^b. FYNES MORYSON, secretary to him, while he was lord deputy of Ireland, has given a very ample and exact account of his lordship's conduct in that kingdom, and drawn his character with great judgment and candour, not concealing his defects, and acknowledging^c, that in the last period of his life, after the Irish wars, *grief of unsuccessful love brought him to his last end*. He had engag'd in a mutual affection and even promises of marriage with

* Sir PHILIP.

^b FYNES MORYSON's Itinerary, part II. b.

† NAUNTON in the character of sir WILLIAM 3. p. 295, 296.

CECIL, lord Burghley.

^c P. 48.

the earl of Essex's sister PENELOPE, before she was wife of ROBERT lord RICH, whom she afterwards abandon'd, and had several children by lord MONTJOY, who finding her, upon his return from Ireland, divorced from her husband, married her at Wanstead in Essex December 26, 1605, the ceremony being perform'd by his chaplain mr. WILLIAM LAUD, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury^d, an act, which gave great concern to that divine upon cooler reflection, and expos'd him to just censure. And his lordship's conduct with respect to that lady gave such a wound to his reputation, tho' he endeavour'd to excuse it by a written apology, that the impression, which the disgrace made upon him, was believ'd to have shorten'd his life^{*}; and it would have been of more advantage to his character, if he had died two or three years before the world was weary of him, or he had drawn that infamy upon himself. He left at his death to this lady 1500*l.* a year and most of his moveables; but of five children, which she father'd upon him at her parting from lord RICH, he provided for no more than three, leaving to the eldest son between three and four thousand pounds a year, and to a daughter 6000*l.* in money^e. This son was probably that MONTJOY BLOUNT, who was created earl of Newport in the Isle of Wight by king CHARLES I. and died at Oxford February 12, 1665^f.

Mr. BACON on the 3d of November 1596 wrote to mr. ROLSTON^a, to thank him in the earl of Essex's and his own name for his diligence in writing; which if he could increase, he might assure himself, he should thereby more and more content his lordship, and make himself way to her majesty's grace and favour, for the recovery of which the earl omitted no opportunity nor endeavour, and had written at mr. BACON's request very affectionately to the governor of Bayonne concerning mr. ROLSTON and mr. JACKSON; which letter mr. BACON seconded and accompanied with one from himself, in remembrance of his old acquaintance with mons. DE LA HILLIERE.

Sir THOMAS BASKERVILLE, who was sent over with some auxiliary troops to France, in a letter from Arques to the earl of Essex on the 5th of November^b, inform'd him, that he had been forc'd by contrary winds into Dieppe, whence he went to the French king to receive his commandments, and to deliver both her majesty's and his lordship's letters. The king seem'd very glad of the arrival of the English, but told him, that he did not look for them at that time, as he had, upon her majesty's request, consented to their stay. He dislike'd sir THOMAS's instructions, alledging, that they were contrary to her majesty's letters to him, in which she had desir'd him not to hazard his person, but to make war by his lieutenants; whereas by these instructions she commands her forces to do nothing, unless he was personally in the army, and that in Picardy. His intention had been, before sir THOMAS's coming to him, to have sent them upon the frontier, to feed with the rest of his army upon the enemy. But he had now given order for their entering into St. Valery, which was said to be infected with the plague, on which account sir THOMAS must protest

^d HEYLIN's life of archbishop LAUD. Part I. book I. p. 52, 53.

^{*} Id. *ibid.* p. 54.

^e WINWOOD's Memorials. Vol. II. p. 206.

^f WOOD, Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. fol. 138.

^a Vol. XIV. fol. 39.

^b Vol. XIV. fol. 34.

against it, and take some other place. The king assur'd him, that within fifteen days he would be with them. But the assembly of the states would, it was apprehended, detain him longer, as he was in hopes by that assembly to set a better order in his state, especially with regard to the finances and garrisons, which eat up the marrow of all his treasures to no purpose. For his garrisons amounted to an 130,000; and of these there were not to be drawn out of their provinces into the field one thousand. Not indeed that they were so many, but that he paid for so many. This, it was thought, would be hardly brought about, since every great man was particularly interested in it; and their greatness depended most upon it. But at present they seem'd not to withstand it, assuring themselves, that the protestants would scarce be drawn to give their consent to discharge their garrisons, considering, that they had no interest in, nor were made capable of any office in the state.

There were in the French court three great factions; the leaguers, in shew most favour'd, which discontented very much the royalists and those of the religion, and it was thought, that the two latter had a correspondence together, and would join the better to strengthen themselves against the other. The protestants had made their request to the king, that the edict might take place in its full strength, and that liberty might be given to exercise their religion openly in every town; and likewise to be render'd capable of all offices and charges of the state, as well judicatory as others. And there had been divers letters cast about the court, wherein they declar'd, that they would not be longer delay'd. This had troubled the king much; but his apprehension of losing his mistress mov'd him a great deal more, so that he neither came abroad, nor suffered almost any person to see him the day, on which she was brought to bed, but continued with her, and warm'd clothes with his own hands; which occasion'd the French to say, *Nostre roy est devenu sage femme de madame la marquise*; to which duke D'ESPERNON answer'd, *Tout beau, mess. il ne faut parler ainsi du roy*. In this sort they talk'd under his cloth of state, and under the window of the marquise's chamber; so that he might have heard it. Sir THOMAS added, that he had receiv'd a letter from sir ROBERT SIDNEY, in which he wrote, that neither sir THOMAS's brother nor himself should hold Ramekins; but that on account of the earl's letters he was contented, that sir THOMAS's brother should have the company, if he would acknowledge the gift from him, and thankfully accept it as only come from him. To this letter sir THOMAS answer'd, that till then he had thought, that he had served the queen, and not sir ROBERT; and therefore, if the company were not given him by her majesty, he should take none from him: “ And for the place, *says he*, I have told him, that
 “ it was given me by her majesty, and not by him; neither had he power to give it
 “ to his brother, who fought it, nor ever yet gave it to any. And therefore I have
 “ given order to my lieutenant not to draw the company out without your lordship
 “ wrote to command him. For I protest, besides her majesty's gift, it cost me to
 “ capt. GRIMESTON 88 l. and since that time bedding hath cost me 280 l. I find no
 “ reason, nor I hope her majesty, by your lordship's good means, will not suffer me
 “ to receive such a loss with disgrace. And this I assure your lordship, that at the
 “ time her majesty gave me the place, he never opened his mouth to withstand sir
 “ RALPH LANE, but wish'd me to deal in it, and to intreat your lordship to second
 VOL. II. C c “ me

“ me in it. I have willed my wife not to send the letter I had written unto him,
 “ till such time as your lordship’s pleasure be known, whether you will have it go
 “ or no. I humbly desire your lordship not to suffer me in my absence so to be
 “ wronged; for I protest I had rather never be worth one groat, nor never to carry
 “ any place in the wars, and to seek means presently for my return by your lord-
 “ ship’s good means, than it should, after such a sort, be carried from me. My
 “ trust is in you, and no other; and I hope I have given your lordship a sufficient
 “ knowledge, that I am only your’s; and I have grounded in myself such an
 “ opinion of your favour to me, that I cannot think you will suffer me to be
 “ wronged.”

The next day, November 6th, mr. BACON acquainted dr. HAWKYNs^c, that since his last there had been hot alarms of the Spaniards speedy coming to England, 90 sail being already at the Groyne, where were expected 60 more, upon which general order was taken both to defend and offend.

The earl of Essex had been that week very ill, and had a strong fit of an ague, but was now free from it, and receiv’d that day a very kind message from the queen, who charg’d him to spare his attendance at court till his perfect recovery.

The earl of Shrewsbury since his return from France had not stirred abroad; and therefore mr. BACON must defer the French occurrents till his next, which was likely to be by a servant of his, EDWARD YATES, whom sir CHARLES DAVERS was to take with him into Italy, and had already used with great kindness and confidence.

Dr. HAWKYNs had before this, in a letter from Venice of the 6th of November N. S.^d, among other articles of intelligence, inform’d mr. BACON, that WISEMAN, the grand prior, was now in his return to Malta, pensioned liberally, as was said, by the king of Spain, 1500 crowns yearly. What he had effected at Rome was not yet known, except that the enterprize for Ireland went forward with the same plot, which the last marquis DE SANTA CROCE had design’d, had he not been poison’d, as the Spaniards said, by the ambition of the duke DE MEDINA; for he proposed to have taken an infallible course, by not passing along the coasts of France, but going directly, as they now they said, intended, thro’ the western ocean, and landing in the west and north parts of Ireland, in Connaught and Ulster, with opportunities enough, assuring themselves now to provide for all inconveniences, and correct all errors committed either by sign. GIOSEPPE during the lord GREY’s government, or before or since. “ Herein, *adds the doctor*, I will be bold to tell you, that since my lord’s
 “ most glorious victories in Spain, a monsignor here, secretary to the pope’s legate,
 “ hath presented me with more courtesies than before, with often speeches of her
 “ majesty’s most rare and princely virtues, only pitying, that so great a queen
 “ should be separated out of the bosom of the church. Whereupon I, in the pre-
 “ sence of divers other secretaries of princes, took occasion to shew her majesty’s
 “ princely affection towards the catholic faith in retaining all the sacred rites of the
 “ church in her own court, and in all the cathedral churches throughout her do-

^c Vol. XIV. fol. 8.

^d Vol. XIV. fol. 177.

“minions; her maintaining the *grandezza* of the prelates, archbishops and bishops,
 “as much, if not more than any other catholic prince whatsoever; the princely
 “offices, that she is able and ready to do more than any other prince christian in
 “restraining the Turk’s fury against christendom, which her majesty shewed by
 “manifest effects some years since, in appeasing and reconciling the Turk with the
 “Polac, against whom was denounced fire and sword; insinuating, that by cle-
 “mency and charitable proceeding her majesty both herself, and by her example
 “many other princes, might be easily reconciled to the see apostolic. This I know
 “could not possibly do any harm, and happily it might do good in staying the
 “pope from yielding hastily any assistance to the Spanish designs.”

The doctor observes, that he had finish’d his relation of Ferrara, which, as soon as
 transcrib’d fair, he should send to the earl of Essex, desiring, that it might be compar’d
 with other Italian relations, even the best, to find the difference between them and
 that, and betwixt dutiful affection and desire of gain. He was likewise proceeding
 answerably with the rest of the princes of Italy with the most modern particulars,
 that he could recover, and perhaps of other states besides. He affirms, that, after
 the most diligent enquiry, the earl’s letters of recommendation were never deliver’d
 to CORSINO in London, nor sent to CAPPONI at Venice; and that the wrong done
 in that point was so much the greater, as that at first he might have gone to Flo-
 rence; whereas now he was made so much known against his will, that the great
 duke had sent express word, that the doctor could not possibly come without certain
 danger, the duke’s secretary at Venice protesting to the doctor, that there was watch
 laid for him at Bologna.

The lord MONTJOY being at Plymouth sent a letter, on the 7th of November
 1596, to the earl of Essex*, to acquaint him, that they could gather nothing from
 what they heard in those parts, to conclude what at that instant was become of the
 Spanish armada, more than what the earl might better guess upon the particularities
 now sent him. “But our estate, *says he*, may now see a constant and strange war
 “determined against us, and the tempest likely to fall very shortly upon us. The
 “inconveniences, we may hope, they have suffer’d by this tempest, easy to be
 “supply’d by the provisions, they left behind, no doubt but continually preparing
 “and growing; and MARCUS ARAMBOLO’s fleet free hitherto from the fortune the
 “rest have run, and safe in the port it is likely they will first return unto, being
 “laden with arms, munition, and victual, as a magazine for their whole design;
 “and near of as great force, as the fleet of this their first enterprize, being all great
 “ships of war, some equal with the greatest, the least 500 tuns. Two old Italian
 “tercio’s and 2000 expected, to be taken in at Andalusia. Against such a fleet of
 “about seventy great men of war, besides hulks and others, composed all of men of
 “hazard by sea and land only of experience in their commands a
 “and free from the cumber of voluntaries, the inconvenience of whose disorder and
 “delicacy having found in 88, of purpose they now except them in their employ-
 “ments, it behoveth us to make a strong head with greater haste than well we may,
 “but much sooner than I fear we will. The ships and forces here are too small to

* Original letters to ROBERT earl of Essex, collected by JOHN CASTLE.

“ work any effect, if they were ready ; but, as they say, not to be made ready here.
 “ Wherefore the time we keep them here to defend, we keep them unable to defend
 “ us now, and unready hereafter. This country must be presently ordered for a
 “ war, for their return may be instantly, but certain to be shortly : and I think
 “ they choose the winter on reason, and not of necessity, for they know our old
 “ ways and security upon the least hopes, and may justly encourage themselves by
 “ the unreadiness of our navy.” His lordship desires the earl to write these
 consequences as plain and as deep as he could into the considerers of our estate ;
 “ and as you, *says he*, be the chief instrument to work the means, and to use them
 “ for our assurance ; so do I wish, that your lordship would somewhat more value
 “ their strength, and proportion yours unto it more than you were wont. For I
 “ know you will not go to discover, but to fight. And, good my lord, let not
 “ your desire to strike the first blow make you too good cheap at home. For
 “ lay as much weight as you can on the employment, it is you, that must
 “ needs go under it ; and, if you sink, the great mistress of all our endeavours will
 “ be unserved. I beseech your lordship free us as soon as you can, that with the
 “ weather-beaten ships we may new rig ourselves to do the queen what service she
 “ will command us.”

The lord WILLOUGHBY of Eresby having met with a friend of his, whom he had known abroad, and thought able to give account of the state of affairs there, sent him to mr. BACON with a letter on the 8th of November 1596^f, in which he acquainted him, that he had committed such matters, as concern'd news, to that gentleman, his honest and worthy friend, approved beyond sea, and now well met here, who was very able to report, and whom he lov'd, “ for that, *says he*, he
 “ loves me, for that he follows my best lord the earl of Essex, and especially for
 “ his own insufficiency. When you have discern'd his inside thoroughly, you will
 “ not blame me to have recommended him to you. And for that my lord hath
 “ much to do, and many to remember, spare a mindful word sometimes to my
 “ lord, knowing well his services, that he may be comforted with true hopes.”

Mr. HUDSON the same day wrote to mr. BACON^g, of a stratagem of the Spaniards in Scotland to make England odious. They had made a great number of ensigns with the picture of a headless lady, with an ax all bloody, and a shamble likewise bloody, with an inscription, that the horror of this fact requir'd a revenge both from heaven and earth. Capt. KER's sister's son reported privately to his friends, that his uncle had shew'd him one of these in his chamber, and said, that there was a great number of them prepared already in Scotland. This capt. KER was the chief military man about the earl of Huntley.

A letter of intelligence was written to mr. WAAD, clerk of the council, from Antwerp on the 9th of November^h, acquainting him of the following articles of certain and true news, which requir'd the utmost consideration, the matters were of such importance to England. First, that the cardinal arch-duke had great preparation of men, to the number of 8000, which were about Bruges ; and at Antwerp

^f Vol. XIV. fol. 5.^g Vol. XIV. fol. 37.^h Vol. XIV. fol. 59.

there were 200 barks, each of which would hold forty soldiers; and these were to besiege Ostend, and put in readiness with all possible expedition. “ Therefore, “ *says the writer of this letter*, look well to yourselves. I am certain, that some of “ that town [Ostend] have intelligence to betray it. The marquisat of this city “ hath taken up all the expert mariners in Antwerp, and they are gone towards “ Ghent, and so to Bruges with these kind of boats. And capt. SMITH doth “ manage this business with HUGH OWEN and father HOLT; and the marquis of “ Malaspina and don GASTON LABERLOTE, and the duke of Arschot are gone to “ take sundry of the men. The prince of Accalini is sent from the cardinal with all “ expedition into Spain, and goes to Calais; for from thence are now all matters of “ importance sent to the king of Spain. And therefore it is necessary, that you “ keep that passage, for so you might discover great matters. All the ships of Dunkirk “ are ~~staid~~ not to go forth. The king of Spain hath sent 125 captains throughout “ all Spain to gather soldiers; and I have heard lately reported, that he hath sworn “ by his crown, he will be revenged for Cadiz. One, that is come from thence, “ saith there are 4000 men ready in Spain. I pray you to give order, so soon as “ you can, at Bergen-op-zoom, that I may come thither safely for some matters, “ that I have of importance. I pray you send me some money, &c.”

Mr. BACON the same day wrote to the lord WILLOUGHBY of Eresbyⁱ, that in acknowledgment of his lordship's daily demonstrations of kindness, he presumed in special confidence to send to his lordship a letter inclos'd, requesting him to peruse it, and reserve it only to himself, without taking notice of the sight of it by his means. He doubted not, but that his lordship had heard of the lord BURGH's and sir WALTER RALEGH's counter-points: but the best was, that the descant pleas'd more their own conceits than the sovereign's ear. “ I will be bold likewise, *adds* “ *he*, without flattery to advertise and assure your lordship, that a special mine against “ your honour hath not been only vented of late, but blown back upon the chief “ pioneers; which ought to be so much more comfortable to your lordship, in that “ it is without your knowledge and peril. Under the seal of your noble word for “ secrecy, I will likewise add this truth, that sir THOMAS CECIL * taxed very lately “ your lordship's facility, giving out, that every one of your chamber may lead you “ whither he will.” He did not doubt but that he should hear more of sir THOMAS's descant very shortly, which he would not fail of certifying to his lordship, whom he requested to return this and the inclos'd letter sealed by the bearer, whom he had directed to wait till his lordship had done with them.

Mr. BACON on the 10th of November wrote to mr. REYNOLDES^k concerning some particulars, with which he was unwilling to trouble the earl of Essex, on account of his lordship's indisposition, and the solemnities of the marriage. With regard to mr. WRIGHT, he dar'd not undertake to answer any farther for his patience, unless his lordship should send him some immediate comfort in procuring his liberty, or some other honourable encouragement. He desir'd the earl's direction for his answer to monf. DE SANCY, which he would willingly return by his servant YATES, whom he

ⁱ Vol. XIV. fol. 79.

* Eldest son of the lord treasurer, and after-

wards earl of Exeter.

^k Vol. XIV. fol. 29.

detain'd only till he knew, whether it was his lordship's pleasure to write to ANTONIO PEREZ by him, being more sure than any post. That mr. VANNEIL and the Portuguese had been with him the day before, whom he had deferr'd to speak with, the former expecting the queen's answer to the prince elector Palatine; the other his lordship's resolution, whether he intended to employ his service or no.

He wrote the next day to his lordship himself¹, to acquaint him, that the French ambassador had that afternoon visited him, and at his departure recommended to him the presenting of two requests to the earl; the first, that his lordship would dispose her majesty to enlarge her restrictions for the employment of her 2000 men; since otherwise they would be rather burdenous than auxiliary. His second request related to his own particular, and was, that since he was *nullement en couche*, either for himself, his train, or horses, his lordship would make his excuses for not meeting her majesty in her coming to town. Mr. BACON then inform'd the earl, that since he had seen him, he had been instantly requested to procure his lordship's favour for the translation of dr. RICHARD VAUGHAN from the bishopric of Bangor to that of Salisbury; "which in respect, *says he*, of his learning and sufficiency, "and of her majesty's good liking of him, and that he is already a bishop, I have "presumed to promise my best furtherance to your lordship under your allowance "and censure." But this application in favour of that bishop for the see of Salisbury did not succeed, but he was translated to that of Chester in June 1597, and from thence removed to the bishopric of London in December 1604, in which he died March 30, 1607.

Mr. ROBERT NAUNTON, who had attended the duke DE BOUILLON to Holland, in a letter from the Hague on the 3d of November O. S. to the earl of Essex^m, inform'd his lordship, that on the 20th of September, when he perceived all things in the French negotiation to be carried so closely at the beginning, he thought it better, especially upon the duke's own motion, to accompany mr. VERNON, a young gentleman committed to his care by the earl, in seeing of North Holland, there to learn somewhat by the eye, rather than to sit idle in the Hague, where by the ear they could understand nothing. At their return to the Hague on the 1st of October they met with fresh advices of count MAURICE's giving out, that the king of Spain was certainly dead; immediately upon which report the count form'd a design to attempt Hulst, and after he thought his project to be ripe for execution, went himself towards that town. But finding by the way his enterprize defeated by the enemy's foreknowledge of it, he spent two or three days in disposing of his garrisons in Breda, and transplanting new companies in the room of the old, by reason of a mutinous unkindness betwixt the captain of the town, mons. DE MERAUGUIERES and capt. LAMBERT, the serjeant-major there. Mr. NAUNTON was no sooner return'd to the Hague, after attending count MAURICE towards Hulst, but his ears were fill'd with the noise of the Spaniards arrival in Ireland, and of their mighty fleet prepared for the revenge of Cadiz, of which the Dutch expected daily to be more particularly advertised from England, being assur'd, that the Spanish fleet sail'd from Port Sebastian about the middle of October N. S. and perswaded, that the danger of

¹ Vol. XIV. fol. 4.

^m Vol. XIV. fol. 63.

England was much greater than in the year 1588, by reason that there was no apprehension of such an armament from Spain so soon after such a blow receiv'd; and concluding, that it was now necessary for Spain to war mortally *usque ad inter-necionem* with England, unless it was willing to forfeit the West Indies. " But of this, *says mr.* NAUNTON, as also of the well-handled interception of Jo. MENDOZA by a Fleming, that undertook to transport him from Spain to Calais, your lordship is by this time thoroughly inform'd by the report of him, whom the states of purpose have address'd thither to advertise the singularities of the whole Spanish designs and their wars."

With regard to the sum of the whole treaty between the French and United Provinces, mr. NAUNTON was told by mr. GILPIN, that her majesty was to receive a counterpoint of it in express words under seal from the states thro' his hands. Mr. NAUNTON found mr. GILPIN jealous enough of his charge, and discontented on account of the insufficiency of his stipend, and somewhat unsatisfied, that he could hear no oftner from the earl, and, when he did, only in a perfunctory manner by mr. REYNOLDES by way of excuse for his lordship's infinite domestic employments. He still represented to mr. NAUNTON the importance of a good intelligence between the earl and count MAURICE, for which purpose he offer'd his service very zealously.

There had been great public rejoicings in Holland for the league * of the three states against the common enemy, with banquets, pageants, bonfires, setting up the French arms in every corner, &c. But there was a private question made by some, who would fain see farther than the rest, why the French king having combin'd these two confederates, had not likewise engag'd the five fingers (as they term'd them, meaning Scotland and Denmark) to perfect and make his party sure, especially as they had no small jealousy, that the king of Spain was as likely to attempt his entrance by Scotland or elsewhere, by reason both of the nakedness and openness of that country, and of the discontent of HUNTLEY, BOTHWELL, and others of the nobility, who, they presum'd, would be both forward and forcible instruments to work his entertainment there.

The negotiation being now finish'd, and the duke DE BOUILLON presented with six coach-horses, and divers chests of very fine and costly linen, &c. the princess of Orange, his sister, being, as was universally supposed, very unwilling to return into her melancholy widowhood, till she needs must, had persuaded him to dispose of his carriages by the way of Brill, from whence, mr. NAUNTON observ'd, they could expect no other than a hard and that no sudden passage. The duke's entertainment in Holland had been very honourable every way.

Mr. NAUNTON found the greatest and discreetest persons there very thankfully affected to her majesty, and much devoted to the earl of Essex; more so indeed as some of them had imparted to mr. NAUNTON in direct speeches, than they suppos'd

* The alliance between France and the United Provinces was concluded on the 31st of October 1596 N. S. METEREN, fol. 393.

the English soldiers, who liv'd among them, had given out. As for compliment and ceremonies, they profess'd, that they had no skill in them, and were ready enough to suspect them in their own nobility, and much more in strangers and soldiers. In which humour of theirs they had fram'd his excellency to their own temper, and made him a man of the least compliments for entertainment, that mr. NAUNTON had seen in a person of such rank. But that gentleman protested, that the greatest satisfaction, which he had received there, was to see their so general affection towards his lordship. They took themselves for the likeliest and readiest succours and assistants against the common enemy, that England would probably find, whenever there should be occasion; and what they could do, was quick of dispatch. The two counts of Embden had left the duke before his taking of leave, and were gone into their own country somewhat discontented; but upon what account mr. NAUNTON could not learn, but supposed it was for want of that extraordinary respect, which they look'd for, but which was not greatly to be expected from the French by any strangers.

In the postscript to this letter dated at the Brill the 11th of November N. S. he mentions, that since his writing the former part of his letter, which he had kept by him for want of a conveyance, the duke DE BOUILLON and all his train were come thither. The princess of Orange herself, with all her gentlemen, besides count MAURICE and the rest of the counts, brought him out of the Hague by three in the morning to Maesland Sluys by waggon, and there took leave of him, the men affectionately, the women passionately, on the 5th of November. He obliged the seamen to strive with the winds an hour and more to have come to Dover or Yarmouth; but being beaten back by tempest, he was contented to land at the Brill in the evening. The next day he was sent for by the princess back to the Hague by the young count FREDERICK HENRY, her favourite son, and monf. BUZENVAL *, the French ambassador in Holland, with whom upon Monday the 8th he went thither, leaving his train behind him at the Brill to attend his return thither at the next wind, which was now upon the change and expected immediately, and they had received word from him to be all in readiness that afternoon of the 11th, and that he would be with them the next day, if the wind should prove favourable, or upon Friday the 12th at the farthest.

There went in company with him PHILIP DE MARNIX sieur de Aldegonde, a man greatly esteem'd in Holland for both his learning and experience; whose employment was reported to be merely œconomical to take order for the arrears and revenues of the principality of Orange upon the death of the late governor.

Mr. BACON on the 12th of November wrote to the French ambassadorⁿ to acquaint him with the answer, which the earl of Essex had return'd to the two points, which himself had recommended to his lordship in his letter to mr. REYNOLDES; with

* PAUL CHOARD DE BUZENVAL. He was highly esteem'd by HENRY IV. who sent him ambassador to queen ELIZABETH, who being offended with some speech which he had used with her, the king being inform'd of it, recall'd and sent him to the states general. He died in Holland in 1607.

ⁿ Vol. XIV. fol. 23.

regard to the former of which the earl promis'd to use his utmost interest with the queen to dispose her to enlarge her restrictions in the employment of the 2000 men in France, according to the desire of his most christian majesty. And with regard to the embassador's excuses for not meeting the queen, his lordship engaged to represent them to her; but as a testimony of the esteem, which he had for the embassador, he assur'd the latter, that if he should change his intention, he would supply him with coaches and other carriages upon the occasion.

The embassador in his answer • return'd his thanks to mr. BACON for his zeal for the king his master's service, notwithstanding the opposition, which he met with from some persons, as he found by mr. EDMONDES, who had that day din'd with him. He acknowledg'd likewise his obligations to the earl of Essex, for his offer of coaches, &c. and said, that he was resolv'd to go and meet the queen at Lambeth, if she should, as was expected, come thither in order to cross the river. But mr. BACON wrote to him immediately^p, that since his former letter he had received one from the earl, that her majesty did not expect that ceremony from the embassador of meeting her, without some extraordinary occasion.

The earl of Essex being prevail'd upon by a *very dear friend*, as he styles him, to recommend to sir ROBERT SIDNEY the suit of a merchant for money assign'd and due to him, his lordship in his letter to that purpose dated at Greenwich the 12th of November 1596^a observ'd, that he was very unwilling to trouble sir ROBERT with such kinds of suits, knowing it to be needless; and added this postscript, “ I could
“ not refuse signing this letter; but till I can pay mine own debts, and take
“ up all my unthrifty humours, I will not think owing of money any sin
“ in you.”

Mr. NAUNTON being still detain'd at the Brill with the duke DE BOUILLON, wrote again from thence on the 15th of Nov. to the earl of Essex^r some particulars, which had come to his knowledge since his former letter, which was sent with this. With regard to the faction of Breda, he found some heart-burning between count MAURICE and count HOLLOCK concerning the right of that town, the latter laying claim to it by his marriage with the sister of the prince of Orange. The states seem'd, most of them, to stand very indifferent; but the burghers were inclinable to the right, if not of the prince himself, being with the enemy, yet of his sister the countess of HOLLOCK. It was suppos'd, that if the cardinal arch-duke had attempted Breda instead of Hulst, he would have carried it with much less loss than he did the other; and it was fear'd, that these intestine dissensions would be a speedy means to restore that place of strength to the enemy's hands, if some present better order were not precisely taken for it than could well be hop'd for in such a distraction.

Besides the presents made to the duke DE BOUILLON by the states, mention'd by mr. NAUNTON in his former letter, which he had seen himself, he had heard since, upon good authority, that there was likewise a casket full of gold and a chest of

• Vol. XIV. fol. 45.

^p Vol. XIV. fol. 25.

^r Vol. XIV. fol. 77.

^r Vol. XIV. fol. 64.

silver, the sum of both uncertain, and a patent of a thousand pounds annuity certain to the duke: “ But these reports, *says mr. NAUNTON*, go under such *benedicite*, as “ we must conceive they are unwilling, that England should have knowledge “ hereof. Yet I think it very true by comparing it with their like liberality to the “ Palsgrave in bestowing the other sister, and their general politic ostentation of all “ thankfulness towards the family of ORANGE. It may be they would not have her “ majesty take knowledge either of their ability or of their such presentation of the “ French, whom if they may enwrap in as mortal and irreconcilable a quarrel with “ Spain, as they see England is drawn into, they may well think these gifts put to “ good use so to divert the storms from themselves, and the French in time may “ find them *δῶρα ἄδωρα*, and learn with him, *ut timeant Danaos & dona ferentes*. I “ have sometimes, in their profusion of affection to the French, and profession to Eng- “ land, put some of them in mind, how much they are to distinguish between her “ majesty’s entertaining their cause, when it went low on their side, and no necessity “ at all on her’s; and this association of the French, whom their own extremities “ drive to seek them, and to suck them both; whereas England both gave and gives “ them suck and succour. They cannot dissemble the great odds, and I am per- “ suaded their very affections are bent well to England, besides the identity of the “ cause. But yet methinks I note a difference of respect carried towards a turn “ already serv’d, and a turn to serve, towards a friend already fast linked and assur’d, “ and a friend to be yet drawn on. And ARISTOTLE’s rule will still hold its own in “ all such kind of friendships for use, *Omnes magis amant eos, qui sibi metipsis debent,* “ *quam quibus ipsiment debent.*” Mr. NAUNTON then remarks, that the Dutch were exceedingly apprehensive of the Spanish fleet then afloat, and made all the preparation they might against it. Their hope was, that the first attack would be upon England or Ireland; yet they suspected themselves and their own home.

The cardinal arch-duke was providing eight regiments extraordinary, which would not be ready for three weeks to come. The Dutch said, that at a dead lift they hop’d, that Amsterdam would be able to furnish out an hundred sail; and if they could think the English fleet would be as ready as they found themselves, so as they might join in time, they would wish the Spaniard to come into the narrow seas, where they would hope to master him, tho’ he should bring his full number of 250 sail: but they seem’d to fear, that his course would be to the north-west of Ireland, where, they alledg’d, the havens were both better and better known to the Spaniards than to the English state.

Mr. NAUNTON began now to discern divers factions in the state of the United Provinces, tho’ more closely carried than elsewhere, the Spanish, the French, the English, the states faction, and the inferior commonalty, the plain faction, as they term’d it. As these had their five different ends, so they made almost as various constructions and descants upon every action, that came under their censure. As, for instance, of the duke DE BOUILLON’s staying in Holland, after having neglected one fair wind above a fortnight before, and divers half winds, or at least such as might have served their turns, if his haste had been so great, as at his first arrival was pretended. Some said, that he meditated his own greatness in Holland, and had no mind to overslip that opportunity of improving his credit and their conformity there

towards

towards him : some, that he penetrated, as far as he could, into the terms and depths of the amity between England and the United Provinces : some, that he waited the project of Spain, and the likelihood of that event before he left Holland : some, that he dallied with his own king, or would have him feel some miss of him, that he might return the welcomer to him, it being given out, that his majesty had written so earnestly for his return, as if he could resolve of nothing without his presence : and some plainly said, that the duke attended his own pleasure and courtly entertainment, in private sparing his own expences, and increasing that of the states, and therefore wish'd him a fair wind for his return.

The French embassador, who was ready to leave England, having visited mr. BACON late in the evening on the 18th of November 1596, the latter wrote that very night to the earl of Essex^t, to acquaint him with it, and that the embassador had requested him, that since the queen had promis'd his dispatch the next day, he might know from mr. BACON when and where he might take his leave of his lordship, and say two or three words to him a-part. “ He exhorted likewise, *says mr. BACON*, in his discourse, whether by the imperfection of a French free humour, or upon a dutiful affection to your lordship, and some confidence in my honest secrecy, I will not presume to define; but his words were these : *He! monsieur, qu'est ce que j'entends soudement d'estre advenu en vostre cour? Assurez vous, & vous le sçavez bien, que l'on remedieroit bientost cela en France par une belle defaite, sans laisser tromper l'honneur souverain par trop de respect envers des gens de basse estoffe.* Whereunto I chose rather to hearken by an attentive silence, than to answer; not knowing the particular grounds of his speech, giving him thereby occasion to continue his discourse, and yet with digression from that point.”

Mr. REYNOLDES on the 19th of November sent mr. BACON a packet, brought that morning by RIVET from ANTONIO PEREZ, “ who seemeth, *says mr. REYNOLDES in his letter^t*, to be very jealous of his letters, and to accuse somebody of want of secrecy and fidelity. I trust I shall not need to make any apology for myself to his lordship, or you, who have had experience of both in matters of greater importance or consequence than sig. PEREZ's advertisements; and yet I must confess, that they are very great. Howbeit it may please you, in your wonted favour towards me, to clear his lordship's mind, if happily or rather unhappily sig. PEREZ's jealousy might make any impression. You know, that his letters pass divers hands; and I trust I shall not be censured for others faults; neither will I justify myself by accusing others, but say this truly, that mr. SMITH hath had his letters in his hands sometimes four or five days. If any thing hath passed that way, let him answer for it. Mr. GREVILL also hath had divers of them to communicate with her majesty, who may be also abused by his servants or otherwise. I will yield my life into his lordship's hands, if ever I offend that way. These jealous humours of sig. PEREZ might, if his lordship were not truly honourable and just in his conceits, turn much to my prejudice. If he have discover'd any treachery in these matters, I wish my lord would intreat him to give true information thereof, that the party being known, the mischief might be the better avoided.”

Dr. HAWKYNs in his letter to mr. BACON from Venice on the 29th of November 1596 N. S. * after mentioning the news from various parts, observ'd, that the Spaniards in that city made small account of the new league between England, France, and the States General, saying, that they would so employ every one of the confederates, that they should have much to do to defend themselves. He inclos'd likewise his relation of Ferrara, which he desir'd might be communicated to the earl of Essex, according to whose instructions to him, he propos'd to proceed in drawing up accounts of the rest of the princes and states of Italy.

Mr. BACON wrote the next day, Nov. 20, to the doctor *, whose letters of the 25th of Oct. and 1st of November he had received that week, and sent immediately to the earl, who had imparted them to the queen. He informs the doctor of the report of the cardinal arch-duke's having laid siege to Ostend, where he was likely to receive great scorn: that ANTONIO PEREZ had signified to the earl, that JACOMO MARENCO, then with him in France, would go over to England to kiss his lordship's hand, that is, to taste of his liberality: that ANTONIO in his last letters to mr. BACON had complain'd, that he had not received certain letters, which MARENCO had sent to dr. HAWKYNs to be convey'd to mr. BACON. " My answer, *adds that gentleman*, is
 " ready, and shall be, that I marvel he would find such an accident strange, con-
 " sidering my lord of Essex's absence, sir ROBERT CECIL's preferment to the office
 " of secretary, his wonted respect towards him, and causeless jealousy towards my-
 " self, whose letters and advertisements, as I have been credibly inform'd, he layeth
 " continually in wait for."

Mr. FRANCIS DAVISON in a letter to his father from Lucca of the 20th of Nov. N. S. w acquainted him of the overthrow, which the Imperialists and Transylvanians had received of the Turks, in which the former were said to have lost 20,000 men, and that MAXIMILIAN fled one way and the prince another, the whole camp being dispers'd, and the Turks pursuing the victory towards Vienna. He desir'd to be inform'd of the state of affairs in England, tho' he doubted not, but that the earl of Essex had waded thro' all displeasures, and was arrived on the *terra firma* of his former grace and favour. " But yet, *says he*, would I very gladly be resolved of it,
 " and have it confirmed by yourself so much honoured by him, and so exceedingly
 " revered of me. On the other side I am afraid, that the late instalment and
 " canonisation of the venerable saint †, so contrary to so many promises, oaths, and
 " protestations, after so long expectation of the world, and so many prayers and
 " wishes to the contrary of all men, hath made many, that stood indifferent before,
 " now to bend their heads like bull-rushes with the wind, and, as the proverb is,
 " run with the stream. But yet I infinitely long to understand, whether this, added
 " to so many other former afflictions, have made you remit any of that former patience
 " and magnanimity, which have been to you no less honour and reputation in your
 " hardest fortune, than your moderation made you revered in your greatest
 " prosperity. I would also (and I think not without cause, being so much interested

* Vol. XIV. fol. 71.

† Fol. 10.

w Vol. XIV. fol. 164.

‡ Sir ROBERT CECIL.

“ in it) marvellously gladly know, whether you find as much mutability in those few
 “ friends, which were left, as you have experienced variety in your fortune, and
 “ what effects of hopes and despairs do offer themselves to be consider’d of.” He
 then excuses his expences abroad, and observes, that he had made many re-
 marks upon Tuscany and other places, which he would reduce into form, when
 he should know, that the earl of Essex had approved of what he had already sent over
 of that kind. He mentions, that there had been of late with the grand duke sir
 RICHARD FIENNES * “ (for whose restoring, *says he*, to an old undeserved barony, I
 “ remember, you were a suitor at your being at court) with infinite dishonour to the
 “ queen, and eternal infamy to himself. He had letters patents *secundum usum Sarum*
 “ to all princes for his favourable entertainment, which how he used among the Dutch
 “ princes, where he was, I know not, I think answerable to the lord [earl of Lincoln],
 “ with whom he came over to the landgrave’s, of whom we have heard many dis-
 “ honourable particulars, and you will know more.” He added, that the grand
 duke censur’d the public actions of England, having publicly affirm’d, that if the
 conduct of all the rest had been like that of the earl of Essex, and the queen had
 not been betray’d, the king of Spain had receiv’d no treasure that year. He remarks
 at the close of his letter, that the true name of one of those unnatural Englishmen,
 mention’d in his last letter, was ALEXANDER FAIRCLOTH, as he had since under-
 stood by a letter intercepted by a friend of his own.

The state of affairs in Scotland at this time was written in a letter from Edinburgh
 on the 23d of November 1596², to this purpose. The ministers were in a conti-
 nual uproar, clamouring against the king and counsellors for the liberty allow’d to
 the excommunicated earls, having shewn the king a copy of a respite granted to those
 lords to remain for the space of six months in the country peaceably, unmolested by
 any man. This respite was subscribed by his majesty, the duke of Lennox, the earl
 of Mar, the earl of Athol, the treasurer, president, mr. JOHN LINDSAY, and all
 the rest of the council. But every one of them denied it.

The king, on the other hand, was highly incens’d against the ministers, so that
 there was likely to arise no good of this variance, if his majesty did not change his
 course; for it was openly nois’d of all men, that he was absolutely led by the Spanish
 faction, as it plainly appear’d; for ever since these counsellors crept in, there was
 no man in credit but such, as they chose; and the majority of these eight were known
 to be profest papists, with St. GEORGE their patron.

Mr. PATRICK GALLOWAY was discharged from his office, because he told the
 king secretly, that he dissembled with the church, by giving them fair words, and
 the enemies good deeds. This provoked his majesty so, that he said, he thought
 to have cuffed him for it. Several of the ministers were challeng’d for words utter’d
 in the pulpit against the eight, particularly mr. ROBERT BRUCE and mr. WALTER

* He was knighted in 1592, and on the 9th of
 August 1603 obtain’d letters patent from king
 JAMES I. recognising and confirming his title to
 the barony of Say and Sele, notwithstanding the

discontinuance of summons to parliament of his
 great grandfather, grandfather, and father, of
 whom the two first had used the title of lord Say.

* Vol. XIV. fol. 172.

BALCANQUAL *: and mr. DAVID BLACK of St. Andrews was summon'd to a trial for expreffions made use of by him againſt the queen of England, being charg'd with having ſaid, that ſhe was an atheiſt †. But he was like to be acquitted, becauſe there was none to accuſe him. The king would have the Engliſh embaffador, mr. BOWES, to do it; but the latter alledg'd, that he had no ſuch commiſſion, except he had more grounds than a falſe report to accuſe a man openly. For this reaſon mr. BLACK's trial was deferr'd to the laſt of November, when the king himſelf would undertake the office of his accuſer, the cauſe of his majeſty's reſentment being reported to be a counterfeit device of his own to make the queen believe, that he was tender of her honour. But the miniſters aſſerted, that he ſupported them, who ſought her deſtruction, and that of all the true profeſſors of Chriſt.

Thus there was nothing but continual enmities between the church and the king, and this was likely to continue on both ſides; and the fire wanted no feeding by ſuch, as were about the king, who declar'd, that he would bring the miniſters to ſubmit themſelves to his will; or elſe they ſhould repent it from their hearts. While they proteſted never to deſiſt from crying out againſt his conduct till the liberty granted the apoſtate lords ſhould be repealed, and they baniſhed. In the mean time they had been and were ſtill buſy, forming bands and leagues of friendſhip in all parts of the country to make themſelves ſtrong.

Capt. JAMES STUART, known formerly by the title of earl of Arran, was to have been reſtored to the office of chancellor at this convention §; *but* God, ſays the writer of this letter, *hath prevented evil, for he is ſlain* ||. Yet there was one, who was ſuppoſed little better, to ſupply his place, mr. JOHN LINDSAY, who, it was thought, would have that office conferred on him at the baptiſm of the young princeſs. The queen was alſo in a great rage againſt the miniſters.

All the noblemen of the ſouth country were, in the opinion of the writer of this letter, confederate with the papiſts, which he grounded upon the following fact; that a league of friendſhip had been contracted between the lords of Hume and Sanquire, the lairds CESFORD, BACLUGH, CLASBURN, and KIRKMIGHIL, with all the reſt of their aſſiſtants in thoſe parts, who not only ſubſcribed, but ſwore to follow all one courſe in whatever ſhould be undertaken by any one of them. This contract by a general conſent was given to FRANCIS MOWBRAY to be kept, “ by whoſe means, “ ſays the letter-writer, I had the ſight of it; for he would gladly have dealt with “ my lord embaffador concerning a plot, that he had deviſed for alteration of the “ ſtate of theſe octavians; the which, as I underſtood, ſhould have been effected “ by thoſe perſons aforeſaid. For ſaid he, theſe are wiſe men, and will ſeek their “ advantage either by the queen's majeſty of England, or elſe by the king of Spain. “ And if this offer of their ſervice take not effect, or be not embraced of the Engliſh, “ they will take their vantage of the Spaniard. But becauſe of a promiſe, that “ my lord made to the king, that he would in no ſort meddle with FRANCIS, he “ refuſed to deal any farther with them, ſave only, that he had the ſight of the

* SPOTSWOOD, p. 427.

† Ib. p. 419—426.

§ SPOTSWOOD, p. 434.

|| By JAMES DOUGLAS of Tortherald. *id. ibid.*

“ contract,

“ contract, which I brought him, because I was the traveller between them, re-
 “ quested thereto by FRANCIS, with whom I have been in great friendship this
 “ great while, and am yet. Now I understand, that he is a special doer for the
 “ earl of Huntley; and my lord Sanquire, who is the chief man in the foresaid
 “ league, hath had fundry meetings with the papists, and now is become a great
 “ courtier: so that this makes great appearance to affirm that, which I say, yea
 “ more than this, my lord Sanquire is to be excommunicated, because he can in no
 “ wife be brought to subscribe to the religion. There is a bruit, that mr. WALTER
 “ LINDSAY is come home, and that there are some Spaniards on the sea, making
 “ for this country. But this I will not affirm, till I have better assurance of it
 “ than the common bruit.” He then observes, that he had deliver’d the letters
 sent him to mr. THOMAS and mr. DAVID FOULIS, whose answers were inclos’d.
 But, adds he, “ I pray GOD you be nothing behind with them, for there is no man
 “ will credit THOMAS five shillings, and he is four or five times at the horn for
 “ debt some 9000 marks, some 10,000, some 20,000; so that he and ROBERT
 “ JOWSE dare not look out of doors for arrestments. As for mr. DAVID, I was
 “ never in opinion, that he had an honest or loving meaning towards you, but in so
 “ far as served for his own advancement.”

Sir ROBERT SIDNEY the same day, Nov. 23, in a letter to the earl of Essex from
 Flushing^a, inform’d his lordship, that three days before there had come thither some
 ships from Bayonne, which all agreed in one report, that forty-seven of the king of
 Spain’s ships were cast away by the north cape, and amongst them twenty-seven
 galleons. The rest recovered Ferrol. There were also arrived other persons of the
 Low Countries from St. Lucar, who having refused to serve the king of Spain were
 sent away, tho’ the ships, in which they were, were stopp’d; and these reported, that
 from St. Lucar they saw twenty-seven sail going towards the rest of the fleet, the
 poorest in order, that ever they saw, scarce four cast pieces and one harquebuz
 amongst them; the soldiers all Biscainers, very few mariners, and in all but two
 pilots, and no store of powder. The greatest quantity of any thing, which they
 had, was of match. The Spaniards would have gladly inticed these men of the
 Low Countries to have served with them, and offered any master of a ship an hun-
 dred crowns a month, and to the ordinary sailors some six, some twenty crowns.
 This was the sum of what they reported.

Letters from Rennes in Bretagne of a very late date mention’d, that the hopes
 of the duke DE MERCOEUR’s reconciliation with the French king were absolutely
 broken off.

At Brussels there was great sorrow for the late overthrow in Hungary*, in which
 the arch-duke MAXIMILIAN escaped, but the prince of Transylvania was either
 kill’d or taken.

Mr. BACON on the 24th of November sent a letter to sir CHARLES DAVERS by mr.

^a Vol. XIV. fol. 99.

* On the 16th of October, 1596, N. S. ME-

TEREN, fol. 396.

^b Vol. XIV. fol. 69.

YATES^b, who was going to attend that gentleman into Italy, with which mr. BACON had acquainted the earl of Essex, who thereupon wrote to mr. GUICCIARDIN to procure mr. YATES the grand duke's protection, during his abode in Tuscany; which mr. BACON thought would be best, after he had been at Naples, and, if his courage would allow him, to reside there under the character of a French leaguer, who was discontented.

The same day in a letter to mr. FRANCIS DAVISON^c, he excus'd his silence since his receipt of that gentleman's two letters, which had been occasion'd not only by his own indisposition, but by the earl of Essex's promise, upon the sight of mr. DAVISON's first letter to mr. BACON, and of his relation, to signify his liking of both by a few lines to him; in expectation of which mr. BACON had delayed writing till then; when seeing his lordship by an extraordinary unlook'd-for journey to the sea-coasts not likely to have a moment of leisure till his return, he thought fit to present to mr. DAVISON this his justification by his servant YATES, to whom he referr'd him for the state of affairs in England.

Dr. HAWKYNs in his letter from Venice of the 7th of December 1596, N. S. † inform'd mr. BACON, that there was lately arriv'd there one RODERIGO ZUARES, *jurato*, as they term'd him, of the council of Seville, employ'd for the providing of arms at Milan and Brescia, 12,000 harquebuz's, 4000 muskets, and 4000 corslets. He confirm'd the account, which dr. HAWKYNs had before written, that upon the sacking of Cadiz no person durst tell the king of Spain of it, not even the infanta herself; but at last an old man, physician of the hospital, whom the king us'd familiarly to disport himself with, acquainted him with the affair. The king sent for the conde CHINSONE, who confirm'd it, excusing the concealing of it on account of his majesty's indisposition, who answer'd, *You have done very ill*; and so walking up and down his chamber for above a quarter of an hour without speaking a word, or shewing any passion at all, at last said, "My sister of England hath taken me unprovided; but I will take order to be better provided hereafter;" and then went into his inward chamber writing an hour together. This ZUARES protested, that if after the sacking of Cadiz the English fleet had gone forward, using the victory, they might with 2000 men well arm'd have sack'd Seville, and with a small force over-run Andalusia, the people being altogether unprovided with either arms or courage, and confounded with the sudden astonishment. He mention'd seven millions presented to the king by his people subject only to the crown of Castille to redeem his *Entrate* engag'd, and to free him from excessive interest. He talk'd likewise of the raising and mustering of soldiers throughout all the dominions of Spain, of new casting of great pieces of artillery, of a Ragusan sent to provide forty sail of ships to be ready against March, and of the daily pasquins cast abroad, such as *Si el re no moire, el regno moire*; all the grandees being discontented to see their country and state so endanger'd by the government of two or three men; the nobility excluded, and daily more and more abused; the conde CHINSONE dismiss'd, or rather excluded out of the council of state, disgrac'd and discontented, after having been a most intimate favourite of the king, his disgrace being owing to the prince's ill

^b Vol. XIV. fol. 69.

^c Vol. XIV. fol. 70.

† Vol. XIV. fol. 176.

opinion of him, confirm'd by a letter of father PARSONS to the king, asserting, that the conde had been advertised by a jesuit out of England of the English fleet, tho' he had conceal'd it.

Dr. HAWKYNs observes, that there would be many attempts by the Spaniards to draw the king of Denmark from the league by the necessity of the navigation for Spain, from whence the Danes had their money, who were exceedingly carested by the Spaniards; and the doctor had talk'd with divers Danish gentlemen and mariners, who had greatly commended to him the extraordinary favour shewn to their nation in Spain, none going thither, who did not return home Spanish in heart. The Spaniards saw how important the friendship of Denmark was, that kingdom commanding the Baltic, which was of vast consequence to navigation. The plot would be from Poland, Sweden, and the Easterlings, as the doctor had written before. He remark'd, that he had heard nothing of JACOMO MARENCO for twelve weeks past, upon which occasion he mention'd a frequent saying of HENRY III. of France, *Pire gens je ne vois que Genouois*; adding, that their corival was the Venetian.

The Spaniards at Venice talk'd of another armada of Biscay to second the first already arrived, as they said, in Ireland, tho', according to others, beaten back by tempest, and put into the Groyne. That the king of Spain had, with the consent of the pope, given the title of king of Ireland, in case they got the victory, to the earl of Tyrone, upon condition, that he should cause to be built at his charge two forts in two of the chief ports to receive Spanish garrisons; and that when war should be made upon England, he should go in person with 1000 foot, and send provision for 10,000 more.

Dr. HAWKYNs expresses great satisfaction to find by mr. BACON's letter just receiv'd, that the earl of Essex accepted of his endeavours, and desir'd the continuance of his labours; and mentions, that he had sent a fortnight before his relation of Ferrara; and that he should proceed with the other states of Italy, especially that of Venice, which he found more intricate than all the rest.

SIR ROBERT SIDNEY in a letter on the 26th of November^d inform'd the earl of Essex of the loss, which the Spanish fleet had sustain'd; and that since the writing of his former letter, other advertisements had been brought from Antwerp, which affirm'd the loss of twenty-eight galleons upon the cape Finistire, with which destruction, and that of other ships and men, the whole Spanish army was ruin'd. It was written likewise from that city, that upon the news of that shipwreck the king of Spain had suffer'd all the bills of exchange of the cardinal archduke, which amounted to the sum of a million and a half, to be protested, which had brought the merchants into an extreme confusion. The ships at Dunkirk had been kept in for many days by order of the cardinal; and when the captains complain'd, that they had not means for their men to live, answer was made, that they must have patience for a while. There was also at Middleburgh a flying tale, that the prince

of Spain was dead : but sir ROBERT SIDNEY saw no ground for it. He inclosed in this letter one from the admiral of Holland to the earl of Effex.

Mr. NAUNTON, upon his arrival at Roan in France, sent to the earl on the 28th of November^e, an account of a late conversation between HENRY IV. and ANTONIO PEREZ. The latter in discourse of the late Turkish victory happening to represent it as his opinion, that the king of Spain would not be at all displeas'd with this blow receiv'd by the emperor and the protestant princes of Germany ; this was scarce utter'd, but before night it came to the French king's hearing, and the next morning, November 26th, he was directed to attend his majesty for farther conference upon the subject. His reasons being heard and allow'd, the king descended to a second proposition of the general danger then threatned by the approach of so powerful an enemy as the Turk, so that it was high time to compose the domestic quarrels among the christian states, in order that all might combine in a joint union against the common adversary: and that the pope's legate had been very earnest with him already in the matter, and had promised, that his holiness and the princes of Italy would become sollicitors to his majesty for the making of a peace and league with Spain. Here it was demanded, what consideration should be had of his new confederates and old friends in England, Holland, &c. The king answer'd, that they should all be comprehended in the same confociation. It was objected by way of doubt, that perhaps the king of Spain might be perswaded to an insidious truce with himself, at least till the civil broils now in agitation were brought to maturity; and the rather that by this means, if he should in the mean while make an attempt against either England or the Low-Countries, he might separate and withhold the French forces from assisting them. But that there was little hope, that PHILIP II. being of so vindictive a nature would ever admit of any sound and intire confederacy with the other two, who had so lately left a sting yet sticking in his flesh; or that they would be so credulous, as once to hearken with any confidence to any more of his peaceable treaties to lull them asleep, since the lesson, which they had receiv'd 1588. Here the king interposed, alledging, that the cardinal archduke had proceeded to assure him, that the pope and all the Italian princes would undertake farther, and become sureties to engage themselves to him for PHILLIP II's inviolable amity and correspondence with him. It was suggested, what eternal honour it might be for himself to be chosen the general captain and champion of all christendom against the general invader. This was deliver'd by the king with such a shrugging itch of glowing ambition, (which could want there no bellows to heighten it) that the other was obliged to cherish it with his forwardest wishes and the acknowledgement of the fitness and all sufficiency of his majesty for such a glorious enterprise. But he was still in fear, that the emulation both of Spain and Italy itself, besides that of other states, would scarce dare to put so great a power into so great a warrior's hands. And it was farther supposed, that all this might be nothing else than a bait cast out in his majesty's eye by some, who presumed upon an extraordinary appetite in him to swallow it, on purpose to draw him into farther jealousies, both with his protestant subjects at home, who had already provok'd him enough with their challenging supplications and high speeches, and with the foreign

states of that religion: and all this to weaken him by such a disunion and alteration of so great a party of his surest friends. But no doubts made nor difficulties objected could so daunt or extinguish these hopes, which an ardent desire had bred in the king, but that he concluded his discourse with some speeches, that shew'd an unextinguishable desire in him of such an employment.

Since this conference, which immediately after ANTONIO's return from court he communicated to mr. NAUNTON, they consider'd, that if the pope and the princes should become sponsors for a strict and intire intelligence between France and Spain, it was not likely, that they could either affect or admit the concurrence of England, Holland, and the protestant states into this league. And if they should, yet considering, first, the general inveterate malice and envy of France against the prosperity of England, and then the late inexpiable offence, which the French king had taken at his dishonourable repulse from Calais (which was presum'd much by sudden undisguis'd passions, noted in him) it was not improbable, that he could very well find in his heart to revenge it upon England, if he knew well how. To this might be added his present discontent with his own protestant subjects, who had highly exasperated him, and upon whom he might perhaps bear himself in hand, if he should return with success from against the Turk, that he might revenge himself, by turning the public forces to advance his own particular quarrel, as CÆSAR did. Lastly, the consideration of a new resolution of an absolute affiance and confidence to be depos'd in and upon the king of Spain by this catholic mediation and interposition, especially as HENRY IV. was now upon terms of utter distrust with all those of the reform'd religion. All these circumstances being weigh'd, there was some doubt, (if Italy and Spain should be indifferent, and even ready of themselves to entertain such a strength, as the religious faction should draw with them to the common cause) whether the French king from his own spleen could not be as well contented to omit, if not exclude the queen of England out of the treaty, and to leave her to make her own peace, as mr. NAUNTON had receiv'd, that the king of Spain was at the very beginning of her majesty's reign in a like pacification between himself and one of HENRY IV's predecessors. Now what ambition, which in this particular object his nature, his education, and his fortune all concurr'd to excite in him; what the security of his own state, which was yet very uncertain; what thirst of revenge, which of course was much more vehement than zeal to requite better offices; what all these three motives might work, or rather what they might not work in a disposition, which had already so many ways, as mr. NAUNTON express'd it, *bankrupted and shipwreck'd*, he could not tell; but in his ears, he thought, he heard every one of the three found their concert upon JUNO's ground,

Flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo.

It was insinuated by ANTONIO PEREZ, that the business was already farther proceeded in, than his majesty's words to him did fully imply. He was too much suspected of partiality to the English, especially since his employment to England, after the loss of Calais, than to render it likely, that the king would make an instrument of him to broach these surmises, in order that he might be the more sought to from England. “Your lordship, *says mr. NAUNTON*, can best compare the coherence

“ and contents of these with his former lately sent by his own servant, and consider
 “ of the sequel of all accordingly. He is very apprehensive of his own danger
 “ since LA FONTAINE’s discovery of him to this king touching the secret of count
 “ SOISSONS, and dares not commit to writing all he would.” In the postscript he
 adds, that the day after the date of this letter he had waited on sir ANTHONY
 MILDMAY the embassador, where he perceiv’d, that the king’s ambition, which at
 the first did as it were blushing appear and peep out under clouds, now shin’d
 forth, and broke out into plain terms at his own table, where he was forward to
 acknowledge his obligations to be much greater to his enemies, than to any of his
 friends, and to divine of himself, like a king and prophet both, that as the leaguers
 crown’d him king of France, so he hop’d, that the Turk would shortly make him
 emperor of Germany. “ Your lordship, concludes *mr.* NAUNTON, will pardon my
 “ plainness and freedom of style, which I use not as treating of a king of France,
 “ but as of one, whom I greatly suspect not greatly to favour nor tender the hap-
 “ piness of her majesty and her realm.”

After finishing this letter *mr.* NAUNTON wrote another to the earl, on the 29th
 of November^f, to be both sent by sir GRIFFIN MARKHAM. In this letter he ob-
 serves, that ANTONIO PEREZ had been earnest with him to write much to his lord-
 ship concerning himself, and especially for his lordship’s catagorical answer and
 advice about the old proposition of the French offers, and divers other particulars.
Mr. NAUNTON answer’d him, that if himself did not think it proper to intimate his
 own affairs in his own person, it was much more unfit for *mr.* NAUNTON to meddle
 in those matters any farther. Notwithstanding this refusal, which had brought *mr.*
 NAUNTON into some suspicion, yet he could not be thus rid of ANTONIO, who said,
 that he would still trust him as far as before, tho’ he found his appotite less to his in-
 structions, seeming to be persuaded, that tho’ *mr.* NAUNTON denied him that ser-
 vice in speech, yet he could restrain his pen from writing his suggestions to the earl.
 “ In this one office I am, *says mr.* NAUNTON, like to deceive him. I have so often
 “ written to your lordship, and of purpose in my first out of Holland, to crave
 “ your lordship’s direct instructions for my demeanor towards him, as I must needs
 “ interpret your lordship’s so constant silence thus, that the less I employ myself
 “ about him, the less I shall offend. If I cannot cast about how best to please,
 “ my safest course will be to take order, that I do not actively displease. All there-
 “ fore that I have to say of him is this, that I see him many ways discontent, and
 “ utterly uncertain how to betake himself, to what course, to what country.”

With regard to himself, *mr.* NAUNTON desires leave of the earl to renounce the
 privilege of following the duke DE BOUILLON, which his lordship’s mediation had
 procur’d him with an intention of serving him by it, since he found himself in-
 capable of improving it to such a purpose. “ My sole contentment with myself,
 “ *says he*, is my constancy of devotion to your lordship. For other contentments
 “ in this course I find them so small, as I were loth your lordship should be thought
 “ too much beholden for my cause, especially where I find so small means or likeli-
 “ hood of bettering, or enabling myself to do your lordship service. It were to

“ small purpose now to alledge what I have abiden, and how much more than ever
 “ I durst have promised of myself, in all kinds of patience both in mind and body.
 “ It shall be sufficient, if I may without accusing any other excuse mine own weak-
 “ nefs, that can endure this life no longer. The best allowance of credit I can
 “ have here is but in nature of betwixt a pedagogue * and a spy, both trades I
 “ know not whether more odious or base, as well in their eyes, with whom I live,
 “ as in mine own.”

He mentions, that it was thought, that it would be some months, at least two, before the duke DE BOUILLON would depart from Roan, the king being like to winter there, by reason of the legate's resort thither to him, whose arrival was daily expected, and of his attendance on the parliament there, which would not probably conclude upon any thing on a sudden. During this time mr. NAUNTON intended by degrees to remit of his accesses to the duke, so that he should not at last be miss'd at all. “ What of your lordship's money, *says he*, shall be left, I will then
 “ deliver to mr. VERNON, and betake myself to my pure ethicals, since I can no
 “ kindlier relish these œconomical and political employments. Your lordship will
 “ not suppose, that any persuation of ANTONIO PEREZ hath wrought this wear-
 “ nefs in me. I protest it unto your lordship, that neither he hath, nor any living
 “ could have, taken place to make me swerve from your lordship's instructions, but
 “ only these indignities, which, it cannot consist either with your lordship's honour
 “ or my own poor credit, that I should well brook. Nay, I have been so far from
 “ accomodating myself to sign. ANTONIO PEREZ, after my wonted manner, as I
 “ blush to think how he hath sought and come himself often to me, and is half
 “ possessed with a clean contrary conceit, that I am so highly intreated by the duke
 “ and his followers, as I seem in some sort to disdain his own mean entertainments.
 “ It is my grief, that he should thus mistake me; but much more, that your lord-
 “ ship should be thus disappointed of your expectation by my want of strength to
 “ tolerate these intolerable conditions.”

During the course of this month of November, 1596, a letter of intelligence from Spain was sent to mr. WAAD, clerk of the council; in which the writer inform'd him^s, that being about to come to England, a jesuit told him and his companions, who were to go thither likewise, that he thought it requisite for them to wait first upon the king, in order that they might satisfy the papists in England, how much his majesty tender'd their common cause of religion. They accordingly attended the king at Madrid, where after a Latin speech had been made to him, he order'd them to acquaint the English papists in his name, that he would not be wanting to assist them to the uttermost of his power; upon which they kiss'd his hand and departed. The jesuit then carried them to every nobleman there, that they might bear witness to all the papists, how zealous the court, as well as king, was for the interest of England, and that his majesty only intended its conversion, and to plant the true religion there, and to make his daughter queen of that country for its perpetual peace. These words were repeated to them by the amiranto of Spain as from

* On account of having mr. VERNON under his
 care.

‡ Vol. XIV. fol. 56.

the king's own mouth. The writer of this letter then mentions, that father PARSONS had recommended him to GARRET in England, by this token, that he gave him his breviary at his departure; GARRET directed him to GARNET, otherwise call'd WALLIS, who was private and known only to papists, by this token, that when they departed from Rome, SOUTHWELL only being present, he said, "GAR-
"NET, we two be arrows shot from this man's bow"; meaning PARSONS; and by that token GARNET was to direct him to all priests and papists. He then protests, that hereafter he would be a most faithful subject, and was fully determined to be as watchful to apprehend all evil members of the state, as any person in England. He subjoins likewise the names of those, who attended the king of Spain before their departure; HENRY BELL, WILLIAM JOHNSON, and WILLIAM ATKINSON, jesuits; JOHN PARSONS, nephew to the jesuit, and RICHARD THORNE, the former of whom came by Ireland, and the latter was to come that way, and RICHARD SHELDON, who was then in Flanders, and would be in England shortly.

Another letter was likewise written to the lords of the council from mr. THOMAS RICHARDSON^b, informing them, that at his being at Madrid one DAMON in familiar conversation with him, out of zeal for England, where he had long resided, told him, that that kingdom might annoy the king of Spain many ways, as well in the winter as in the summer. That in the winter, Port Passage being near land might be attack'd with six or seven hundred men, and the town and shipping, of which there was frequently a considerable number, might be destroy'd. He observ'd, that only three things could hurt the king of Spain, the preventing of the arrival of his treasure, the destruction of his ships, and the taking of his mariners. He mentioned also Ferrol, where the king's ships lay not far within the bay at the Groyne, and the like at St. Andrew, where the king commonly built his large ships. "As for
"the summer, *says he*, you have been at the islands of St. Michael and the Terceres,
"when the king's fleet returns home; but now they should be there, when it goes
"out, and sometimes at the bay of Cadiz, and sometimes likewise when the fleet
"sails, they should be at the islands of Flores and Carva, which are about 400
"leagues from those of St. Michael, where their fleet will come within sight of
"these, or else to take in fresh water, and some years to be at the Canaries or
"Maderas to meet six ships, that go every year to the West-Indies well stored
"with silver. These fleets at their going forth, are not guarded with any men of
"war. And sometimes to have shipping at the castle de Mina, and wait for the
"coming home of the East-India fleet, which is six ships; and as you are to wait
"for the coming home of these fleets some years, so to wait for their going out at
"other times." The effect of DAMON's speeches tended to this, that the king of Spain had many places to guard, all which it was impossible for him to secure; so that he might be attack'd sometimes in one place, and sometimes in another, which would prevent him from knowing whither to send his forces. He added, that there were thirty great ships at Lisbon, which were so well appointed, that the king had none better, and manned only with Portuguese, and that they sail'd every year to the islands of the Canaries to conduct their fleet home; and that they must of necessity fight or lie by it, if there came a hundred sail against them. There were some

Englishmen, who offer'd to ranfack Dartmouth and Totnefs, if they might have affiftance. But no ear was given to this propofal; it being thought, that there was fome greater matter in hand. “ I could not, *fays mr. RICHARDSON*, learn their names, that made this offer. If I had not been well ufed at one man's hands, I would never have utter'd this during the time of my imprifonment; for now it will be thought I do this for my liberty and thanks. This I learned being in Madrid about three weeks, and in Spain, in all about five weeks going and coming by Port Passage, which I did view, and mark both the fhipping and the harbour. I am no warrior, but yet I think an eafy thing to do an exploit there. Alfo I proteft I am no papift: therefore I befeech your honours let me not ftarve here without neceffaries, for I took pains to do good, and it turns to my hurt.”

Sir ROBERT SIDNEY wrote a farther account of the fhipwreck of the Spanifh fleet off Cape Finiftère in a letter to the lord treafurer BURGHLEY from Flufhing of the 1^{ft} of December 1596ⁱ; obferving, that his former intelligence was now confirm'd by letters from Seville of the 20th of November, N. S. efpecially with refpect to the lofs of 15 galleons, of which neither dog nor cat escap'd. The reft of the army was difperfed, and it was generally thought not likely to do any hurt that year. Upon the knowledge of it the king of Spain had given free liberty again for all perfons to traffic, as was ufed before, into that kingdom; which was conftrued in Holland to be a drift to bring fhipping again into his havens, of which he might at his occafions ferve his turn. What it would effect in Holland, fir ROBERT SIDNEY could not fay, but would be watchful of it, and advertife the lord treafurer, as he fhould know any thing.

The protefting of the cardinal's bills of exchange very much troubled all the Italian merchants, and all others, as well at Antwerp as at Amfterdam and Middleburgh, who had any dealings with them. The colour, or at leaft one of them, which the king took to fuffer that proteft, was, that AMBROSIO SPINOLA, a banker at Antwerp, who had made the party with the king of Spain for the fifteen hundred thoufand ducats, fail'd at his day of the payment at Lifbon, of four hundred thoufand ducats, the want of which had kept the army from going forth a month longer than was determined. The cardinal upon the news of it (fir ROBERT thought to give fome time for the paffing over of choler) gave liberty, that for twelve days no perfon, who had lent any part of the faid fum, fhould be demanded payment.

There was likewife other news come out of Spain; but fir ROBERT SIDNEY could not in like manner affure thefe accounts, becaufe written only to particular men, that the ftates of Spain had declar'd to the king, that it was not their meaning any farther to be burthen'd with the charge of foreign wars: that they were contented, that the fums, which they had granted for the war againft England, fhould be employ'd that way; or, if it pleas'd the king, for the defence of the coafts of Spain, which they faw were very ill provided. But to be continually charged with the wars of Flanders, they would no longer bear; nay, rather that the whole Low-Countries fhould be loft.

In Zealand a discovery had been made of a design, which, if it had taken place, would have put the whole country into confusion *. The laird of Loggy †, the Scot, of whom, and his being in that island, sir ROBERT SIDNEY had written in his former letters, being at Campvear fell into acquaintance with the captain of the regiment of Zeland nam'd ROOLEY; and thinking him fit for his purpose, practis'd with him to deliver the tower, which commanded the haven (for ROOLEY's company lay in the town) to the enemy. ROOLEY bore him in hand, that he would, and should have had 1000 ducats advanced, and 40,000 more, when the matter should be perform'd. But it seem'd he could not dissemble well, as some of the states told sir ROBERT, for he touch'd none of the money. LOGGY was taken, from whom the states determin'd to draw out the truth either by fair or foul means; tho' he at present denied all, notwithstanding they had the writings of the agreement signed with his own hand; and they had sent to examine him strictly, and the hangman to bring him to the rack. Sir ROBERT desir'd of the states, that he might be examin'd of all things, that might concern the queen or her dominions, and consequently of the town of Flushing; which they had promised should be done; and he would see it perform'd accordingly. And if there were any thing, which the lord treasurer would have particularly inquired of, sir ROBERT would inquire it of them, and acquaint his lordship with the farther particularities soon; for as yet the examinations were not brought in, LOGGY having been seiz'd but two days before. It was thought there, that the keeping of the ships off Dunkirk, of which sir ROBERT had before written an account, was to have seconded this enterprize; and he thought, that the enemy would have sought to have brought their whole Spanish fleet thither.

It was reported on the day of the date of this letter, that the cardinal archduke should be look'd for at Bruges, and that at Sluyce there was a great body of troops, from whence they were to make some attempt.

CALEWART, the agent of the states, sent them word some days before, that the marquis of Warembone, who was prisoner in France, said to one in confidence, that he thought, that the forces, which were in Flanders, were not intended for Ostend, but for an enterprize upon Flushing, which had been long in hand. Other particularities were not written by him. The council of Zeland, which continually resided at Middleburgh, sent sir ROBERT SIDNEY immediately an abstract of these advertisements; who thereupon took occasion to go to Middleburgh to them, where he dealt very earnestly with them, both for the restraining of the free passage, which they granted thro' Flushing, and for the fortification of it; both which points they desir'd him to deliver to them in writing; which he intended to do, and sent the lord treasurer a copy of his paper. He hop'd, that he should be able to bring them to take some order for the fortifications; but the other provisions fit for a town, that would resist an enemy, must come out of England, tho' upon a necessity, he thought, they would not suffer the place to be unprovided. “ And truly, *adds he,*

* Meteren, L. XVIII. fol. 397, verso. † JAMES WEEMES. Meteren, ubi supra.

“ this

“ this I must say for them, that for those places, where they resolve to make defence, no state in the world shews less humour of sparing than they do. For they see those places furnished plentifully of all such things, as the garrison can in any occasion stand in need of. I have often written to count MAURICE about the fortifying of this town, and of the landing of the Spaniards here. As soon as I have his answer, I will acquaint your lordship with it. But now until the spring I do not think there will any thing be done. In which time I beseech your lordship to be a mean unto her majesty, that this town may be made ready to welcome them, if they have a mind to visit it. I write particularly of the state and wants of this town to her majesty; which letters I will send your lordship a day or two hence, and do humbly beseech your lordship to give them assistance.”

In the postscript he mentions his having heard from Middleburgh since the writing of his letter, that upon sight of the rack LOGGY confess'd all, and took upon him that night to set down in writing all that he knew. It seem'd he was set upon the design by one dr. HAMILTON and certain other jesuits. He was beheaded on the 8th of January 159⁶₇ N. S. and at his death complain'd of his misfortune in having been prisoner at Brussels, where HAMILTON abovementioned, who was a Scots jesuit, and two Spaniards, had persuaded him to undertaket he design, and oblig'd him to confirm his promise by an oath *.

* Meteren, L. XVIII. fol. 397 verso.

B O O K X.

THE earl of Essex since his return from the expedition to Cadiz had assum'd an appearance of greater strictness in his manner of life, as well as in his observance of the public offices of religion, than before; but did not escape the suspicion and report of relapsing again into his former commerce with a lady, the wife of a nobleman, and a near attendant upon the person of the queen. And this having reach'd the ears of the lady BACON, she took the liberty of remonstrating to him upon that head in the following letter on the 1st of December 1596^a.

“Hearing, my singular good lord, of your honour's return from the sea-coasts this day, and I going hence to morrow, if the lord so will, I am bold, upon some speeches of some and with some persons at the court, where lately I was, to impart somewhat to your honour, because it concerned a party there more near to me than gracious to her stock. I will not deny, but before, this great suspicion of her unwifelike and unshamefaced demeanor hath been brought to me even into the country; but loth to believe I laid it up with secret sadness in my breast. And truly, my good lord, I did not a little, but greatly rejoice in heart, that it pleased God of his mercy and goodness, with the famous honour he gave you in your late martial exploit, with renowned good success, he did also work in you such a change of your mind, before, by report, inclined to work carnal dalliance, that that honourable and christian bruit was carried about joyfully, to the much gladding of many, that unfeignedly loved your honour's true prosperity. But *proh dolor!* my good lord, I perceived by some eye-witnesses here, and which must needs hear and mark, that of late a blacksliding to the foul impudent doth plainly appear: and tho' they did marvel and much blame your dishonourable and dangerous to yourself course-taking to the infaming a nobleman's wife, and so near about her majesty; yet she was utterly condemned as too bad, both unchast and impudent, with as it were an incorrigible unshamefacedness. The lord speedily by his grace amend her, or cut her off before some sudden mischief. It hath already made her antient noble husband to undo his house by selling, as one out of comfort. But if a desperate rage, as commonly, followeth, he will revenge his provoked jealousy and most intolerable injury even desperately; and the more, because, it is said, he loveth her, and greatly, as with grief, laboureth to win her. It is great pity she is not delivered to him, and the court to be cleansed by sending away such an unchast gaze and common by-word, in respect of her place and husband. But you, my good lord, have not so learned Christ and heard his holy word in the 3d, 4th, and 5th verses of the fourth chapter to the first epistle of the Thessalonians. It is written, *This is the will of God, that ye should be holy, and abstain from fornication, and every one know how to keep his own vessel in holiness and honour; and not in the lust of concupiscence, as do the Gentiles,*

“ *which know not God.* And more, if it please you to read and mark well, it is a
 “ heavy threat, *That fornicators and adulterers God will judge,* and that they shall be
 “ shut out: for such things, saith the apostle, commonly cometh the wroth of
 “ God upon us. Good lord, remember and consider your great danger hereby
 “ both of soul and body. Grieve not the holy spirit of God, but honour God, that
 “ honoured you, and reward him not with such evil for his great kindness towards
 “ you. Good my lord, sin not against your own soul.

“ My lady STAFFORD said upon occasion in her talk, the good virtuous countess
 “ your wife was with child. O honourable and valiant noble, make great account
 “ of this God’s blessing to you both, and make not her heart sorrowful to the
 “ hindrance of her young fruit within her. For it is thought she took before to
 “ heart, and that her last did not comfortably prosper.

“ If you be with the lord indeed, he will be with you, and make your very
 “ enemies to reverence you. Be strong in the lord, your and our good patient
 “ God. Fear him, and walk privately in his truth; and for his promise in Christ
 “ he will assist you, and look favourably upon you and yours, prosper and increase
 “ his blessing upon you and yours: which mercy and grace I humbly do, as I am
 “ most bound, call upon him to grant you ever, my dear lord and worthy lord in
 “ Christ Jesu. With my very inward affection have I thus presumed ill favoured-
 “ ly to scribble, I confess, being sickly and weak many ways. *Boni consulas, te*
 “ *vehementer oro, & quam optime vivas & valeas, vir insignissime, & quantum decet,*
 “ *mibi charissime. In Christo ex animo*

Primo Decemb.

A. BACON *χῆρα.*

This letter she sent to her son mr. ANTHONY BACON to be convey’d to the earl, which he did in a letter from himself to his lordship, who immediately after reading both those letters wrote the same day an answer, which mr. BACON transmitted to her ladyship, desiring her in his own letter^b, that if, upon perusing that of the earl, she should find any just occasion of reply, she would acquaint him with it, that he might be the better provided at his lordship’s next meeting to perform his duty to her ladyship and him; hoping, that God had bless’d her christian and yet most respectful endeavours with due kind acceptance and effectual impressions.

The earl’s answer to her was in these terms “:

“ Madam,
 “ That it pleased you to deal thus freely with me, in letting me know the worst
 “ you hear of me, I take it as a great argument of God’s favour in sending so good
 “ an angel to admonish me; and of no small care in your ladyship of my well
 “ doing. I know how needful these summons are to all men, especially to those,
 “ that live in this place. And I had rather with the poor publican knock my
 “ breast, and lie prostrate, or with the ^cconfess, when I have done all I
 “ can, I am an unprofitable servant, than pharisaically to justify myself. But what

^b Vol. XIV. fol. 86.

^c Vol. XIV. fol. 188.

“ I write now, is for the truth’s sake, and not for mine own. I protest before the
 “ majesty of God, and my protestation is voluntary and advised, that this charge,
 “ which is newly laid upon me, is false and unjust; and that since my departure
 “ from England towards Spain, I have been free from taxation of incontinency with
 “ any woman, that lives. I never saw or spoke with the lady you mean but in
 “ public places, and others being seers and hearers, who, if they would do me
 “ right, could justify my behaviour. But I live in a place, where I am hourly
 “ conspired against, and practised upon. What they cannot make the world be-
 “ lieve, that they persuade themselves unto; and what they cannot make probable
 “ to the queen, that they give out to the world. They have almost all the house
 “ to serve them for instruments. Yea the very oracles (I mean those, that are ac-
 “ counted to be plain and sincere) do Φιλιππίζειν, do speak the largest language of
 “ the strongest faction. PLUTARCH taught me long since to make profit of my
 “ enemies; but GOD teacheth it me much better now. Worthy lady, think me a
 “ weak man, full of imperfections; but be assured I do endeavour to be good, and
 “ had rather mend my faults than cover them. I wish your ladyship all true hap-
 “ piness, and rest

“ at your ladyship’s commandment,

“ Burn, I pray you.

“ 1 of Decemb. 96.

“ E S S E X.”

The lady BACON’s reply to his lordship was as follows* :

“ My honourable good lord,
 “ In your incessant and careful affairs to vouchsafe me, as one almost forgotten
 “ in the world, a letter even with your own hand, is far more than my poor estate
 “ or ill parts can reach unto. GOD doth divers ways make manifest his love to-
 “ wards you, whereof his church here and our state do reap sweet benefit, to the
 “ praise of his name and your own honourable fame, and the rejoicing in a good
 “ conscience. Yet such excellent persons never want *Æmulatores malignos cum fastu*.
 “ But yet for all that, true godly virtue in the christian of GOD doth with the
 “ palm rise and increase still, tho’ men strive to suppress and oppress it; and they
 “ still shall flourish in the court of the GOD of glorious majesty, and their seed shall
 “ be blessed. *Ab imis præcordiis*, as I am most bound, I beseech the living lord to
 “ direct continually with his holy spirit your lordship’s heart to the love of him
 “ and of his eternal truth, and fortify you thro’ the love of both to live in his
 “ reverent fear, and to approve that, which is pleasant in his sight. And, my
 “ good lord, walk circumspectly, for the days * * * * *. GOD grant you
 “ safety from all crafty subtle snares whatsoever, and in battle by sea or by land his
 “ mighty arm be your invincible puissance, and make you victorious, and send his
 “ holy angels to pitch round about you and your army, and watch over you for
 “ your safeguard, and with fulness of good days and years in this life preserve you
 “ to his heavenly kingdom for ever and ever. The GOD of peace give you peace
 “ always by all means, my very good lord.

“ A. B.”

* Vol. XIV. fol. 109.

Sir GRIFFIN MARKHAM having delay'd his journey from France to England longer than Mr. NAUNTON expected, the latter sent by him another letter to the earl of Essex from Roan on the 1st of December 1596^d. In this letter he mentions, that the king was that morning gone towards Paris^e to compound with his creditors there, who had newly seiz'd some of his treasure in that city, which having been appointed before to satisfy some of his debts to them, was now upon a second consideration to have been transported to Roan to furnish out the solemnity of investing his knights, which he had determin'd to hold there; and the scaffolds were already begun; which was taken for the true cause of the offence taken by the people of Paris.

An account was brought to Roan that day from Lyons, that of the eleven millions lately come from the Indies, the king of Spain was desirous not only to have kept back his own three, which his merchants and burghers made account he would have employ'd intirely in the payment of his former debts to them, but had likewise borrow'd of them all the rest of their adventure. Upon which some difference growing, his council had proceeded peremptorily to seize the whole *summo jure* to his public use. This made them jealous, that the king, who was known to be sick before, was either dead, or past hope of recovery; or else, they said, the king himself durst never have attempted so violent an exaction.

The proceedings in the parliament at Roan* went on fair and softly. The king would gladly be reliev'd with seven or eight millions, which if he could obtain, the hugonots crowns would be as welcome as the others to the catholic purse. That this contribution might come off the more easily, it was pretended, that the many abuses of the financiers should be reform'd out of hand, or that most of the officers themselves should be discharg'd. The protestants profess'd themselves as forward as any to advance the subsidy, if they might have assurance of their own estate and liberty every way. They had propounded two requests; one, that they might have free exercise of their religion at their discretion; the other, that they might indifferently be admitted with their rivals into offices of importance and authority. This latter was granted by the last king, HENRY III. whose act was yet unrepealed: and for the former, they would forbear to execute it in the greatest towns for avoiding of tumults. And whereas it was demanded by the king, that they should disarm themselves, abandon their garrisons, and lay open their places of strength, they profess'd a forwardness to conformity in that point, if the catholics would do the like.

Mr. NAUNTON concludes this letter with declaring his own uneasiness in his present situation, which he found had wrought inwardly to the prejudice of his health.

^d Vol. XIV. fol. 156.

^e L'Etoile, Journal, Tom. II. p. 326.

* The assembly des Notables, which was opened on the 26th of November 1596 N.S. L'Etoile, Journal d'HENRY IV. Tom. II. p.

320. Thuanus, Tom. X. L. cxvii. cap. 5. p. 634. Memoires de Maximilien de Bethune duc de Sully, mis en ordre par M. L. D. L. D. I. Tom. III. p. 91. & seq.

Dr. HAWKYNs in his letter to mr. BACON from Venice of the $\frac{3}{13}$ of December * mention'd, that the Spanish fleet sent against England was reported from Genoa, Milan and Turin, to have been wreck'd by tempest, 16 sail cast away, many others scatter'd, and as yet wanting, and that the rest weather-beaten and ill handled were put into the Groyne. This event was foreseen by most, and foretold by some, as was said, of the king of Spain's council, who dissuaded the voyage, exhibiting their reasons to the king in writing. But he, being enrag'd against the queen for the affronts receiv'd at Cadiz, would not be perswaded, but still commanded, that at all adventures the expedition should go forward. " So are the wisest, *says the doctor,*
 " for punishment deprived of counsel sometimes ; else would never the flegmatic
 " and cautelous Spaniard have set forth a navy in this season, especially against
 " Hibernia, *biberno tempore*, not considering the long nights and winter storms,
 " the thick fogs, unskilful pilots, unknown harbours, unfaithful Irish." Another
 thing as unfortunate for the king of Spain was, that he was held at Venice and
 term'd *fallito*, which was in plain terms bankrupt ; AMBROSIO SPINOLA, factor for
 the Genoese in Spain, complaining, that the king would not pay so many millions
 so long due, and now demanded, except they would be contented to take after the
 rate of 45 for an hundred. The Genoese half in despair to get their own had
 yielded to 55 for an hundred, but their offer was not accepted. This at the first
 hearing of it made such a confusion in Genoa, that the senate was oblig'd to make
 a decree, that all debts should run still as they did before, and no man be compell'd
 to pay till the next fair of Befançon, which was three months from the date of this
 letter. " Yet must the poor Genoese, *adds dr. HAWKYNs*, hold on still their de-
 " pendency with Spain for their recovery of that which is behind, for the supply
 " they receive of grain and other necessary provision, by the king's permission,
 " from Sicily, and especially for fear, being still commanded by the dutchy of
 " Milan. Yet is sign. JACOMO MARENCO negotiating this matter in France to
 " divert the Genoese bank from Spain thither ; a very hard matter to compass,
 " considering how the same practice was begun in the time of HENRY II. of
 " France, who caused a bank to be opened in Lyons with the concurrence of the
 " chiefest merchants of Europe ; but in the end the bank broke, the king indebted
 " some 25 millions, a number of merchants *falliti* and undone, with the loss of
 " credit to the French. This failing of king PHILIP must needs cause a wonder-
 " ful garboil, not only in Italy, but in all the rest of the chiefest banks in christen-
 " dom, which are all interested in the payments of Spain ; so that so desperate a
 " resolution, careless of his credit and reputation, must needs bewray either an ex-
 " treme scarcity of money, or an infinite malice in designing to trouble others with
 " all possible main and might, or, as I rather think, a great misdoubt of his own
 " sufficient defence."

The doctor was of opinion, that it would not be amiss to hold good correspon-
 dence with the great duke of Tuscany, who was like to sway most the estate of
 Italy, and other places besides, both for his wisdom and wealth, whose crowns had
 their return in the chief banks of christendom, and who was like to stand up in credit,

when both the Genoese and the Fuggers with the rest should be bankrupt by Spain.

From Rome there was no news of importance that week, except that the pope had lately call'd a consistory, in which he gave an account to the cardinals of his late sickness, his concern for the present miserable state of christendom, and the small care, which christian princes seem'd to take in that situation, wishing himself rather to die than thus to be afflicted with these troubles. There was great confusion at Rome, the couriers continually running up and down day and night about the breaking of the king of Spain, who would by no means be brought to pay the money due to the merchants, above eight millions at the least.

Mr. BACON being to return an answer to a letter of ANTONIO PEREZ sent by RIVET, desiring him to remind and solicit the earl of Essex in favour of himself and LOPEZ, wrote to mr. REYNOLDES on the 4th of December 1596^e, to know his lordship's mind with respect to them; telling mr. REYNOLDES, that he knew how ANTONIO was by his fortune and his nature subject to wrest his best friends actions to contempt of himself by the misconceiving or misapplying them; and that therefore if himself should pass in silence the two points mention'd so often in ANTONIO's letters, *actum esset de amicitia*.

In his letter to his mother on the 6th of December^f, he thank'd her for the sight of the earl of Essex's letter to her and her reply, which was very welcome and comfortable to him; and he acquainted her, that mons. DE LA FONTAINE had told him the day before, that he wonder'd at so long and deep a French silence: that there was a particular confirmation of the report of the shipwreck of the Spanish fleet: and that Ireland remained still in a consumption, and was like to pine away more and more, unless better restoratives were sent thither in time.

The same day in a letter to the earl^g, he complain'd of the hard dealing of sir JOHN FORTESCU, chancellor of the Exchequer, towards dr. GILES FLETCHER, the civilian, who stood engag'd for the debts of his brother, the deceas'd bishop of London; and who relying upon sir JOHN's promise to sir GILLY MERICKE and himself, that the earl's request should be satisfied, was now suddenly *fallen into the lurch*, together with his sureties, to their great discredit, process being that day out against him; of which tho' sir JOHN would perhaps upon his lordship's intreaty grant a *supersedeas*, yet the doctor and his sureties were still in danger to be *scratch'd by the exchequer claws*, and so would be, till the payment of the bishop's debts, which therefore mr. BACON recommended to the earl's remembrance and furtherance. His lordship therefore wrote immediately the following letter to sir JOHN FORTESCU^h:

“ Sir,

“ It pleas'd you lately at my request to promise respite of dr. FLETCHER'S

^e Vol. XIV. fol. 122.

^f Vol. XIV. fol. 85.

^g Vol. XIV. fol. 100.

^h Vol. XIV. fol. 186.

“ payments,

“ payments, for the which I thought myself very much beholden. Now therefore
 “ forasmuch as unawares unto you process is awarded against him and his sureties,
 “ I am bold to intreat your favour for the remedying thereof by the best and
 “ speediest course you can, for that their credits are very deeply interested, and may
 “ be not a little prejudiced, unless some present order be taken for the granting of
 “ a *superfedeas*. I pray you to tender their reputation so much, and for my sake
 “ to dispatch them, which I will acknowledge with all thankfulness: So do commit
 “ you to God’s best protection.

“ Your very affectionate cousin

“ From the court the 6th
 “ of Dec. 1596.

“ and assured friend,

“ E S S E X.”

The earl likewise represented to the queen the case of the orphans of bishop FLETCHER in so favourable a light, that she was inclin’d to relieve them: for which mr. BACON return’d his thanks to his lordship in a letter of the 8th of Decemberⁱ, but express’d his surprise to find, that the under officers of the exchequer took a contrary course in suing and pressing dr. FLETCHER with threats, if he fail’d to pay 600*l.* within five days; by which the queen’s inclination would be frustrated, unless his lordship should take fir JOHN FORTESCU at his word, who promis’d the day before to join with the earl in a second motion for the present stalment of 600*l.*

Sir WILLIAM RUSSEL, lord deputy of Ireland, gave the earl of Essex an account of the affairs of that kingdom in a letter from Dublin on the 8th of December 1596^k. He begins it with observing, that the several former advertisements of the intention of the Spaniards to come for that realm were now most confidently confirmed by merchants, who of late came from Spain to Dublin, Waterford, and Rosse; and that the enemy’s fleet was fail’d, and before that time would have reach’d Ireland, if God in his mercy had not prevented them by the wreck of eighteen sail at the cape Finistre, with about 5000 of their men; and by the dispersing of the other thirty-six sail, which were not yet known to be gotten together. “ If these had been here
 “ safely arrived, *says the lord deputy*, your lordship can conceive our present hard
 “ estate, having here not above 4000 men strong in all, which yet we have not
 “ means to keep together, for lack of victuals, six days, nor have not had money of
 “ a good time, but what we have found the means to borrow. It is said, the rest
 “ are coming on; which for mine own part I can easily be persuaded to believe, if
 “ their numbers be answerable to the reports, being little less than 20,000 men. The
 “ earl [of Tyrone], on the other side, hath drawn a great part of his forces to the borders
 “ to take advantage of all occasions, and to waste and impoverish all the subjects;
 “ and the rest he hath laid about Armagh, as mr. MARSHAL and capt. STAFFORD
 “ have affirmed, with intent no doubt to carry it, as he did both Monaghan and
 “ the Cavan, and that in the like time of treaty.” The lord deputy adds, that by another letter from the bailiff of Dundalk it should seem, that TYRONE himself had been in person before Armagh, and us’d this device to get the fort, which was very

ⁱ Vol. XIV. fol. 95.

^k Vol. XIV. fol. 157.

likely to have succeeded. An hundred of his men, with drum and ensign, being things of no use amongst them, march'd towards the fort, driving carriages and beeves, as if from the Narie they had brought those supplies. The lord deputy could not but make account, that TYRONE would soon get that place, unless he should forbear, out of regard to the late letter of his lordship, in which he had let him know, that he had taken into the castle of Dublin his pledges, who had hitherto remain'd with capt. WILLIAM WARREN, with purpose to execute them, and to proclaim him traitor, if he did not immediately suffer the place to be victualled. This the lord deputy thought the only means to try what TYRONE would do; and the council most readily concurr'd in it. But his lordship was himself of opinion, that TYRONE would not for the sake of his pledges let slip any advantage, that he could get, but suffer them to be used as the lord deputy and council should think good, since they were but children of about fourteen years of age, who, as his lordship had often advertised, were of very small reckoning with the Irish, in regard they could not presently enter into action; which was the only thing, that they aim'd at. He then proceeds to complain of the conduct of sir JOHN NORREYS, lord president of Munster. “ Your
“ lordship, I hope, *says he*, can remember, that by an act in council here I did
“ long ago leave to sir JOHN NORREYS the prosecution of the rebels in Ulster, in
“ regard by special direction out of England he had a very large patent for it, which
“ he proclaimed solemnly at Drogheda and other places at the time of his first going
“ northwards. Now that the earl standeth upon these terms with his forces laid
“ upon the borders, and likely to carry away Armagh, and the Spaniards expected
“ daily to arrive with such an army as aforesaid, sir JOHN NORREYS pretending to
“ be so sick, as he is not able to ride, tho’ the loss of the kingdom stood upon it,
“ as by his letter to sir GEOFFREY FENTON may appear, lieth closely at Athlone,
“ and there doth keep a great part of her majesty’s forces to no purpose, when such,
“ as have seen him there, do affirm, that he walketh up and down daily, and is no
“ otherwise troubled than a little sometimes with the stone. All which he doth
“ purposely to thrust me to enter into those actions, that thereupon he may lay to
“ my charge the earl’s breaking out. For if I should with a force have attempted
“ the victualling of that fort, the earl would strait alledge, that I came down to
“ prosecute him as I have done FEAGH, contrary to the agreement with the com-
“ missioners, as he hath directly affirm’d by his letters, which tho’ the lord president
“ doth deny, as may appear by the copy of his letter to the earl, which I send your
“ lordship herewithal, and besides gave such way to that prosecution, before I
“ enter’d thereinto, as his letter to me will manifest, which is likewise herewith
“ sent; yet in that other letter of his to sir GEOFFREY FENTON your lordship may
“ perceive, how he imputeth these new stirs to that prosecution of FEAGH. I humbly
“ beseech your lordship to consider of them all, and you may find both contrariety,
“ and a desire to tax me; which to prevent, I make bold thus far to be troublesome
“ to your lordship, that you may please to be provided for my just defence; for that
“ I do only rely upon your lordship’s good favour, and the goodness of my cause.
“ Yet because I hate to dwell in these contentions, and find besides, that during my
“ time this poor country is made unhappy for lack of timely supplies and provisions,
“ by reason I have not been countenanced and graced in my courses and endeavours,
“ nor credited in my advices, I must still humbly pray your lordship, not only in
“ respect of my private, but for the good of her majesty’s service, and the safety of
“ her

“ her kingdom, that I may speedily be revoked, and some other placed here, whose
 “ better regard may draw more and better means for the withstanding of so immi-
 “ nent dangers, as here are daily threaten’d as well from Spain as from these rebels.
 “ And in the mean time I am in like sort to intreat your lordship to further our
 “ present supply of three or four months victuals beforehand, twenty or thirty last
 “ of powder, and a good large quantity of treasure; for it may now no longer be
 “ deferred. The forces and shipping heretofore desired we hope are in readiness,
 “ and at the sea; and high time it is, that they were here, if the Spaniards be
 “ coming, as is thus assur’d.” Of all these things sir ROBERT GARDINER was
 then coming to inform the queen and the lords of the council more particularly, if
 he might be favourably heard, and not discountenanc’d, being well acquainted with
 the state of Ireland, “ and how crossly, *says the lord deputy*, sir JOHN NORREYS hath
 “ here carried matters altogether to his own ends, and not to the good of the service.
 “ I will humbly intreat your lordship to conceal the same till his [sir ROBERT GARDI-
 “ NER’S] coming thither, because he otherwise doubteth like measure as the last
 “ time; for which cause he would by no means undertake to go, but that we
 “ charged him upon his duty of allegiance. It will appear unto your lordship at
 “ sir ROBERT GARDINER’S coming, that the earl maketh no better reckoning of
 “ his pledges, than I have ever doubted.”

Dr. HAWKYNs in his letter to mr. BACON from Venice of the 20th of Dec. N. S. *
 inform’d him, that he had now brought his artist to finish the work long before de-
 livered delineated to his hand, the pedigree of Ferrara, and the descent thereof for
 the space of 290 years until that time. That there was come one post from 183
 with letters, as he said, from 189 to call home the earl of Rutland long since departed
 for France; and that the party said, that it would be greatly for his lordship’s
 advancement both in honour and profit; which dr. HAWKYNs imagin’d might be
 some great *she-ward fallen for a marriage with the earl*. He mentions, that he had
 received on the Saturday before by sir THOMAS CHALONER two of the earl of Essex’s
 letters written in his favour, one of which he kept for a fitter opportunity, and the
 other he had immediately deliver’d to the procuratore FUSCARINO at his house, who
 seem’d to take it kindly, promising, that tho’ he had no knowledge of the earl but
 only by fame of his heroical virtues, it being many years since he had been in Eng-
 land; yet for his lordship’s sake he would be ready to do the doctor what favour his
 power could perform, or the occasions of the latter could require. That he had
 received likewise by sir THOMAS her majesty’s picture, a most acceptable present,
 which he caus’d immediately to be copied by the best artificers there, and published,
 cancelling, as much as he could, all the other pictures set forth before, resembling
 rather the old mother of France than her majesty of England. The doctor then
 inserts the news of various parts, and adds, that he had long since finish’d the relation
 of Cadiz, and written to sig. CÆSARE CAMPANA†, who was drawing up and
 printing the history of that time, to admit that relation into some place of his work;
 to which CAMPANA answer’d, that he would willingly do it, if he should like it,
 when he should see it. But because he was, like the rest of the Italians, fearful of

* Vol. XIV. fol. 170.

† He publish’d *Istoria del Mondo dal 1570 al*

1596. Printed at Venice in 1607 in 4to.

displeasing the great king of Spain, “ I purpose, *says the doctor*, to make a journey
 “ to him, to prove, if by the cordial working of gold I may haply expell out of him
 “ all fear. I could wish to have had the consultation and resolution for the abandon-
 “ ing of Cadiz join’d with it, which might have given satisfaction to many, who
 “ have conceived an hard opinion of that action. But the printer will stay no
 “ longer; so I must be content to want it. The next thing I most desire from you,
 “ sir, is my lord’s picture, which I may in no wise want.”

Mr. BACON wrote to the doctor on the 11th of December ^a, to excuse his having omitted it for the two last weeks, on account of the departure of his servant YATES, by whom he hop’d that the doctor would hear of him sooner than by the ordinary post, and for want of matter worth advertising the last week; besides the absence of the earl of Essex on the sea-coasts, from whence he was now returned, and exceedingly well with her majesty, “ in spite, as sig. PEREZ call’d him, *del ROBERTO il diavolo*,
 “ who finds the secretaryship a harder province to govern than he looked for, and
 “ beginneth inwardly to be as weary of it, as outwardly the world is already of him.”

With regard to public occurrences, a gentleman of very good account and place in Ireland had written, that it was never in so great danger since the conquest of it; for the redress of which the queen was once of late determined to send the lord BURGH as deputy, and the lord BUCKHURST and lord chief justice of England †, as high commissioners.

In Scotland the return of the popish earls made a great broil, the ministers preaching publicly against the king, who was on his part resolved to make them submit.

In France, there had been some discontent at Paris by reason of the over-boldness of those of the reform’d religion; and the king was very much plied of late with the pope’s legate, which caused some jealousy in England.

Sir GRIFFIN MARKHAM the next day after his return was committed to his own lodging; and it was thought, that he should pass the examiners before he had his liberty.

Mr. BACON on the same day, December 11, sent to the earl of Essex, who had visited him the day before, a letter ^b, in which he excus’d his having forgot to send to mr. REYNOLDES for such of ANTONIO PEREZ’s letters, as the earl had desir’d him to peruse, and to select those points, which seem’d worthy of his lordship’s answer. He requested him likewise to pardon his delay of relating sir GEORGE CAREW’s report of a long conference concerning mr. BACON, which had pass’d between secretary CECIL and sir GEORGE, the same day, on which the earl was with

^a Vol. XIV. fol. 104.

† Sir JOHN POPHAM. He was appointed solicitor general in 1579, and attorney general two years after, and in 1592 advanc’d to the post of

lord chief justice of the king’s bench, which he held till his death on the 10th of June 1607 at the age of 76.

^b Vol. XIV. fol. 96.

mr. BACON; who accepted thereof, “ not, *says he*, according to the lustre and
 “ gloss, but by the true weight and touch of mr. secretary’s protestations and his con-
 “ firmations, concluding with sir GEORGE CAREW, that I knew not how to acknow-
 “ ledge God’s goodness in working so great an alteration in mr. secretary’s mind
 “ better than by acquainting your lordship therewith. *Well sir*, said he, *but, I pray*
 “ *you, let it be so, that the earl may take it as a good will and office from me to you,*
 “ *and not as a practice to subtract or undermine your affection towards his lordship.*
 “ Whereunto I was bold to answer freely betwixt jest and earnest, that tho’ I knew
 “ he loved and honoured mr. secretary much, yet I could never believe, that of a
 “ lieutenant of the ordnance he could make himself play so base a part as a pioneer.”
 He then advertises the earl, that monf. DE LA FONTAINE had that afternoon visited
 him, and at the last of himself, after the French curious civility or rather malepert-
 nefs, ask’d him, *Oh! je vous prie, monsieur, comment vont les petites querrelles de*
vostre cour? To which mr. BACON answering with a smile, *Il vous plaist demander ce*
que vous sçaves mieux que moy, monf. DE LA FONTAINE replied, “ Non pas cela,
 “ mais la cause de ceste mienne privauté c’est pour vous rendre la pareille, que
 “ monf. H. BROOKE me manda l’autre jour en toute haste pour m’offrir son
 “ entremise au fait du pendent garçon protestant, que monf. le secretaire ne deman-
 “ doit pas mieux que d’avoir quelque fondement pour solliciter la grace de sa
 “ majesté. Et pourtant, je vous prie, instruisez-moy, car je diray le tout a la reine.
 “ Ne vous desplaie ce, said LA FONTAINE, n’advienne que je faille tant a mon
 “ devoir, & abuse tant vostre facilité, que de favoriser aucunement ce marand,
 “ depuis que j’ay decouvert le fonds de sa meschanteté, dont l’honeste gentilhomme,
 “ tout quinaud et camus, non obstant son grand nes, estoit si sage, que de con-
 “ demner soy meme pour luy en avoir parlé.” Monf. DE LA FONTAINE also
 intimated to mr. BACON an earnest desire, which he had, to do his duty to the earl
 at some certain time and place, which his lordship should assign him out of the
 court.

In another letter to the earl on the 13th of December^c mr. BACON observ’d, that
 having that afternoon understood by his brother FRANCIS, that he had not related
 to his lordship what had pass’d betwixt the lord keeper and him concerning the suit
 of fines of personal actions. “ I thought it, *says he*, my part first to advertise your
 “ lordship, that my lord keeper profess’d to take very kindly at my hands, that I
 “ had forbore in respect of his lordship’s double interest, both as lord keeper and
 “ master of the rolls, to proceed, before I were sure of his lordship’s good liking;
 “ and then to protest sincerely to your lordship, that how just in law, and beneficial
 “ soever for my particular, the suit might have proved, I mean to keep promise with
 “ my lord keeper; which was, that so his lordship, if he found it a thing, that her
 “ majesty was resolved upon for a profit, would prefer me to any other, I would
 “ not only presently increase my pursuit, but most humbly beseech your lordship
 “ to join in the of it. Whereupon the matter being still earnestly
 “ followed by others, it may be my lord keeper will expect an honourable confirma-
 “ tion from your lordship, which I humbly beseech your lordship to grace me
 “ withal, as a favour, which, I doubt not, will presently steed my brother, and
 “ perhaps hereafter not be altogether fruitless to myself.”

Capt. EDWARD WYLTON, who had attended ANTONIO PEREZ to France in 1595 at the earl of Essex's desire, and had since accompanied his lordship in the expedition against Cadiz, being at Aumale in Normandy, wrote to his lordship from thence on the 18th of December^d, that he had met with sir CHARLES DAVERS at the French king's court, whom he found much discontented with his lordship for not accepting his service in the voyage to Cadiz; extenuating the earl's actions there, as much as might be; "but I think, *says capt. WYLTON*, rather suggested by others than of himself. He is now wholly for the treasurer, who finding his sufficiency maketh no small account of his service, and hath sent him, as I suppose, to the frontiers of Savoy, to attend and advertise him of the designs of that prince and of the king of Spain. I have been with sig. PEREZ, and offer'd him my service. He is now as well known in France as he was before in England. Mons. SANCY hath entertain'd him since his last coming over for the discovery of your lordship's secret courses only, as it is thought, and now he hath gained what he can, hath quit him again. The king in this assembly purposeth to cut off the superfluous number of the financiers, and other officers, meaning to tax the crown with as small a charge, as may be, the better to furnish himself with money for his wars. But it is said, they have urged him to such an inconvenience touching the Spanish affairs, that he was glad to apprehend a feigned occasion to go to Paris and Fontainbleau, from whence he is not yet returned; and that except he condescend unto them in that business, they mean not to conclude in his behalf." Capt. WYLTON adds, that the marshal DE BIRON was return'd from the borders of Artois, leaving the army between Amiens and Corbie full of plagues and miseries, consisting, as it was said, of 7000 French and 1500 Swiss. That mr. Constable was going shortly into Italy, and intended to reside at Rome, whose service would be at the earl's devotion, if his lordship pleased: That himself had not seen the duke DE BOUILLON since his own arrival, but had desir'd mr. LILLY to offer the duke his service, according to his lordship's directions; and mr. LILLY had told him, that the duke answer'd, that he was going to Sedan, and that the occasions now were not great. "We begin, *concludes he*, to have some sickness amongst us, but hope our men will shortly be past the worst."

Two letters written from Edinburgh to mr. HUDSON on the 15th of December 1596 gave an account of the state of affairs in that kingdom. In one of them^e, in which the name of the writer does not appear, it is mentioned, that the young princess was put under the care of the greatest papist in all the country, the lady LEVINGSTON. That the lady HUNTLEY was in great favour and credit with the queen of Scots, and was then at court in spite of the ministers. That the assemblies and conventions of the church were all dismiss'd, and an infamous and vile proclamation made against the preachers to their great slander; and the king dealt with such dissimulation with them, that he denied his consent given to it, laying it upon the council, every one of whom imputed it to each other, and denied their own share in it. And it was certain, that his majesty did nothing at that time but delay and shift the time, by colouring it with striving for superiority against the ministers. But

^d Vol. XIV. fol. 130.^e Vol. XIV. fol. 179.

they stood stilly by their marks, and would not go from any point of their liberty. That FRANCIS MOWBRAY *, who knew the secrets of all the earl of Huntly's doings, own'd, that the king did nothing but what was prescrib'd by that earl's council, and deliver'd to him by sir GEORGE HUME and young sir ROBERT MELVIL; and that his council was a certain number of priests, whom he had brought for that purpose; and that there could be no certain intelligence had of his doings except by such, as were familiar with him. And that the writer of this letter might not think, that MOWBRAY dissembled with him, upon Friday the 26th of Nov. in the night "I went, *says he*, with him to a taylor's house in the Cowgate, "where he let me see the earl Huntley, sir GEORGE HUME, and sir ROBERT "MELVIL conferring in a chamber together betwixt eleven and twelve o'clock at "night. But they staid no longer there. The which I promis'd to him not to "reveal to any Scottish man living. Their intention is to hold the king in this "continual strife against the ministers till the month of March, at which time they "look either for men or money from Spain; and then they will openly open them- "selves, and take up arms. And if the king be not moved otherwise than he "is at this time, he will surely part them, for he was never so much affectionate "to them as he is at this hour, and it increases daily more and more. For the "ministers and he were almost at a pointment lately, but now they are worse than "ever they were. And sure it is, that he is wholly bent to run a Spanish course; "for I know it both by his secret words in his bed, which I hear by my bro- "therly friendship with companions, that are of the chamber, and by other "tryal also.

"I doubt not but you know, that there was dealing betwixt her majesty of Eng- "land and these papists, to have concluded their peace that way. But his majesty "was the only stay, that it proceeded not; for he hath promised to make their peace "himself; or otherwise it shall never be made.

"This is the state at this present time; the church against the king and his "Oftavians, and the king against them; and continually growing worse and worse, "and was so, that there is nothing to be looked for but when the people shall open "themselves against the king, or the king shall run to his own destruction. And, "as I understand, all this for a secret malice they have put in his heart against the "lord treasurer of England and his standing, for at this time, as I said in my last "letter, there is no man in credit but either papists or atheists, and those, that "love neither God nor man. But it is but a small revenge to hurt himself for "that, which he is not able to do. But they are busy men, that put these courses "in his head, who of his own nature would gladly live in peace. But it is now "come to such an open dealing against the ministers, that he cannot be brought "from it with any counsel, except some great alteration come."

* Son of the laird of Barnebowgal. He liv'd by order of queen ELIZABETH, and sent to Edin-
for some time at the court of Brussels, and being burgh, where being committed to the castle, and
charg'd by an Italian fencer with a design to kill endeavouring to make his escape, he died by the
the king of Scots, was seized at London in 1602 fall. SPOTSWOOD, p. 469.

The other letter was from mr. ASTON^f, mentioning, that the king was resolved on the one side, and the ministers on the other. The question was, whether his majesty should be judge of them in criminal causes. They had declin'd his authority, and would give their lives before they would retract their declinatory. All of them would be silenc'd, and depriv'd of their stipends, except such, as should acknowledge the king's jurisdiction in that point, which would be very few, for all the presbyteries had sign'd the declinatory. The king, on the one hand, was determin'd to risque both his life and crown, while the ministers, on the other, were resolv'd to give their lives rather than go back. They had been often almost at a point to have settled all matters till a convention and general assembly; but this was still broken off by secret instruments, who blow'd the bellows. "I never thought the king, *says mr. ASTON*, in danger till now. No man dare deal with him in this matter. The treasurer is in some displeasure for opposing himself to these proceedings. Here hath been great dealing to have had the president chancellor, and within these three or four days that was certainly looked for to have been dispatched: but now it is clean cast back again. HUNTLEY deals with the ministers: he hath sent in his offers to satisfy the church. Commission is given to the ministers of Aberdeen and other places of the north to deal with him. He says well to the matter: God knows what his meaning is. I protest to you, since I knew Scotland, I never knew it in so dangerous a state; and write so short, because of this bearer's so sudden departure, who can inform you of all other particularities. GEORGE SNELLING arrived here yesternight from Bourdeaux, and affirms the drowning of the Spanish ships. He saith they were in all 200 sail, whereof there perished thirty."

MONS. DE VILLEROY wrote from Roan on the 26th of December 1596 N. S. a letter to mons. DE LA FONTAINE^g, informing him, that he had written to him on the 21st N. S. by the way of Dieppe; and that since that the king was arrived at Roan with a slight quartan ague, which sometimes confin'd him to his bed; but that it was to be hop'd, that he would be soon recover'd, of which the physicians gave good expectation. That they had taken letters of the cardinal of Austria address'd to the king of Spain, copies of which were inclos'd in this letter, as others were given by mons. DE VILLEROY likewise to sir ANTHONY MILD MAY, the English ambassador, by the king's order, who would not have any thing concealed from the queen of England his good sister, which should come to his knowledge, that was of importance to her and the common cause, as mons. DE LA FONTAINE might also assure those, whom he thought proper at the English court. That mons. DES REAUX^{*} was still at sea, and they had no letters from him nor mons. DE LA FONTAINE, which they imputed to the contrary wind, being persuaded of the diligence of the latter in writing, if it were only to assure them of the good disposition of the

^f Vol. XIV. fol. 180.

^g Vol. XIV. fol. 57.

^{*} Mr. EDMONDES in a letter to sir ROBERT SIDNEY from London December 3, 1595, observes, that mons. DES REAUX was departed with

her majesty's leave, to dispatch his private business in France; and that tho' at the beginning his appearance was not lik'd, his proceedings since had greatly pleas'd the queen and council. SIDNEY papers, Vol. II. p. 10.

queen, and the good posture, into which she put her affairs against the common enemy, whose attempts and designs monf. DE VILLEROY hop'd would be defeated by God, as he had begun with the Spanish armada, of which nothing was now said, any more than of the bankruptcy occasion'd among the merchants, which had greatly astonish'd and enrag'd them, and distress'd cardinal ALBERT; who was by this means very ill furnish'd with money; but Spain would undoubtedly send him some by sea, which ought to keep the English upon their guard to prevent.

It was said at the French court, that the queen was arming at sea as vigorously as she could, and would not wait in her own country for the troops and cannon of the enemy, but would attack him in his own dominions under the conduct of the earl of Essex in one part, and under that of sir WALTER RALEGH in another; of which monf. DE LA FONTAINE was desir'd to write what he knew, since it was of consequence, that the king should be acquainted with it.

The duke DE MERCOEUR would not agree to terms of submission, but seem'd to have renew'd his correspondence with the enemy, who might probably purchase of him the convenience of Bretagne, in order to favour his designs elsewhere, or to fix his standard in that province. The duke's truce would end with the year, so that it was time for the French court to prepare against a surprize. Monf. DE SCHOMBERG was still upon the place, but with little hopes, as he mention'd in his last letter.

The duke of Savoy had sent to prolong for three months his truce, which was to have ended with the month of January; which the court of France had upon deliberation resolv'd to agree to, not knowing what better to do.

Monf. DE LESDISGUIERES was still in Savoy, but would be soon sent back into Dauphiné, as marshal DE BIRON would be into Bresse.

The French army in Picardy was to continue in the mean time upon the frontier, resting itself till spring, so that the English troops, then at Aumale, would have no employment for the present.

Sir THOMAS BASKERVILLE had justified himself from the complaints made of his men, and used all his endeavours to remedy them; with which the king was satisfied.

Monf. DE VILLEROY instructed monf. DE LA FONTAINE, that if there was any mention of peace between France and Spain, he should boldly affirm, that this was only smoke, and ought not to be regarded, till the king should send word to the queen. Many persons spoke of things at that time according to their wishes, and few judg'd favourably and candidly of the present state of affairs. The king loved and honoured the queen, and declared himself obliged to her. He was a prince of integrity, who prefer'd his honour to his interest and convenience. And whoever built upon this foundation, would not be deceived.

The assembly at Roan was to end before the year, and it was hop'd, that it would be attended with good effects.

The deputies of the religion were still there; and their representations had been consider'd, and an answer made to them, but not yet deliver'd; but that would be in two or three days; and monf. DE VILLEROY thought, that the king would put his last hand to it.

His majesty was resolv'd to go himself into Bretagne, or to send thither the constable, if the duke DE MERCOEUR should begin the war there again. For that province was of too much importance to France and its neighbours to be neglected: which monf. DE LA FONTAINE was directed to represent to the queen, and to send over her advice upon that subject, if he could procure it.

Mr. BACON on the 18th of December acquainted dr. HAWKYNs in a letter ^h, that the only occurrents of consequence, of which he could send him an account at that time, were the particulars of the royal magnificence us'd at the baptism of the French king's base daughter *, who receiv'd no less honour † than if she had been most legitimate. *Sic crescit gloria mundi. Interim patiuntur justi*, cry'd the Hugonots in France, and threaten'd, that if he forgot his old servants for his new mistress's sake, they would look to themselves, and provide the best they could.

Mr. BACON sent on the 20th of December to the earl of Essex i the papers, which he had received the night before from mr. HUDSON, who had promis'd him by his man to visit him that day, and to advertise him of all such particularities, as NICOLSON || should impart to him by his master's direction. “ I should, *adds mr. BACON*, “ censure mr. BRUCE's and mr. FOULIS's silence, but that I know they both apprehend mr. secretary's ambuscades and interceptions, and therefore defer to write “ till they meet with some confident messenger, whom I expect daily. Your lord- “ ship knoweth the French proverb, *Un chien en chaud craint fort l'eau froid*; and they “ argue *à fortiori*; that if a public minister's letters to a king, his master, and the “ king's to him, have been laid in wait for, and open'd, how much more letters “ betwixt private friends?”

The earl having receiv'd a packet from France on the night of the 22d of December, order'd it the next day to be sent to mr. BACON by mr. REYNOLDES, who in his letter ^k observ'd, that the inclosed was full of many good observations, which no man could make better than mr. LYLly, who was so well acquainted with the state of France by his long experience, “ and who, I think, *says mr. REYNOLDES*, is too much “ infected with some of their humours; and yet I take him to be faithful and honest

^h Vol. XIV. fol. 103.

* CATHARINE HENRIETTA, afterwards legitimated by the king, and in 1619 married to CHARLES DE LORRAINE, second of the name, duke d'Elbeuf.

† THUANUS, Vol. V. l. cxvii. cap. ii. p. 637.

VOL. II.

i Vol. XIV. fol. 93.

|| GEORGE NICOLSON, secretary to mr. ROBERT BOWES, the English ambassador in Scotland. Mr. NICOLSON was afterwards agent in Scotland for queen ELIZABETH.

^k Vol. XIV. fol. 137.

H h

“ to

“ to my lord. I mov’d his lordship about the communicating of these adverti-
 “ ments with the lord keeper, who is well pleased therewith, and willed me, after
 “ you, to give him a sight of them. It may therefore please you to return them
 “ this afternoon, that I may perform his lordship’s commandment; and if you
 “ think any thing meet to be concealed, to let me know your opinion, for there are
 “ divers particularities, which are private, namely, that of our embassador and
 “ of sir CHARLES DAVERS. But mr. WYLTON’s letter I am commanded to
 “ reserve.”

Mr. BACON in his answer ¹ to this letter concurr’d in the opinion, that capt. WYLTON’s letter of the 13th of December, inserted above, was more proper to be reserved than imparted; and wish’d, that the names of the two persons mention’d by mr. LYLly, for matter of intelligence, were conceal’d; as also the advertisement concerning the embassador.

Mr. REYNOLDES wrote back to mr. BACON^m, that as he deliver’d the packet from him to the earl, there came news of the countess of Essex’s indisposition and sickness increasing, upon which his lordship made all the haste he could to visit her; but that he would impart to the earl mr. BACON’s opinion concerning the particulars to be conceal’d, and receive farther directions before he presented them to the lord keeper.

Mr. BACON in his letter to dr. HAWKYNs on the 25th of December 1596ⁿ observ’d, that tho’ it was Christmas-day, yet he took more contentment to speak with him by letter, being absent, than to confer with many, whom he saw almost daily; and therefore, in lieu of cards and dice, he had betaken himself to his pen and paper, thinking proper to advertise the doctor, that sir ROBERT GARDINER, chief justice of Ireland, was newly come to court much against his will, being commanded upon his allegiance to undertake the journey, in order that the queen might both know all, and believe one of his place and credit. That Scotland likewise was in great confusion, the presbytery having made a most insolent declinatory, as they term’d it, from the king’s authority, and most presumptuously censur’d his toleration of the return of the late fugitive earls; which papal proceedings of the ministers the king had resolved utterly to disannul, whatever it should cost him.

He inclos’d in this letter one to sir THOMAS CHALONER^o, in return for two, which he had receiv’d from him, one of the 31st of October from Stode, and the other of the 16th of November from Nuremberg, for which he return’d sir THOMAS thanks, as the earl of Essex likewise desir’d him to do for the letter to himself, and to assure him of his good will and word, whenever it should stand him in stead. For Spanish, French, or Flemish occurrents, he doubted not but sir THOMAS had them more fresh and particular than they had in England, whose advertisements were subject to the mercy of the wind, which had held so obstinately in one corner, that it had made monf. DES REAUX, the French embassador, wait six weeks at Dover for his passage into France. That Ireland was like to fall into a dangerous con-

¹ Vol. XIV. fol. 119.

^m Vol. XIV. fol. 139.

ⁿ Vol. XIV. fol. 102.

^o Vol. XIV. fol. 161.

sumption, unless it should receive timely and sufficient restoratives from England. That Scotland had of late had a very factious fit by the over-weening presumption of the presbytery in censuring the king for tolerating the return of the earls, who had fled; the one standing upon his princely prerogative, and being resolv'd to make the ministers submit, who on the other side by an habit of usurping papal authority had sign'd a general declinatory from the king's jurisdiction over them.

But we have a more particular account relating to Scotland in a letter of mr. ASTON to mr. HUDSON from Lithgow of the 26th of December 1596^p, who observes, that he had been an actor with the king first and last in the affair, of which he wrote*, that on Friday the 17th of that month, a sermon had been preach'd by mr. WALTER BALCANQUAL in St. Giles's church in Edinburgh, wherein he persuaded all men to stand fast in defence of religion, exclaiming against the king and council, desiring all, who profess'd the religion, to conjoin presently in the little church. Upon this divers barons and gentlemen came, as they were desir'd, without any further intention than to have given their opinion for composing the matters in controversy. At their coming together, it was thought convenient, that some of the ministers and some gentlemen should be directed to the king, who was then in the Tolbooth, hearing an action at law. The commissioners, who were sent, desiring to speak with his majesty, he appointed them to come to a private chamber, where they represented, that they were come to desire his majesty to take present order against the present danger, and that by removing from himself such persons, as were suspected to stir him up against them; particularly the president, secretary, and advocate. The king perceiving them to come with so severe a commission, gave them a cold answer; upon which they return'd, and there mr. ROBERT BRUCE, being one of the commissioners, declared, that there was nothing to be look'd for but extremity, desiring all men to hold up their hands to live and die together. This occasion'd an universal cry, *arm, arm*. The ministers came to the gate; the city ran to arms; the alarm reach'd the Tolbooth. The king sitting in his gown, “ we, *says mr. ASTON*, “ who were with him, presently clos'd the doors, and mann'd the same. It was “ very dangerous for a while in their fury. The provost and some honest men of “ the town, what by fair means and boasting, got all men to their own houses, and “ so the king ran forth accompanied with a thousand gentlemen, and came to his “ palace, where he remained all that night; the next day he past to Lithgow, “ where he is minded to remain till matters be better settled. Proclamation was made, “ that all gentlemen should depart the town, and the session to dissolve. The chief “ ringleaders were the lords LINDSAY and FORBES. The lairds of BARGENNY, BLAU- “ HIN and CRIGGY WICKLES were with them at the first; but presently left them, “ and came to the king. There is not one gentleman bidden in the town, lord nor “ laird. The ministers still preach more vehemently than ever they did. It is but “ only the four ministers of Edinburgh, that make all this ado. All the rest “ dissolve their proceedings. The town hath sent this day commissioners to the “ king, offering all obedience. The king will not hear them, except they will “ deliver so many, as he will give up in row. The whole nobility are appointed “ to be here the 3d of the next month. I see nothing but Edinburgh will wreck.

^p Vol. XIV. fol. 178.

* See SPOTSWOOD, p. 427. & *seqq.*

“ The king will have his will of them, and the one half of them will cut the others
“ throats. As these matters shall fall out, you shall be advertised.”

Sir THOMAS CHALONER, a few days after his arrival at Florence, on the 22d of December, wrote to the earl of Essex on the 28th^a, that he found that city to be suitable to other parts of Italy, containing many things, at which to wonder, but much more, whereof to beware. That the edge of the Florentines sharp wit was so much abated by the king of Spain's breaking with the Genoese, that they had small delight to attend their usual sports of the carnival. For the sum, in which the Genoese were engag'd to the Florentines on behalf of Spain, exceeded the value of a million. The great duke had suspended the payment of debts till the 10th of January, that his merchants might provide in the mean time for maintaining their credits, the only hope of which remaining was, that the duke would out of his treasury disburse money for them.

A principal gentleman of Florence, sig. TORRIANO, assur'd sir THOMAS, that tho' the king of Spain had earnestly been requested by the cardinal of Austria to satisfy the Genoese, alledging the discontent of his captains and soldiers, and the loss of reputation, yet that king remained resolute in the denial of payment, being satisfied in conscience by his confessors, that to persecute heretics, he might lawfully yield to necessity. One principal occasion of this respite of payment was given, that the French king would have borrow'd of the Florentines and other signories of Italy two millions. In the mean time the overthrow of all the banks in Italy was daily expected. This general breaking of Spain was attributed to his late loss sustain'd by shipwreck, and the withdrawing of the traffic of Holland and Zealand. But the principal reason assign'd was the taking of Cadiz and the loss of the shipping there; and if that enterprize should be seconded by any new exploit from England, the king of Spain's glory was, in the opinion of the ablest men in Italy, likely to be ruin'd together with the breach of his credit. For now the great fear of the Spanish force was consum'd in smoke. The people of Lucca, who vaunted their mighty patron the king of Spain, despairing of succour from him, fortified their city, and stood wholly on their own guard. The Genoese likewise were affrighted with a rumour of war proclaim'd against them in England. Nothing withheld the princes of Italy from attacking the king of Spain but the expectation of a lower ebb of his fortune; and the point, which they stood on, who should venture to give the first stroke. And certainly if the curses and revilings of the impatient Italians could prevail, the Spaniard would be constrained to bow the knee at length, finding himself unable to defray the great charge of war in many places.

There was a means working to reconcile the French king: it was propounded in the consistory at Rome the last week, that the cardinal TARUCCIO should entertain that king with a treaty of peace. Two cardinals were daily expected at Rome from Spain, whose message was said to be to desire a truce with France. “ The present
“ estate of Italy, says sir THOMAS, relieth only on wary policy, or rather fearful
“ suspicion; which worketh so much in the brains of the princes and their subjects,

“ that, where no occasion of fear appeareth, it is nevertheless thought a palpable fort
 “ of simplicity not to be mistrustful beyond all measure. This benefit Italy offereth
 “ to travellers in teaching them to stand in good terms for their own security. The
 “ princes maintain the greatness of their estates by the servitude of their people
 “ like rocks in a grown sea, notwithstanding billows, rather by their own noise than
 “ by any yielding or correspondency in nature. For the Tuscans secretly desire a
 “ restitution of their signory. The duke fortifieth his house of Pitti, thereby to
 “ constrain the Florentines, whose city is weak and of no resistance. The duke of
 “ Ferrara hath mightily strengthen’d his town with strong and curious bulwarks,
 “ intending to ordain don CESARE DE ESTE his successor; which in this pope’s
 “ time is likely to be suffered, the pope being addicted more to peace than
 “ war.”

“ The courtesy betwixt the bishop of Milan and the constable is not yet ac-
 “ corded, the pope having ten days since by a jesuit earnestly laboured a paci-
 “ fication.

“ In Naples cavalier THEODORE TRIULCI, a chief gentleman of that kingdom,
 “ is committed to the castle upon pretence of some private quarrel; but it is rather
 “ suspected to be the Spanish policy to suppress his greatness; for usually none are
 “ prisoners in the castle, whose offences are not capital.”

Mr. NAUNTON in a letter to the earl of Essex from Roan of the 28th of Decem-
 ber 1596[†] inclosed one from ANTONIO PEREZ, who was a little timorous to appear
 in his own person, standing, as he did, upon his making or marring in France.
 “ When I, *says* mr. NAUNTON, suspected, as well by the proceedings here for Spain,
 “ as by the party’s own conferences, some lothness in this king, that he should
 “ now leave him, but much more, that he should betake himself again to England,
 “ after so long a residence in this state, I took heart of myself, having yet received
 “ no one line of instructions from your lordship since our coming out of England,
 “ to persuade him, that now was his time to ask and have. And seeing the king
 “ pretended such care to satisfy him, and to win his contentment by asking what
 “ himself should demand, I advised him, that, whether these offers were but for
 “ form only, to entertain his better patience withal for the time, or otherwise meant;
 “ yet it would be the frankest course to propound his demands, to which he was
 “ invited, were it but to prevent the cavils of his enemies, who were like to give
 “ it out, after he were gone, that he would fain have had he knew not what. And
 “ if he were so utterly distasted of France, as no condition could please him there,
 “ yet that would be a much handsomer conveyance for him from hence to alledge,
 “ that the king was unwilling to satisfy his expectation; and that so he might yet
 “ better beg himself out of France, than depart with disgrace; yea and haply, that,
 “ which I think wrought with him most of all, with some danger to his person.
 “ This poor counsel he took a great deal kindlier at my hands than the contrary
 “ of his cousin GIL DE MESA, who, as he complain’d himself to me, had often
 “ ironically upbraided him with a causeless affectation of England, and bidden him

[†] Vol. VIII. fol. 132.

“ go to his dear England; and why he went not all this while.” Upon this ANTONIO resolved to exhibit certain articles to the constable and the marquis of Pisani, whom the king had appointed to treat with him; which, as far as mr. NAUNTON understood the Spanish copy, which ANTONIO shewed him, were no less than these. First, a demand of 12,000 crowns yearly income in ecclesiastical preferments, abbeys, bishoprics, &c. as they should fall void, with a special license to resign them at his pleasure to such of his children, as he should please. This demand was hypothetical, in case his wife were dead, which he said the king of Spain concealed the certainty of as much as he could, in order to keep him in suspense from resolving to settle his estate. In the mean time he requir’d, secondly, that his present pension of 4000 crowns might be made secure to him, to continue till the abovementioned full yearly value of ecclesiastical revenues should fall to him; and that be increas’d yearly 2000 crowns more out of such suits extraordinary as he should find out to present to the king; besides another 2000 crowns to be paid him down to accommodate himself to his contentment, being now reduc’d so very low, that he could dissemble it no longer. Thirdly, that the king should obtain for him a cardinal’s hat, to be dispos’d of at his pleasure, either upon himself, if he should be capable, or upon his son GONSALVO, when he might be named to it without peril. Fourthly, that it might appear, as well to his own comfort, respect, and grace, as to the safety of his person, and the terror of his enemies, how nearly the king tender’d his preservation, he desir’d two of his majesty’s Swiss guards to protect him against the designs of his great persecutor. And lastly, that the king should condescend to no pacification with Spain, unless he should precisely demand and procure him the redemption and restitution of his wife, children, and goods, as if it were of his own subjects and vassals, according to the custom of such treaties. These conditions he propounded, recommending the full performance of them to the constable’s protection and prosecution; and under these he was content to swear vassalage to the king, and so to take the oath of a counsellor immediately. Otherwise he stood upon his apprehension of dangers, and desired leave to depart with the king’s favour and his own life. These propositions lay dead in the hands of the constable and the marquis of Pisani, till the 27th of December, when ANTONIO was called for and told by them, that they had represented his demands to the king, who, they said, was contented to grant all in general without hesitating upon any particular, except the bare terms and form, which he would have alter’d from the nature of a capitulation or condition into a more humble supplication. “ I am bold, *says mr.* NAUNTON, at length thus to communicate these proceedings and articles of his “ to your lordship, yet as articles of an historical narration rather than of a theolo- “ gical creed; which if they shall sort to the effect he now looks for, I shall then “ *ex eventu* coagnise with him the partial respects and favourable influences “ of the heavens in his nativity, which have so perfected his imperfections even by “ his follies to improve his fortunes, so as his great vanities are proved not vain; “ and to have practised not altogether in vain. For the inclosed, I guess their con- “ tents are not fully particular enough for your lordship’s satisfaction, what for the “ danger of interception, and what haply of a skill to give your lordship such a “ taste, as may sharpen an appetite to desire the principal party’s coming over, “ which I presume is strongly affected by him aforehand. In which respect I “ thought it my duty to sound the bottom, at least so far as I could without suspi- “ cion,

“ cion, that your lordship might have some light, whereby to judge afore of the
 “ whole project, whether it will be worth their sending for, and your lordship’s enter-
 “ taining it or not. I find, that the gentleman hath offered his service primarily
 “ to the king, and communicated his whole plot with him, upon presumption,
 “ that he would hunger after such a bait; and now seeing the king so long de-
 “ liberates without any proceeding towards a resolution, he suspecteth, that there is
 “ a greater likelihood of an accord between this king and Spain than he look’d for,
 “ and so as one half repentant, that ever he broached his design in so unseasonable
 “ a time and place, is now desirous to make the best merchandise he can at a better
 “ chapman’s hand, finding all here shy enough, and fitter to fasten on great pen-
 “ sions than costly pensioners ” Mr. NAUNTON observes, that ANTONIO’s offers were
 specious and fair at the first sight, as that he had already four garrison towns and
 two havens at his own disposal in the kingdom of Naples; that he would with the
 intelligence of the queen and earl of Essex attempt the enterprize with his own
 faction and forces, and at his charge: that he would demand no manner of aid
 from England till the world should see him possess’d of the said places, and able to
 wage war against the king of Spain himself for a year or two. And then he offer’d
 to invest her majesty in the dominion and sovereignty of that kingdom, and to ren-
 der into her hands such of the garrisons and havens for her own assurance, as she
 should upon further treaty see cause to demand, so as if she should think proper to
 send a fleet thither, she might divert the war from her own kingdom, and entertain
 a near intelligence with the Turk for the annoyance of their common enemy. In
 the mean time he demanded nothing, but that the queen or earl would buy a house
 in Venice for about twenty or thirty thousand ducats, whither he might safely tran-
 sport his wife and children, if he should lose his life in this adventure; for repay-
 ment of which, if he should prevail, he offer’d his two elder sons for hostages; and
 if not, then the right and property of the house so purchased to remain in her ma-
 jesty and his lordship, to be disposed of as they should see cause. ANTONIO PEREZ
 seem’d to expect some thanks for his framing and working of the gentleman into this
 temper of offering his service to England in the second place. For when still to get
 more from him Mr. NAUNTON urg’d several objections, that would be urg’d in
 England against the scheme, as the length of the voyage all along the Spanish coasts
 thro’ the Straits, and the difference of religion between the natural inhabitants and
 the English, who might be transported to those garrisons, besides the danger of the
 discovery of the whole matter, having been imparted to the French king and several
 of his council, ANTONIO began to shew his discontentment, and concluded with a
 menacing *reticentia*, *Bene, bene, nolit regina, si non vult*. And farther Mr. NAUN-
 TON could not draw him, but receiv’d a charge from him to write no word of it to
 the earl, till his lordship should either send for the gentleman himself or his secretary,
 to impart all particularly by word of mouth; or at least should send some messenger
 of confidence, who should safely convey over their letters of more particularity.

There was then at Roan a gentleman of Florence of the house of Guicciardini, a
 knight of the order of St. Baptist, lately sent from the great duke to the French
 king to demand certain debts, and to perfect old reckonings and accounts between
 them, as it was given out. But he was heard by the king on the 24th of Decem-
 ber with more attention and speed, than it was thought a bringer of no welcomer a
 message

message would have been. His real instructions were found by JACOMO MARENCO to be these; first, the duke offer'd to lend the king a million and a half, and even, rather than fail, two millions, for his *moyen* to make himself king of the Romans; and promised farther to employ all the credit and interest, which he had in the electors and princes of Germany and elsewhere, that might farther this affair. And for repayment of the money he demanded the town of Marseilles la citté and the haven Boccary. Secondly, he offer'd the king 40000 crowns a month to help to invade Arragon. This he would fain have persuaded the king to three years before, and now renew'd the same motion. And lastly, he offer'd his niece, the last duke's daughter, to become his queen: but he only propounded this latter, and was not so urgent in that point as in the two former.

The assembly at Roan appear'd yet unresolv'd of their principal conclusions, for which they were call'd together. And there was little probability, that the protestants would obtain any more than was absolutely necessary, and that only till all matters should be well settled with Spain.

The constable's faction was grown to that greatness both in camp and country, that it made the Lorrainers and other captains look about them, as well as the protestants, the king still leaning towards the strongest. It was fear'd, that he was going to raise an emulation of greatness and preeminence between his two nephews of the religion, the duke DE BOUILLON and TREMOUILLE, in order to weaken that course by distraction, as well as the opposite party; and by this disunion in time to force first the one, and then the other, either to his own religion, or their own ruin.

The duke DE MAYENNE lay, during the assembly, very still and close, but in travel, as most thought, of some new practice.

Mr. NAUNTON heard, that the duke DE MONTPENSIER having not long before receiv'd letters from the queen of special grace and favour, could not restrain himself from publishing their contents in an ostentatious manner, so that the king heard of them, and grew thereupon somewhat jealous of the duke's government in Normandy, which he had manag'd with such remissness, tho' suppos'd more from a dissolution in himself, than from any art of ambition to gain the love of others, that the people for the sake of their liberty seem'd fond of his government, and were likely, if better order were not taken before the king went thence, to stand farther either within or for him, than the king would well allow of.

The burghers and citizens of Roan were the most stubborn and mutinous of France, and thought forward enough to attempt somewhat against them of the religion, after the king's departure, which was yet uncertain.

It was now surmis'd, that the duke D'ESPERNON, who was lately so diligent in diverting the duke DE MONTPENSIER from the match with the house of Longueville, had bethought himself of an after meaning to nestle himself there, if he could. The duke DE MERCOEUR still held out his own, and now upon the expiration of the truce would be stirring every day. He ran between the king and the Spaniard step
by

by step, in imitation of the old constable St. Pol between LEWIS XI. and CHARLES of Burgundy in COMINES's Memoirs.

The count DE SOISSONS was sent for, in shew, to the solemnity of the investiture of the knights, which was perform'd at Roan on Sunday, the day before the date of this letter, to the number of about three or four and twenty. The count was not yet come.

Since the late rumour spread of the prince of Conde's danger, there was a second raised privately of some practice, detected by the Parisians against the king himself. " I never lik'd, *adds mr.* NAUNTON, to busy my head, much less my pen, with the " ominous presages of princes estates; but I am still induced, and thus drawn on " from one thing to another, by way of comparison and laying many likes together, " to draw to this conclusion, that the present state of France, from the king himself " downward, is built and founded generally and most miserably upon mere distresses, " every man settling himself, and setting his rest, more upon other men's distrusts " and diffidences, than upon any trust or confidence at all, that he can have of his " own estate."

The duke DE BOUILLON was that day sending away his baggage towards Turenne; and himself had been going these ten days, but was not yet gone. Mr. NAUNTON fear'd, that this duke would carry little of his Low-country treasure with him, unless he had long dissembled greater need than indeed he labour'd under. It was certain, that he had lost great sums in play at cards and tennis both, since his coming to Roan, to duke D'ESPERNON and marshal BIRON. And it was said by his followers, that the king had stay'd him all this while, to give him order for levying of certain forces in the country, whither he was going.

Mr. BACON's letter to his mother on the 31st of December 1596^a acquainted her with the gracious usage and speech, which his brother FRANCIS had receiv'd, during the Christmas holydays, from her majesty, who, he hop'd, at the last would vouchsafe to exemplify her good words by some princely real effects: that secretary CECIL had of late profess'd very seriously an absolute amnesty and oblivion of all misconceits pass'd, with earnest protestation, that to the queen, to his father, or of himself, he would be glad and ready to do mr. BACON any kind office, if the latter would make proof of him. " This, *says mr.* BACON, is so much the more com- " fortable unto me, that mine own conscience doth witness, that it is only God's " working, and no ways mine own seeking by any base means or insinuation."

He wrote the same day to the earl of Essex^b, that sir GEORGE CAREW, lieutenant of the ordnance, had that evening visited him, being newly return'd from his friend and confident, mr. BACON's cousin, sir EDWARD HOBBY, in Kent. " I wish most " heartily, *says mr.* BACON, that so oft as it pleaseth him to do me such favour, " your lordship could understand by any other body's relation than mine own the " form and substance of our discourse, acknowledging, as I have often to your

^a Vol. XIV. fol. 87.

^b Vol. XIV. fol. 90.

“ lordship, mine own disadvantageous incorrigible fault in reporting any thing,
 “ wherein I myself am an actor. And therefore meaning not to cumber your lord-
 “ ship with the premises, I will touch only his conclusion, which was an earnest re-
 “ quest to caution his intire devotion to your lordship, and to crave so much favour
 “ in his behalf, as that if any intended action grow towards the ripeness of a re-
 “ solution, he might be graced by your lordship with some trust of timely adver-
 “ tisement for the supply of such wants, as appertain to his charge to have care of.
 “ To which request mine answer was, that knowing your lordship’s noble mind and
 “ deep judgment, and his means to make real demonstration of an unfeigned inward
 “ affection, I feared, that my offer of suretyship, upon no other ground than his
 “ own protestations, might work perhaps some contrary effect to his expectation,
 “ and my desire. For the last point, I told him, that I doubted not but mr.
 “ secretary will advertise and warn him in time to perform any duty, that might
 “ be required of him. *Nay, God’s soul, faith he, I may not trust to that; for neither*
 “ *his fathern or he can yet discover what your earl intendeth or pretendeth; upon which all*
 “ *depends. And therefore I must look to take light from you; or else perhaps her majesty’s*
 “ *service may lie in the deck.* My reply was, that I would acquaint your lordship;
 “ and so we parted, after two hours conference, which angred a little my honour-
 “ able good lord HARRY, who, as it seems, upon a secret antipathy, chose rather
 “ to attend two hours not far off from hence, than to meet sir GEORGE CAREW, to
 “ whom, under correction, I must do this right, as to confess without bragging,
 “ that either he is extremely vain and *plenus rimarum*, or thinketh me very simple;
 “ wherewith I am very well content, so God give me grace not to deceive your
 “ lordship once in thought, nor myself in words, the vow of which intire fidelity
 “ and due reverence to your lordship’s matchless virtue and merit I will with a
 “ good conscience and chearful mind presume to present unto your lordship, as the
 “ worthiest token I can yield; which I assure myself will be no less acceptable to
 “ your lordship, than all the plate and jewels, which my lord treasurer shall re-
 “ ceive to-morrow.”

Mr. REYNOLDES, who requested mr. BACON in a letter of the 30th of Decem-
 ber^d, to speak to the earl in his favour for the clerkship of the avery, then likely
 to be void by the rising of the officers of the queen’s household, had written likewise
 another letter^e about this time, tho’ the precise date does not appear, to solicit
 mr. BACON’s interest for his preferment. He observes, that he had made an over-
 ture of this opportunity offered to the earl’s officers; but that they had no appre-
 hension of it, reputing it too base a thing to be sought for or desired by him. But
 that did not discourage him, but only this circumstance, that he was afraid, that his
 lordship might take some disliking of such a motion, which could not be performed
 without quitting his service. These two considerations threw him into great per-
 plexity, the care of making his estate certain, and his desire to do it by such means,
 as might give no offence, in regard of his service; which as he had wholly vowed to
 the earl, so he would be exceedingly glad to give his mind some rest in so great un-
 certainties and hazards. The place was indeed of no great worth for matter of

^e New year’s day.

^d Vol. XIV. fol. 149.

^e Vol. XIV. fol. 151.

profit; (which was the objection of his lordship's officers) but a little profit with some reasonable credit would sufficiently content him; both which he knew that place would yield. They alledg'd also, that the earl would not grant this suit of his, in respect of his service: to which he made the same answer, which he had propounded in a letter to mr. BACON, that his lordship was furnish'd with divers able and very sufficient secretaries, mr. WOTTON, a linguist of great experience, mr. CUFFE, a great philosopher, and mr. TEMPLE, a man not inferior for a secretary to either; to whom he might add mr. JONES, who took upon him that title, tho' he had not yet performed any act. "And of these, *says he*, I know some, that do long for my preferment (I thank them) for themselves, and not for my good. Mr. WOTTON is already secretary for Transylvania, Polonia, Italy, Germany; and if I were gone (so he hath vaunted) would have my charge; making some comparisons of sufficiency betwixt myself and him, and betwixt me and others, that are more sufficient than both of us. But I repeat not this as any whit moved with those speeches or reproachful terms; for I desire only to please and content my lord, and not mr. WOTTON, or any other, that doth or shall contentiously, or upon humour, seek to disgrace me, how mean soever my sufficiency be in their eyes, which I will acknowledge to be far under that, which such a place, as I hold, requireth. I will in this and all that may concern my good, be wholly governed by your counsel, who in your sound judgment can, and in your good affection, I know, will advise the best. But this let me intreat of your love towards me your poor servant, to give the best instruction to this my desire, which is, that I prefer his lordship's service before all the preferments of the court; and that a just care of my poor estate, when decrepit age shall overtake me (whereof I bear already the marks in my head and face) doth move me to this suit; or, if this will not be obtained, to the other for the reversion of the clerkship of the privy seal, to be speedily set on foot, because there is another, that had it presently in chase."

In this month of December 1596 the earl return'd an answer to several letters, which he had receiv'd from ANTONIO PEREZ, written in the latter end of November, and of which some abstracts are remaining^f. In one of these letters, that of the 23d of November, ANTONIO acquainted the earl of the sending the Vidame into Africa, wishing, that it had been done before the expedition to Cadiz, because the Moors would have join'd; and he mention'd his conference with the French king concerning the attempting of somewhat against the state of Milan, and with monf. DE VILLEROY and DE SANCY on the same subject: that marshal DE MATIGNON treated him with great confidence, and had discover'd, that the king propounded an expedition into Spain; and took notice of some imperfections in the expedition to Cadiz; and that the enemy ought to be attack'd before he got strength. ANTONIO in his letter of the 26th of November gave an account of the marriage of the duke DE MONTPENSIER with monf. DE JOYEUSE's daughter, with the inconveniencies, that might follow from it to the state by that alliance and his neighbourhood; and therefore wish'd, that the duke's government of Normandy might be chang'd for that of Guienne, and the former committed to the king's young son,

^f Vol. XIV. fol. 118.

and the grand ecuyer. He added, that the papists and protestants had great factions and dissensions in the assembly at Roan; and advertis'd from the mouth of mons. BEAUVOIR LE NOCLE, that sir ANTHONY MILD MAY, the embassador, was observ'd not to affect the earl, by speeches, which had fallen from him. ANTONIO desir'd his lordship to peruse often the advertisements contain'd in his letter of the 23d of November, and then to burn it, and to certify him under his hand, that he had done so; ANTONIO suspecting, that his letters had been communicated and publish'd by some; which gave him great uneasiness. The earl in his answer * excus'd his not having written before, on account of a wound in his hand. He touched upon what ANTONIO had written to him about the duke DE MONTPENSIER's marriage, which he wishes were not concluded, being apprehensive of the consequences of it from the new alliances, in which the duke, for whom he professes the highest regard, would be engaged by it, and the danger of his becoming an enemy in the neighbourhood of England, instead of a friend; and therefore advises, that he might be remov'd from Normandy. But these fears were slight in comparison of those, which arose from the French king's thinking about a peace with Spain, and a conjunction with the house of Austria; the event of which would be, that France might perhaps be intirely lost to herself, but would certainly be so immediately to England. His lordship expected from ANTONIO an account, whether these things were true or not, and desir'd him, that if that king was captivated by the splendor of a war against the Turk, or the name of emperor, he would recal him to a consideration of France, which was now distress'd, and would then be absolutely abandon'd. If the king, like other princes, let fall as a secret what he could not honourably own, he might deceive the people, or some new embassador. But the earl had formerly read of TIBERIUS, and if it were for the advantage of Europe, he would pretend himself to be deluded by those artifices. But the king talk'd in a contrary style, and the marshal DE MATIGNON mention'd, that the king propos'd an expedition against Spain, and that he had rather attack that kingdom, than defend himself against its attacks. He thought, that the late voyage to Cadiz was useless; and was desirous to unite his forces with England for the invading of the enemy. "But do you," *says he*, speak out plainly, if you will, or can, or dare make any attempt. England has ships, mariners, and all things necessary to a war at sea: but we are mov'd, or rather forc'd, to every thing, not voluntarily, nor naturally. Do you propound, and urge. The occasion itself invites you. The queen is a woman, and therefore magnanimous enough, if she does not decline opportunities. It becomes the king to act the man, and to make opportunities, when he cannot find them. If Spain is not to be invaded, let Flanders be attack'd, Calais recover'd, and ALBERT driven into some monastery. Wherever we carry on the war, it will be sufficient, if we throw off that slowness and inactivity, which is so dangerous, and so full of mutual jealousy. Answer me, for the iron is on the anvil.

His lordship's letter in the Latin original was in these terms:

"Defino jam procrastinariæ. Excusationibus non datur locus, non etiam si justæ sint. Manu læsus eram, ideoque scribere non potui. Capitis excusationem semper

“ habeo. Caput, inquam, immo caput capitis, cerebrum, etiamsi non læsum sit,
 “ tamen non valet, nec unquam valuit, vel valebit. Sed me accusas. Reus sum
 “ factus. Ergo necessario loquendum, etiamsi barbarè. Res attende, non verba,
 “ nam qui nunquam legit nec studet, nec elegantè nec congruè potest scribere.

“ De nuptiis scripsisti, utinam de non transactis. Amavi MONTPENSERIUM
 “ deque eo plurima speravi; nec donec se patriamque suam ipse amare desierit,
 “ eum minus amabo. Sed nuptias metuo. Integerrimus ADAMUS à fœmina seduce-
 “ batur. Sed infantulæ nubet. Non eam, sed Joyasum, Pernonum, Umenum
 “ suspicor. His ni nuberet, nil timerem. Sed hi cum puellâ maximam hæreditatem,
 “ ingentes opus afferunt. Timeo tamen Danaos et dona ferentes. Si nuptiæ non
 “ possunt vitari, impediatur confœderatio, vel saltem si amicos novos acquirit,
 “ veterem sedem non retineat, ne pro amico hostem vicinum habeamus. Nor-
 “ manniam ne retineat nobis propinquam, illi commodissimam. Sed quid MONT-
 “ PENSERII nuptias deploro? vel Normanniam periclitatam judicem? Cum rex
 “ ipse de pace cum Hispano, de conjunctione cum Austriacis cogitet; quæ si
 “ evenerint, Gallia tota forsitan sibi, sed nobis sine dubio illico perit. A te, à te,
 “ ANTONI, expecto, ut sciam, an ista vera sint. Si, ut homo, splendore illo belli
 “ adversus Turcam, vel nomine imperatoris captus sit, ad Galliam jam afflictam
 “ tunc deferendam eum revoces. Si, ut solent principes, quæ honestè profiteri non
 “ possit, tanquam secreta emittet, populum vel oratorem aliquem novum fallat.
 “ Nos de TIBERIO aliquando legimus; & si è re nostra, è re, inquam, Europæ sit,
 “ nos, nos tanquam captos istis technis possumus simulare. Sed his contraria refert.
 “ Marefchallus MATIGNON de expeditione in Hispaniam loquitur. Rex ipse op-
 “ pugnare hostem quam propulsare mallet. Nostram expeditionem inutilem judicat.
 “ Jam junctis viribus cupit nobiscum hostem aggredi. At quod mussitare,
 “ aperte loquamini, si velitis, si possitis, si audeatis in Galliâ aliquod tentare. Habet
 “ Anglia naves, nautas, omnia ad bellum navale necessaria. Movemur tamen,
 “ immò impellimur ad omnia; non sponte neque naturâ movemur. Proponatis,
 “ urgeatis. Occasio ipsa vos invitet. Regina fœmina est, ideòque satis magnanima,
 “ si occasiones non declinat. Decet regem virum agere, & facere occasiones, quas
 “ non invenerit. Si non aggredienda Hispania, infectetur Flandria, recipiatur
 “ Caletum; in monasterium aliquod profligetur ALBERTUS. Utcunque bellum
 “ gerimus, sat erit modo segnitiam istam periculosam & mutuæ zelotypiæ plenif-
 “ simam excutiamus. Responde, nam ferrum est in incude. Valere te optat

“ tuus E S S E X I U S.”

The lord HOWARD wrote likewise, during the course of this month, the following letter to the earl^z, upon the occasion of the miscarriage of his countess, or the death of his child. “ Upon this late occasion of disquiet to your worthy mind, my most
 “ dear lord, I cannot press you with particulars, without seeming either to respect
 “ mine own satisfaction more than your present need, which you shall never find;
 “ or offending somewhat against the rules of reverence and duty, which my love to
 “ you doth learn by heart, and will observe with circumspection. At my last attend-
 “ ing your lordship, I knew little what was in hand, yet found a kind of heaviness.

“ in that honourable look of you, which made me no less doubtful, that all was
 “ not as it ought, than desirous, that it might be to your liking. This is an acci-
 “ dent to make your country know, that God means in this manner to correct and
 “ punish it, when such sweet blossoms fall from fruitful trees, before they knit, or
 “ sweet breaths favour them. This caused our civilians to set down a sharp punish-
 “ ment against those, that brake any eagle’s egg; and the same respect mov’d
 “ LACEDEMON to put on black, when any of the race of LYCURGUS perished. My
 “ comfort is, that you are fruitful, and my lady young, and by nature apt to con-
 “ ceive, so as your friends shall joy in those sweet olive-buds, that time will bring
 “ forth; and the state, wherein you live, give God thanks for the shadow, which
 “ their off-spring shall receive in parching days from the branches of so grateful
 “ and so rare a body. The testimony of a friend what he would willingly have
 “ endured to prevent this untimely stroke, comes out of season, when the brunt is
 “ past: but so God deal with me *in die illo*, as I would lose of my own blood to
 “ save yours, and hold all those given over utterly *in sensum reprobissimum*, whose
 “ malice can distinguish at this day between the safeguard of your worthy person
 “ and the life of your country. For mine own part, I confess mine ignorance,
 “ and therefore with one reason will pray ardently for health under one form, as
 “ for the twins of HIPPOCRATES, that must ever weep and laugh, live and die to-
 “ gether. I will wait upon your lordship, when I shall not be troublesome to a
 “ heavy spirit, if I may know your pleasure; and in the mean time wish, that your
 “ effects may be as prosperous, as their causes are extraordinary.

“ Your lordship’s most affectionately,

“ Howard-house, this

“ Tuesday morning

“ at seven.”

“ humbly, and eternally

“ H. HOWARD.”

This lord’s friendship with the earl did not however prevent him from paying
 his court sometimes to the lord treasurer, to whom he wrote the following letter^b,
 about this time, upon presenting to him a devotional piece of his own composition.

“ Your lordship’s gracious acceptance of such humble tokens at all times, as my
 “ poor fortune afforded, emboldens me to present this treatise to your grave con-
 “ sideration, as the highest test, by which I desire to try the worth of mine own
 “ labour. I have been the more encouraged hereunto by calling to mind, how
 “ many years your lordship hath been, by your own disposition, inclined to look into
 “ the discourses of like quality. If in this posy there be any flowers, that may de-
 “ light so quick a scent, as in this mellow age doth shew to the wonder of the
 “ world the strength and vigour of the first-infusion, I must esteem it too great
 “ fortune to myself in making choice conformably to your content. If any weeds
 “ by negligence or imperfection in gathering be crept into this heavenly and ce-
 “ lestial concert, I humbly crave your lordship’s dispensation out of your wonted
 “ indulgence. For this is not the first error, whereat your gracious nature hath

^b Vol. XIV. fol. 183, verso.

“ been

“ been content to wink; neither is it like to be the last, that you must forgive, if
 “ it please still, as you have often done heretofore, to encourage me by favourable
 “ interpretation to acquaint you with such trifles, as shall pass the file of my in-
 “ firmity. CHRYSOSTOM makes the fault of CAIN to have been over-great assurance
 “ and vain-glory in the strength of his own hands. The wise man blameth those as
 “ much, that slothfully forbear to labour, where the field is plentiful. The safest
 “ mean between both is ever to devote the strength of nature to the motions of
 “ grace, and where foundations are infallible, to build assuredly. That my desire
 “ hath aim’d at this end the preface may assure your lordship, if your infinite af-
 “ fairs afford but so much idle time, as may serve to run over it. How near I
 “ draw to the desired end, your favour only decide, wherein I trust more than in
 “ mine own ability. The weight of your lordship’s piercing judgment held me in
 “ so reverent an awe, as before I were encouraged by two or three of my dear
 “ friends, who had a taste, I durst not present this treatise to your view: but since
 “ their partiality hath made me thus bold, my own affection to sanctify this labour
 “ to yourself hath made me impudent. Some seven years past I offered in Latin
 “ to your lordship a collection to this effect; but neither warranted like this by the
 “ judgment of the primitive interpreters, nor examined by those translations, which
 “ the church holdeth to be most consonant. If I could offer to your lordship any
 “ thing of better price than a copy of my daily sacrifice to God, I would not be
 “ slack. But since this is the best and uttermost, that my proportion can yield, I
 “ humbly recommend the same with my best wishes to your gracious favour, be-
 “ seeching God to grant you with the health of GALEN, if it may be, the years of
 “ METHUSALEM.”

Monsr. JACQUES BONGARS, who was employ’d as resident from the French king
 with several of the states of Germany, and of whose letters a volume has been several
 times publish’d, and justly admir’d for the eloquence of the Latin style, having re-
 ceiv’d a letter from the lord WILLOUGHBY of Eresby, with whom he had been per-
 sonally acquainted in that country, return’d an answer to his lordship in French,
 from Nuremberg on the 2d of January 1596-7 N. S. ^a, in which he observ’d, that
 there was then in that city mons. ANCEL, sent by HENRY IV. as envoy to bring
 the German princes to approve of the late confederacy made between his majesty
 and queen ELIZABETH: but that the number and diversity of humours of those
 princes would render that negotiation longer than could be wish’d; and that the
 misfortunes in Hungary occasion’d them to turn their attention on that side, where
 they were most press’d. The emperor solicited them strongly, and would have it be-
 liev’d, that on this occasion he would undertake the affair in good earnest. The
 ordinary assemblies for the consideration of proper remedies and means were to be
 held that month, before which no judgment could be form’d what could be hop’d.
 The grand signor was thought to be retir’d to Constantinople with a resolution to
 return in spring. In the mean time there was a truce between the armies in Hungary,
 which would perhaps be ended as soon as the weather should open the passage for
 the usual incursions.

Mr. NAUNTON in his letter to the earl of Essex of the 4th of January^b remark'd, that his last of the 31st of December was written in such distraction and haste, that he could not satisfy himself with the sudden answer, which he could then make to that of his lordship of the 22d of November, receiv'd just before. Mr. NAUNTON in his letter takes notice of the great discontent of JACOMO MARENCO, who had been very forward of late to go over to England to visit his lordship, till he saw sign. BASADONNA's letter, which had lately inform'd him, that the gentleman, of whom Mr. NAUNTON had written more freely to the earl to Plymouth, had given out as from the queen's mouth, that his letters consisted of mere trifles. "This
 " check, *says he*, how disgracefully, or rather disdainfully, an Italian nature can en-
 " tertain it, yea can multiply and swell upon it, as it were no better than a menace
 " from an imperious steward, that should threaten famine to an idle beggar, except
 " he would frame himself to do better service, &c. I leave to your lordship's
 " consideration. He is now in the mind to put over that journey, partly lest he shall
 " more offend your lordship in balking him, than content you in visiting yourself;
 " and partly lest he should be thought to come for either greediness or neediness, of
 " some reward, being, as he protesteth, much more inclinable of the two to beg in
 " very deed, than to digest such exprobrations. He doth in stomach sometimes
 " counter-upbraid his service with these three instances; first, his giving warning of
 " the siege of Calais six months before it fell out. Then his detecting of the Italian,
 " that wrote all our English affairs into Spain; your lordship knows already out of
 " whose house: and lastly, his late discovery made here of CAMILLO SPINOLA,
 " who is lately banish'd this realm for doing the like offices thither out of this
 " state from Lyons. And still he snuffs at it, that all these intelligences of such
 " importance should be so injuriously censured for trifles."

RALPH lord Eure, lord warden of the marches towards Scotland, took occasion in a letter from Hexham of the 14th of January 1596-7§, to renew his former friendship with Mr. BACON, contracted in their residence at Geneva, and to give him an account, that there was a great dissension then in Scotland betwixt the king and his clergy, "which grew, *says his lordship*, upon this occasion. The ministers
 " sent unto the king four barons, requiring that the earls Angus, Huntley, and
 " Errol might be remov'd from his council; for that, as was alledged, they were
 " enemies both to the church and his majesty. The king would not hearken to
 " this motion, but gave the barons a dilatory answer, referring his full resolution
 " to the farther advice of his council; wherewith they departed so malecontent, as
 " upon report of the king's answer to the clergy, the town of Edinburgh did
 " indelayedly take arms, purposing to remove the said earls by force. Which the
 " king perceiving (unable upon the sudden to resist their fury) chose rather to pacify
 " them with large and fair promises; and so having quitted them, he removed one
 " day after into Holyrood-house, and thence passed over the water into Fife, and
 " is now (as is reported) levying an army to besiege Edinburgh, which, as is sup-
 " posed, he will immediately attempt." His lordship concludes with intreating

^b Vol. VIII. fol. 130.

§ Vol. VIII. fol. 191.

" Mr.

MR. BACON's favour in furtherance of such suits, as he should have occasion to move to the earl of Essex in; assuring him, that he should be always ready to requite the kindness.

Mr. ASTON wrote likewise the next day, January the 5th, to MR. HUDSON from Holyrood-house in Edinburgh*, that the king finding himself touch'd in honour by the extraordinary conduct of that city, resolv'd to have entered it by force, and to have punish'd the chief actors; but the people perceiving themselves in great straits and danger of utter ruin, daily sent commissioners, offering themselves to his majesty's will. This being consider'd, the king being averse to punishing the well-affected, and such as had not offended, sent to the city, to apprehend certain of the inhabitants, who had been the first stirrers in the late meeting, some of whom were taken, while others escap'd, particularly EDWARD JOHNSTON. At last it was agreed, that his majesty should return upon the following conditions, that all the magistrates should meet him at Leith with the keys of the ports, offering their obedience. Next, that the magistrates should be remov'd, as the king and his council should think convenient; and no magistrate hereafter chosen but by his majesty's advice; no minister admitted but by his direction: that they should be bound to bring yearly certain for entertainment of Coway-house, discharge certain customs to his majesty, and give him 500 corselets, and 500 pikes; and all, who should be found culpable, punish'd either in purse or life, as the king should think proper. On Saturday the first of January his majesty entered the city, accompanied with his nobility, the city being given in charge to the earl of MAR, the lord SETON, and the lord OCHILTRY. The earl had the guard of the west port, the lord SETON the nether-bow, and the lord OCHILTRY placed himself at the market cross. The king pass'd to the great church, and there MR. DAVID LINDSAY made a sermon on the 101 psalm, exhorting the people to obedience; after which the king rose up, and made a long oration, both learnedly and justly. The substance of it was to satisfy the people of his intentions with respect both to religion and the government of his state; and that he would not punish his good subjects for the offenders sake. This being done he went to the council, and there settled his affairs. Several persons were seiz'd and committed to prison. The next day the convention was to sit, which was the greatest, that had been seen. "I hear, *says* MR. ASTON, that our ministers
"are come into England, and that MR. DAVID BLACK is broken ward. I think
"I shall see you shortly. At this present the king is minded to send me to her ma-
"jesty, and hath said as much to the embassador, and yet hath said nothing of the
"matter to myself. Always there will one come to acquaint her majesty with the
"whole process. We are now busy about examining prisoners: some are like to
"pay for it. MR. DAVID FOULIS is waiting on, and believed to be employ'd. I
"am indifferent, as his majesty shall think good. However it be, I must see you
"this spring."

But the most exact account of this event will be given from a letter of MR. BOWES, the English embassador, to MR. HUDSON*, in which he mentions, that on Friday the 17th of December, the ministers of Edinburgh were advertised, that the

* Vol. VIII. fol. 70.

* Vol. VIII. fol. 145.

lord HUME should come to the church to take mr. WALTER BALCANQUAL out of the pulpit in the midst of his sermon. Whereupon certain townsmen conven'd in secret armour about them, and placed themselves close about the pulpit, as near as they could, being fully resolv'd to oppose the first aggressors. But whether for fear, or upon better advice, the lord HUME stay'd his resolution; tho' there was private charge sent to the number of 24 of the honestest householders in the whole town to remove themselves within the space of six hours out of it under the pain of treason. This being known to the whole community, the same Friday, after the preaching, all the ministers, with sixteen or seventeen barons and some lords, went into the little kirk at the end of the other, there to advise what was best to be done concerning the persons order'd to depart from the city without any offence. And when they had well advis'd upon it, they thought best, by a general consent, to choose out four commissioners present to be sent from them to the king, who was then sitting in the session-house. The commissioners appointed were the lord FORBES and LINDSEY, the lairds of BALQUAN and BARGENNY; and after that an oath was given by the whole multitude, as it were, freely and unrequir'd, that they should stand firmly by that cause. The four commissioners went to the Tolbooth to speak to the king upon the subject; who, when they came into the inner house, inquir'd, who they were; to which they answer'd, that they were sent in commission from the ministers to speak with his majesty. But the president taking him aside, gave answer, that the time was not convenient to answer such affairs. Whereupon the lord LINDSEY and the president fell to hot words; and if the king had not been there, it had been worse for the latter and the rest of his companions, mr. HAMILTON and the rest of the papists. Yet at his majesty's command the four commissioners retir'd, tho' not pleased with the answer, which they had receiv'd. The common people, who waited to see the end of all, perceiving their countenances not to be good, cried out presently, *arms, arms, arms*; and immediately all the town rose in arms, and came to the Tolbooth to assist the barons. Whereupon the king hearing the tumult of the people, and uproar of the townsmen, sent the earl of MAR to pacify it, promising, that all should be well. This quieted the matter, and every man retir'd to his own house. The barons then convey'd the king to the abbey; and then went up again to the ministers to consult with them. But the four papist members of the council, SETON, LINDSEY, HAMILTON and ELPHINSTON, never left the king, nor came into the town, but stay'd that night in the abbey, keeping close watch and ward for their own defence till the next day; when the king having taken the affair into most high displeasure, and being greatly offended at the lords, barons and townsmen, yet dissembling in the mean time, took horse early in the morning, and rode to Lithgow. Immediately after which there were two proclamations publish'd, one for the removal of the session, and another to command all, who were not inhabitants of Edinburgh, to leave it within six hours under pain of treason. On Monday there was charge sent to the provosts and bailiffs to take and apprehend the number of ten of the chief men of the city, because they were in armour on the Friday preceding, and that they should be committed to the castle. There were also included in the same charge five ministers, ROBERT BRUCE, WALTER BALCANQUAL, JAMES DAVIDSON, ——— BALFOUR, and MICHAEL CRANSTON, who all with the townsmen absented themselves, except CRANSTON, who was in custody, being resolv'd to abide the trial. “ Thus, says mr. Bowes, all things have pass'd
“ without

“ without any more harm than you hear, except that capt. GRAY was well knock’d
 “ with halberds and staves, and that of the wives as well as of the men ; for the night
 “ before he vowed to mow down the carles. But in faith they paid it well with
 “ bough strokes enow. What this will come to, or what end it will have, God
 “ knows. But the papists triumph for the present, and now there is no man with
 “ the king but all papists, or else atheists. It is written to me by my trusty
 “ friend and companion, one of his majesty’s chamber, that the lord HAMILTON
 “ hath spoken very hotly to the king, and reprov’d his doings against the kirk ;
 “ and that the treasurer shall lose his office, because the rest suspected him ; and
 “ this is thought to be true ; but because I will not lie of myself, you may see by
 “ this how I have it ; for I would be loth to write any thing without some good
 “ assurance. I can see none, that is likely as yet to take any doing for the defence
 “ of this cause ; but the ministers stand stiffly by their mark, and will not bow or
 “ break one jot of their liberty ; but, as they protest, will rather suffer persecution
 “ for the same even till death. It is reported to the king, that my lord embassador
 “ knew of this good Friday, and that he devised it. But I leave that to your judg-
 “ ment, for I think he did not ; for if he had, it would not have been so fondly en-
 “ terprised, and so slimly left.”

Sir ROBERT SIDNEY, on the 9th of January 1596, in a letter from Flushing to
 the lord HENRY HOWARD^d, acknowledg’d the receipt of three from his lordship,
 and inform’d him, that he was no sooner come out of Holland, which was two
 days before, having been eight days upon the way, but he found a letter from
 count MAURICE, very earnestly intreating him to come speedily to him with
 300 men, for that he had some action in hand ; towards whom sir ROBERT was now
 going, desiring his lordship to bear with him till his return, which he expected
 would be within eight days, and then he would write to him at large, and let him
 know, if they had done any thing worth speaking of in that journey. “ In the
 “ mean time, *says he*, I am exceeding glad to hear, that you shall come again
 “ to the presence of the queen. God send it may be so, and all other fortunes to
 “ your contentment. For I must needs pray for you, who indeed labour so much
 “ for me, my fortune making me but farther unprofitable to all, whom I love. I
 “ am confined here, I see, and I doubt not but they will *negotia negotiis serere* :
 “ and tho’ the matter be nothing pleasing, yet is the time and the manner more
 “ disagreeable. For when I should have been contented with the employment,
 “ then, as you know, I was cross’d in it. Now that there is no hope of doing
 “ good, and that I should be at home to take care for mine own private estate, it
 “ is like a summer storm suddenly cast upon me. But since there is no way of
 “ avoiding it, I will not make it more troublesome with discontenting myself ; and
 “ since I must needs undergo it, not take away my thanks by seeming to do it
 “ against my will. Notwithstanding if there be not an intent indeed to keep me
 “ here, this matter may procure my coming home for some days. For here can
 “ nothing be done these two months at the least, no more than a matter in law
 “ out of the term, the general estates being not assembled ; so as I may be suffered
 “ to return and receive her majesty’s pleasure from herself, (which I do very much

^d Vol. IX. fol. 10.

“ desire, and not be driven to pick out the meaning of some confused instructions)
 “ dispatch mine own business, and be here again before her majesty’s service shall
 “ require my presence. And thus much I have written to my lord of Essex. I
 “ shall see, whether I be appointed for the business, or the business for me.” Sir
 ROBERT then observes, that the states general were preparing themselves with
 expedition for the war, and had good cause for it, for on the other side the cardinal’s
 preparations were great, and he intended, as was said, to have two armies, one to
 oppose to France, and the other to assault the united provinces. He left certain regi-
 ments of foot in Germany, and duke MAURICE of Saxe was bringing him 2200
 horse. It was said likewise, that the king of Spain was proceeding with his pre-
 parations by sea, so that the queen and her friends must look to be attempted on
 all sides. “ God send, *adds sir* ROBERT, we do not like the cart, in which one
 “ of the horses ever sticks in some slough or other, and never draw with their whole
 “ strength together.”

The design, in which sir ROBERT SIDNEY was engaged by count MAURICE, was
 against the forces of the cardinal arch-duke at Turnhout, and attended with a re-
 markable success in the absolute defeat and destruction of them, in the manner de-
 scribed by sir ROBERT in a letter to the earl of Essex*, in which he inform’d his
 lordship, that the 12th of January was the day appointed for the assembling of their
 small army at Gertruydenberg. Thither came, by order from count MAURICE, the
 counts of HOLLOCK and SOLMES, sir FRANCIS VERE with his regiments, and some
 other English troops, MURRAY with his regiment of Scots, BREDERODE, and BROG-
 HIERE, with some troops of the garrisons in those quarters, and some companies of
 the Zealand regiment. Sir ROBERT SIDNEY brought 300 men from Flushing,
 which marched with the rest of the English. In all there were forty ensigns making
 towards 5000 men, and twenty-seven cornets of horse, which were scarce 850 strong.
 There the count made known, that his purpose was to attempt the enemy’s camp,
 which lay at Turnhout, and to that end drew with him two demi-cannon and two
 field-pieces, if perhaps the enemy should stay in the town, which was not walled,
 but had a castle in it. On the $\frac{13}{23}$ the count set forth early in the morning, and
 march’d all the day and most part of the night to a village call’d Ravall, about two
 hours march from Turnhout. The $\frac{14}{24}$, which was Friday, they rose very early,
 and having recovered an ill-favour’d passage of a water, they thought, that the
 enemy would have stay’d their coming, for which reason they put their men in order
 of battle, and march’d towards the town, but by the way understanding, that the
 enemy was dislodged that morning towards Herentales, the count made haste up
 with the horse, and when they were come to the town’s end, they saw the rear-guard
 of the enemy, which had not fully pass’d a bridge, and were then breaking of it
 down, and had left one entire piece of timber, that one man might go over. Sir
 FRANCIS VERE coming down with some musketeers of the van-guard began in the
 meadow, where the count’s troops were to pass, a skirmish with the enemy. Count
 HOLLOCK went down with some horse, but there was no way to pass but only
 a long narrow lane, where the tallest horse went up almost to the skirts of the saddle

* Vol. VIII. fol. 10. See THUANUS, Vol. V. p. 274, & seqq. & METEREN, l. xix. fol. 398,
 l. cxviii. cap. v. p. 673, 674. GROTII hist. l. vi. 399.

in water. Count HOLLOCK staid to bring the horse together, while sir FRANCIS VERE with some musketeers maintain'd the skirmish, and sir ROBERT SIDNEY countenanc'd it with some few horse. The enemy march'd on still without making any stand, only in retiring maintain'd some fight with those, who followed them, till at the end of about three miles the latter came upon a fair heath, never leaving the enemy, knowing, that if they held them not continually in play, they should absolutely lose them; and perceived, that the enemy did not desire their company. This their continually entertaining them was the reason, that the enemy made the less way, and consequently the cause of their overthrow, of which sir FRANCIS VERE was to have the reputation for the fastening upon them at the bridge. And now they were well advanc'd upon the heath, and the van-guard of the enemy was drawn to the entry of a strait, which if they had recover'd, " they might well have bidden
 " us farewell, *says sir ROBERT SIDNEY*, because our foot could not have come up
 " time enough. And now this had dur'd two or three hours, when of the right
 " hand the count HOLLOCK entered upon the heath with about half our horse, to
 " whom I went presently, and making him know what had pass'd, and the appear-
 " ance of doing good, if we gave bravely upon them, he resolv'd presently to fight,
 " as soon as he might come where he might cut off the entry of the strait from
 " them. Before this was done his excellency also came up with the rest of the horse,
 " who had followed on the rear-guard of us; and as I was come to my first place, I
 " found, that he had sent three cornets of horse to sir FRANCIS VERE, with order
 " to charge, if he saw occasion. In the head therefore of capt. EDMONDES's com-
 " pany we went to the charge, and gave full upon the rear-guard. The manner
 " of the enemy's retreat was this. The marquis of TREVICO's regiment of the Nea-
 " politans had the rear-guard. The regiment of LA BARLETTA and ACHICOURT, which
 " was LA MOTTE's old regiment, were in the battle. The two regiments of
 " the count of SULSTS of Allemans had the van-guard, and the horsemen, which
 " were five companies. NICOLO BASTA, the most esteemed captain of horse, one
 " of them, which the king of Spain hath, and was there in person, don JUAN DE
 " CORDOVA, ALONSO DE MONDRAGON, GUSMAN, and GRUBBENDONCK, were in
 " the head of all, but somewhat on the right hand. The baggage was gone before,
 " conducted by 500 Almains. The count being gotten even with the enemy, seeing
 " us give upon the Neapolitans, proffer'd a charge upon their horse: but they
 " not standing it, he fell upon the Almains, the rest of our horse, some here, some
 " there, as they saw occasion, and in the space of one quarter of an hour neither
 " pike nor ensign standing of them, nor no defence made but by running away, or
 " crying *misericordia*." There were slain in the place, and on the chace 2200,
 according to the list of the dead bodies, which was brought in to count MAURICE,
 and among them the count of WARAX, who was general of these troops and of the
 artillery, kill'd by a private soldier, not knowing who he was. Between the place,
 where the chace was given over, and Herentales, were found about 225 dead bodies,
 which had escap'd the fury, but died of the wounds, which they had received.
 Into Herentales there came not 400 men, and those all disarmed, and amongst them
 not one, who was not hurt, according to the report of a soldier, who came from
 thence. The Almains, who escap'd, took the next way to the Maese, and, it was
 thought, would scarce look behind them till they should reach Germany. The
 horsemen for the most part ran away as fast as they could, for they had gotten the

start; only MONDRAGON's cornet was taken by sir NICOLAS PARKER's company. There were five or six hundred prisoners, and among them fifteen or sixteen captains in chief. None of the colonels were with their regiments. All the ensigns, in number thirty-nine, were brought to the count with one cornet. Most of the baggage was spoiled by the soldiers; the rest left to the country people. Of the count's troops there were not missing but about eighteen or twenty men, nor any man of command hurt, except that sir FRANCIS VERE had a blow of a musket upon the leg, but it enter'd not.

This was the most glorious day, in the opinion of those, who had known the wars from the beginning, that ever the states general had in the field. Less than 850 horse performed the whole; for the foot never could come up in time; and those, which reach'd the heath, were only the count HOLLOCK with three of his companies of Dutch, which had the van-guard, and the two English troops, in the first of which was the band of Flushing, and three English companies in the queen's pay led by capt. BROWNE, capt. THROCKMORTON, and capt. MORGAN; and in the other the band, which came from the Brill, and sir FRANCIS VERE's regiment. On Friday night they lodg'd at Turnhout, the lodging, which the enemy had left; and in the morning the count having shot a volley or two of that little ordnance, which he had with him, the castle was delivered to him; and the next day having perform'd all that he came for, he turn'd homewards, lodging the first night at a village call'd Clume, and the next day at Gertruydenberg.

Sir ROBERT SIDNEY adds in the postscript, that by the confession of the prisoners in general, their strength, when they were attack'd, was between 3500 and 4000, besides the horse.

The next day after this defeat of the enemy count MAURICE wrote a letter in French to the cardinal arch-duke from Turnhout*, that he had resolved to have sent back the soldiers, taken prisoners the day before, and to shew in that respect the same courtesy, which he had been used to exercise towards those, who fell into his hands: but that having been inform'd, that his highness had publish'd an order, prohibiting his general from giving quarter to the troops of the united provinces, he was desirous to satisfy himself about the truth of that information, before he permitted them to be set at liberty, to the end, that having understood his highness's intention in that point, he might conduct himself as he should find it to be proper. He concludes this letter with humbly kissing his highness's hands, and praying, that God would grant him a long and happy life in good health, and signed himself his highness's most humble servant.

The arch-duke not returning any answer to this letter soon enough, the count threaten'd to hang or drown all the prisoners, if they were not ransom'd within twenty days; upon which the arch-duke oblig'd the villages of Brabant to contribute to their ransom†.

* Vol. VIII. fol. 172.

† METEREN, *lib. xix. fol. 399, verso.*

JACQUES PETIT, mr. BACON's Gascon servant, who attended that gentleman's nephew, sir WILLIAM WOODHOUSE, to Holland, where they arrived soon after the victory at Turnhout, inform'd his master in a letter in French, that the cardinal arch-duke had refused any marks of honour or any solemnity at the funeral of his general, the count DE WARAX, who had been kill'd in the action; on account of which his highness was blam'd for want of judgment, or too much contempt; and it was thought, that this would be hereafter objected to him both by the relations of the deceas'd and others. The day after the battle two or three hundred soldiers of the enemy reviv'd, and came before the gates of Herentales without any other cover than their shirts. Mr. PETIT adds, that the enemy's garrison at Hulst was dying of hunger; and that the credit of Spain there was very low: that the arch-duke was collecting his army, which already consisted of twenty-three or twenty four thousand men, with whom it could not be conjectured what he designed to do, except attempting the siege of Ostend, or, what was more probable, Breda, and reinforcing Calais against the spring: that the states general were preparing fifty ships to accompany the English army: and that the English troops complain'd, that the sycophants of writers, who had published an account of the battle of Turnhout, had given no share of the honour of the victory to them, who had most deserv'd it both by their counsel and execution, and especially sir FRANCIS VERE and his brother HORACE, sir ROBERT SIDNEY, and others.

Dr. HAWKYNs's letter from Venice to mr. BACON of the 17th of January 1596, N. S. mention'd, that the duke of Luxembourg * was expected at Rome §, at whose arrival it was thought the pope would discover himself for France, and by creating divers French cardinals would strengthen that faction, and weaken the Spanish. Only it was written from thence, that sig. GIO. FRANCESCO ALDOBRANDINO was immediately to ride post to the emperor to know his resolution of peace or war with the Turk; to offer him all succours, to go general with 10,000 foot and 1000 horse, and more, if the emperor would go himself in person to the war; persuading him to take the advantage of the Turk's retreat to Constantinople. The pope was laying a great taxation on the clergy, who were greatly discontented; but he had no other means of money, except he would take it out of the castle of St. Angelo, which could not be done, or retain in his hands a monthly profit of all the offices sold, which would be very prejudicial to the sale of his vacancies for the future.

Mr. BACON in a letter to dr. HAWKYNs on the 9th of January^s acknowledg'd the receipt of three of his at once that week, accompanied with as many gazettes, and his relation of Ferrara, which he would send to the earl of Essex, after taking a copy of it, for fear it should go astray, as that, which mr. FRANCIS DAVISON had drawn up of Saxony, did, being stolen out of his lordship's chamber. He acquaints him, that the state of Scotland was very tumultuous by the opposition of the church to the

[†] Vol. VIII. fol. 204.

* FRANCIS DE LUXEMBOURG, duke de Piney, prince de Tingry, and peer of France.

§ THUANUS, tom. v. l. cxix. p. 701.

‡ Vol. VIII. fol. 65.

king, who was resolved to bring the seditious ministers to submission, how dear soever it might cost him. That there was a person at court sent out of Denmark to complain of the piracies of the English, and to demand restitution. That the French king likewise had of late granted at Roan a letter of mart against the English merchants; “whereby you see, *says mr. BACON*, how much the general suffereth for the particular gain of some sea-officers. *Væ illis, per quos tanta scandala eveniunt.*” He tells the doctor, that he had read his relation attentively, and assur’d him, that it would be very welcome to the earl, to whom he intended to present it at his next seeing of his lordship, which he expected the next or the day following. “I shall not need, *adds he, ornare tale munus verbis*, since your diligent observation to collect, and your ripe judgment to dispose orderly, commendeth it sufficiently of itself, praying you heartily to proceed chearfully in so good a course for such other states of Italy, as you have means to know, and represent, and esteem to be most important and likely to be most acceptable here. I will not back nor fortify my desire with many such reasons, as I could alledge to persuade, because I know your devotion to my lord and your own judgment to be sufficient to deserve, that envy itself cannot make fruitless.”

Mr. NAUNTON in a letter from Roan to the earl of Essex of the 10th of January 159⁶₇ observes, that the conditions, mention’d in his letter of the 28th of December, and propounded by ANTONIO PEREZ to the constable and the marquis of Pisani, were now granted him by the French king, and sign’d by mons. VILLEROY in the constable’s presence. Mr. NAUNTON had seen them, and obtain’d a copy of them. ANTONIO had indeed been infinitely desirous to have liv’d and died in England, and when he was last there, was so passionate to have resided in that country, that suspecting himself not to be so welcome, as he wished, where he was, and would have most gladly continued, he was importunate with mr. NAUNTON to have taken him down to Cambridge till the earl’s return from Spain. Mr. NAUNTON answer’d him, that the honour, which ANTONIO offer’d him in that respect, was far greater than himself was any way capable of; that he, who was sent by the French king to her majesty, and had been so honourably both before and then entertain’d by the earl himself, should come to stoop under the roof of mr. NAUNTON’s cell. That he could not presume so far, either in respect of the princes themselves, between whom ANTONIO was employed, especially as the latter then made some doubt of her majesty’s gracious disposition towards him; or of the earl, who haply might have been mistaken to have directed him to this, if he should venture upon it of himself. Besides that ANTONIO must procure the lord treasurer’s letters of special favour to the university of Cambridge, of which his lordship was chancellor; otherwise they would all preach against both ANTONIO and mr. NAUNTON, were it for nothing but his religion: “and lastly, *says that gentleman*, for mine own particular, tho’ I could not think my time any other where so well employed for mine experiencing as about him; yet having used your lordship’s mediation to her majesty for my license to travel some years, tho’ my devotion to himself had deflected me thus far out of my course entered, as to return with him hither at his special instance for the time of his employment, I might not so abuse her majesty’s and

“ your lordship’s favours, as not to employ my time, as I had pretended to you,
 “ to make the best use of the liberty granted. All these reasons, tho’ he could not
 “ deny how far they were to work with me, yet could they not work his clear
 “ satisfaction, unless I would promise him to attend him to the Bath, which was
 “ his next starting-hole, where he would have denied himself under a pretence of
 “ want of health till your lordship’s return. I durst not flatly say him nay to that
 “ motion, lest he should have suspected, that I had received some sub-instructions
 “ from your lordship to respect him less than I had done before, as well as he saw
 “ some others did. But mine aunt’s death calling me into Leicestershire parted us
 “ for that time. At our meeting again here, in our very first conference, as if we
 “ had parted but the night before, after some complaints of his receiving no answer
 “ from your lordship to his many long letters, he grew into the same mention again
 “ of my place in Cambridge, till I was fain to tell him, after some of my former
 “ reasons, that the place was so far unworthy of him, that I had now almost out-
 “ grown it myself, and in a manner given it quite over to a friend of mine, only
 “ retaining the name of it, in account, because I had been preferred unto it by her
 “ majesty’s special letters.” ANTONIO then told mr. NAUNTON, that he came in the
 very time, which himself could have wished, and in which the king and his council were
 deliberating particularly about his settlement in France. That mons. DE VILLEROY
 and mons. DE SANCY were very forward and busy to take present order for accom-
 modating him in some private house, where he should live safely and quietly, and
 be furnished to his contentment at the full, the court being so dangerous and obvious
 to daily new practices against him. He had no inclination at all to hear of care,
 and to see those two more careful for his safety, than either they had been before, or
 himself was then. He told them, that he came thither called from a place, where
 he had *otium cum dignitate & securitate*; and if he might not find the latter in France,
 he knew whither to return, with more assurance of the former, &c. And he said
 to mr. NAUNTON, that this forwardness of theirs to thrust him into this anchorism
 was but to remove him as a block, that lay in the way of their peace with Spain.
 That they should well know, that he would be a courser, a horse of race, and not
 stand stabled up all the year at rack and manger. After a while he was suddenly
 sent for by the constable. and told, that the king’s pleasure was, that he should be
 sworn a counsellor within a day or two. Hereupon he grew more apprehensive than
 ever mr. NAUNTON had seen him, that some of his letters to the earl had either been
 sent to France, or copies of them, or intercepted. That this offer was made but to
 make him sure, and rivet him there from starting into England, and discovering
 there such mysteries, as he knew of the French proceedings in the treaty with Spain,
 and in general of the whole situation of affairs in France. But his intention was
 not to swear himself in haste so fast to that state, but that he might still preserve an
 entire freedom in himself to do her majesty and the earl service. That he had all
 this while expected his lordship’s particular consent and direction what he should
 answer to the king’s old offers; and if they now came not very quickly by RIVER,
 he would presume out of those general assurances of his lordship’s constant affection
 towards him, in which the earl’s letters wholly consisted, to intreat his lordship’s
 letters for a ship, that might safely transport him to England, where he would live
 privately, and not at all sumptuously, to stop the mouths of his enemies there,
 with any of the earl’s friends, to whom his lordship would commend his safety,

procul à fove, procul à fulmine. But all this while in his good nature he made this construction of his lordship's silence, that it was the earl's secret meaning, that he should fly into England, rather as forc'd by the dangers, which he found in France, than any way invited by his lordship; so that neither the king nor any other might charge the latter with it. And for the queen, he could not doubt, but that as she had granted an honourable pension to the two Portuguese, one of whom had not been near so forward in detecting their countryman's conspiracy against her person, as himself, she would at the least vouchsafe to his afflicted fortune a safe conduct to pass thro' the realm for the interim, while he should farther resolve where to make his safest abode. From these premises the conclusion was, that mr. NAUNTON must needs convey for him a letter immediately to the earl, for a ship to bring him from France, before he should be farther off from the seas. Here mr. NAUNTON took occasion to join with GIL DE MESA to advise him, as mr. NAUNTON had written in his letter of the 28th of December, to clear himself then at once of all those general imputations of his hatred to France, and of his as proposterous love to England, the king himself having upbraided him with his late unkind entertainment there, and threatening him with the like again, when he should go thither next: which was also done by his majesty to mons. FORCE so underhand, that his meaning was apparent, that it should come to ANTONIO's hearing. Mr. NAUNTON told him, that then was the time, either to profess in effect, that he repulsed and despis'd all their favours, which seemed not altogether so safe for him to do, especially in a time so pregnant with dangerous practices; or, if they should refuse his demands, he should then gain this pretext with more reason to seek his leave of departure, than hope to obtain it. Thus at length ANTONIO propounded his petitions, which were now granted in manner and form, as the earl might see by the king's particular answers in French set to the margin of ANTONIO's original propositions, as he deliver'd them to the constable in Spanish. He protested, that he never made doubt of the king's constant disposition towards himself; but still his own affection was so forestalled by England, that he had rather live there with the least part of his demands, than in France with ten times more. And he still felt himself like a man, who had married a great rich widow, whom he could not love near so well as another with less dowry; but finding himself rejected in England, for the love of which he had thus languished and lingered all this while, he was at length by poverty compelled to cast away himself there, where he had been so long wooed and fought. "How precise he will be, says mr. NAUNTON, *in omni hoc debito conjugali fideliter exolvendo*, I cannot yet divine. But if he be no more scrupulous in this mystical matrimony, than he hath been in his real, his kind nature cannot cancel all hope of his straining a point, to cherish his old loves with some by-favours now and then, as he shall have opportunity to do it *cauté*. And if any hope would yet shine upon him of a second entertainment, where he faintest would, I durst half undertake for him he would snatch at the first occasion he could fasten the least hold upon, to sue a divorce from this match, whereunto he is now wedded and wedged, as your lordship sees." For the second article, he would by no means give mr. NAUNTON the leave or credit to copy it out, but crossed the space for it, as the earl saw; and then made him write in Latin for his own understanding that, which he had inclos'd in a circle, to prevent mr. NAUNTON's pen from passing farther. The effect of the article had been touch'd upon by mr.

NAUNTON

NAUNTON in his former letter, and related to the procuring a cardinalate from the pope, either for himself, if upon the appearance of his wife's death he should be found capable, or for one, whom he would not name, lest he should expose him to farther danger. The king's answer to this article in the margin was, that he would *de tres-bon coeur* employ his uttermost favour with their holy father for the obtaining of this cardinal's hat to be dispos'd of at his pleasure, and that he would immediately write *au seigneur DE LUXEMBOURG*, who was then on the way to Rome as embassador to present the king's obedience to the papal see, to solicit strongly for ANTONIO in that affair.

There was more straining at the sixth article, by reason of the present poverty, than at all the rest. Mr. NAUNTON was half in doubt, that when the rest should come to be present, there would be difficulties objected against some of them likewise. But it would be honourable for ANTONIO to be so honourably deceived; and Mr. NAUNTON perceived, that he could be content to be beholden to his friends in England for the supplying of the wants of France in this one, which he would take more thankfully at her majesty's hands, than he did all the rest at the king's. He tamper'd with Mr. NAUNTON to make him the mouth of his beggary, till that gentleman let him know, that his nature had a particular antipathy, much like that of his own, against such offices. "He told me, *adds Mr. NAUNTON*, he " would write to your lordship himself, that he had committed the intimating of " such a suit unto me; and therefore I was not best to frustrate your lordship's " expectations, whom he should so particularly refer over unto my letters."

He was in hope, that he should be offered some gratification out of England by way of congratulation; and even made himself so sure of it, that all his care was, how it might be conveyed to him without the knowledge of any French or English in France, who might go about to call his new-born credit and loyalty there into question, while it was yet green.

Mr. NAUNTON had received great charge from him to desire the earl, that none living but the queen herself, if his lordship should so think good, might have a sight of the articles; and that his lordship would suffer no copy to be taken out of them, but see them presently burnt after he had taken knowledge of them; and lastly for ANTONIO's own satisfaction, and the clearing of Mr. NAUNTON's credit and faithful respect to him, that his lordship would assure the former of the performance; as also of the like to all his former letters, by a line of the earl's own hand. Otherwise ANTONIO protested to Mr. NAUNTON, that he should never trust him more without scruple, nor rest secure from the danger, to which the publishing of his letters might expose him in France and his children in Spain.

Mr. NAUNTON since the writing of his last letter found JACOMO MARENCO resuming his former purpose of presenting himself to the earl. He grew daily more and more apprehensive of the gentleman, who took such unkind exceptions to his intelligences. He said, that he had advertisement from his friends the Genoese in London, that the same person was a great detractor from his friend ANTONIO PEREZ; and that he is so much the more jealous, that he would watch to do him

a shrewd turn the rather for ANTONIO's sake. There came to France letters lately, written by sig. BASADONNA at the earl's assignment, in favour of certain English merchants; in which letters he wrote, that he had dealt often with the same gentleman about a special packet of his, which was intercepted between dr HAWKYNs and MARENCO, wherein were divers letters of great importance and danger to them both, and both their friends, if they should come into some mens hands. To which the gentleman answer'd, that such and such counsellors had met with them, at whose mercy he should be unwilling to lie. All the amends and comfort, that he could get, was this, that they should be better looked to hereafter. MARENCO said, that if he had not some hope, that this gentleman was the counsellor, who had met with them, he should be very anxious for his estate in Italy, and for some of his friends: and it was probable, that a desire of satisfying of himself with respect to that packet concurred with his devotion to the earl, to engage him in a resolution of going to England.

ANTONIO PEREZ had already quite forgiven and forgotten the emulations of his enemies in England, whom he now looked down upon as from a superior situation. He said, that he hop'd, that now their hearts, which trembled, and their tongues, which were in an extasy before against him, would return to their own places. But he triumph'd over VILLEROY and SANCY, and the rest of the courtiers, upon whom he had vengeance by accepting the king's offers, their opposition having endear'd him so much the more to the king and constable both. And he promis'd himself, that their desire to work him out of nearness in council would further and hasten his obtaining the cardinalship; such uses can wise men make of the enemies emulations, to advance their own fortunes. He had not yet taken the oath for his post of counsellor, but expected daily to be called upon for it. In the mean while he was beforehand with them for the speech, which he intended to make at his admission. "It pleaseth him, concludes *mr.* NAUNTON, still to vouchsafe me his wonted favour, so as if I see him not once in two days, he will come himself to me. I should entertain his kindneses with more alacrity, if I might see them available to your lordship's service and contentation. Mean while I am fain to excuse my less assiduity about him with a just pretence of my fear to renew old jealousies against him, and withal to draw myself into unsafe suspicions."

Mr. NAUNTON wrote another long letter to the earl from Roan on the 12th of January^a, relating to the situation of the public affairs, as his two former had chiefly turn'd upon those of ANTONIO PEREZ.

With respect to the proceedings of the parliament at Roan, there were granted to the king, as some said, 5,000,000 crowns for furnishing his wars, supporting his domestic charges, and paying his debts at home. The abuses of the financiers were found to be so great, and their number so large, as to be capable of forming a royal army, that whereas the poor peasant then paid eighteen crowns out of the sweat of his brows, it was now said, that eighteen sols, the sixtieth part of it, would satisfy the king's need, and yet maintain a competent number of trusty treasurers.

^a Vol. VIII. fol. 131.

But these abuses were rather found than likely to be remedied; except the king should take a course to repay the great fines, which he had received of the greatest part of the financiers for the patents of their offices. The merchant complain'd, that whereas his hope had been, that this parliament would have diminished his impost, he was threatned, that he must pay a sixth part in the hundred more than he did before. Others alledged, that these five millions must be defalked out of many rents of old interest and uses, which the crown paid yearly to divers private subjects for antient loans made by their ancestors to the king's predecessors: which, if it took place, would breed a great discontentment in many, whose patrimonies and inheritances consisted in the perpetuity of such annuities. And they began to dispute the matter already, whether that parliament had any such authority to enact or establish what they should think good, upon the fortunes and goods of the commonalty, being no assembly of the whole three states, and consequently no consent of the burghers and great towns. And therefore they would not allow this for any more than a view and survey taken of the abuses and wants of the realm, and for a preparative to ripen all things against a general parliament, wherein matters might so much the more speedily be resolved and concluded upon forthwith, after they should be propounded. The king was as much discontented as any other, and tir'd out, what with the daily charge extraordinary, which would be a means of consuming a good part of the relief, whenever it should come; and what with the dilatory procrastination of the convention, in impatience of which he had limited them to come to some point either of conclusion or confusion by the end of that or the next week at the farthest. He was yet scarce resolved, whether at his departure from Roan he should go to Newhaven to his mistress's sister's marriage with the governor there, or to Paris to his weightier affairs, which he had left there unfinished. He had promised himself to both, and remained still in his old distraction between the pleasing of his mistress and the care of his kingdom. But it was expected, that his mistress being a part of the public herself would give place to the grand public. And yet notwithstanding all his haste from Roan, it was doubted by some, that tho' his parliamentary points were finish'd that day, he would have enough to do for the time, which he had appointed, to leave Normandy well settled and subject to his own devotion. He had been tampering to change some officers in Roan, but with such general heart-burning and banding of the old leaguers there underhand, that it would be necessary for him either to dissemble all, and see nothing; or else to venture all, if he would reform any thing. He had broken somewhat to the duke DE MONTPENSIER, who had in shew reprov'd some of his principal commanders so sharply, that they went from his court to their several charges, either under a persuasion of their disgrace, or in order to fortify and barricade themselves against every occasion. "The duke's facility, *says* mr. NAUNTON, is so fit a block for their
 "licentious and insolent liberty to dance upon, like Æsop's frogs, as it hath seized
 "him of their bodies, their thanks, yea of the souls of many of them, *qui utia*
 "*principum magis amant quam virtutes verentur.*"

Marshal BIRON was return'd from Picardy; and it was said at Roan, that count MAURICE had assembled his forces to attack the cardinal on his side, while the marshal should ply him from that of France. But mr. NAUNTON heard of no great means

means more than a month's pay, which he had with him, to furnish him for such a service.

The Lorrainers had been endeavouring to put into the king's head, that the constable and marshal DE MATIGNON should be sent directly into Bretagne to make war upon the duke DE MERCOEUR. And the king was once so forward, that he said, that either the constable must go thither, or himself. It was thought, that if the constable must have gone, he would as willingly have gone alone, without a companion to survey his courses. The whole state was so full of distrusts, that by every month's abode or remove a great prince there was said either to gain or lose in strength and reputation. And whatever was done, or tho' even nothing at all was done, yet new grounds were given for the people to descant upon. It was now pretended, that the too much eagerness of those, who envied the constable, to have forc'd this expedition upon him, had prevailed most against it, from a jealousy, that they pressed his absence, as necessary for the opening some of their own projects. But now there was little said of Bretagne more than that marshal BRISAC was sufficient for the charge; and all circumstances in that corner tended to peace. The marshal DE MATIGNON was said to be making preparations against Spain, for which he should have 100,000 crowns and 4000 soldiers, besides his ordinary forces in his government. The other was and would be the greatest man in France. The foundation of his [the constable's] party was his nephew the prince of Condé, heir apparent. His consanguinities and alliances were branch'd out likewise to the dukes D'ESPERNON, JOYEUSE, MONTPENSIER, VENTADOUR, TREMOUILLE, BOUILLON, COUNT DE MAULEVRIER *, the true duke DE BOUILLON, who pretended and intended to be count CLERMONT D'AUVERGNE: to these were to be added himself and the authority of his place, (which made himself the greatest part of himself) and his brother † the admiral. And for the king, he was now presumed to have wedded him to his wife upon the late contract made and confirmed, as surely as by writing it might be, between his son and the king's infant daughter; the king finding him so great, that he was the readier to join with him than to break, and intended to oppose him to the house of LORRAIN, who might be well possessed of an old interest in the leaguers, but were now so scattered and separated one from another, that they could do little without great advantage.

With regard to the interests of the reformed religion, they went forward as the legate would have it. He came in mask'd with the simplicity of a dove, preaching love and charity, that religion must be persuaded, not forced; and all to suit the king's humour, who respected more the establishing of his own estate in the quiet of his country, than either of the two religions: but still the legate stung in secret, and eat inwardly like a viper of the old serpent brood. He was suspected to have given heat and spirits underhand to the commotion begun against the prince DE ROHAN in Roan, and to the plot against LESDISGUIERES in his way to Paris, and

* He was of the house DE LA MARK, the heiress of which was married to the duke DE BOUILLON. He attack'd Sedan with the assistance of the Spaniards, during the negotiation of the

treaty of Vervins, but fail'd of success. MARSOLIER, Vie de BOUILLON, tom. II. l. v. p. 199.

† Mons. D'AMVILLE, sworn admiral of France Feb. 5, N. S. 1595.

now again to the proclamation publish'd at Roan on the 3d of January by the authority of the parliament at the special instance of the king's procurator general, that no more sermons should be preached or frequented either in that town or the suburbs, under pain of death. Upon the protestants discontentment at this, the king was said to have reprimanded his procurator for promulgation of any such matter without his own special instructions, being so near him; and it was daily expected, that there would be a counter proclamation to renew the liberty of the old edict of HENRY III. called the edict of January: but if better order were not taken, the reformed were not more likely to use it for their own conscience, than their enemies were like to abuse it for their own advantage in the cutting of their throats, when they should be so tolled together.

The legate had been tampering with the king's sister, to reduce her to the obedience of their church by the example of the princess of Condé. And she was reported to have answered him, that it was none of her own fault for holding off all this while; and that yet she might be led to mass but by one only good guide, to whom she would be bride. "This answer, *says* mr. NAUNTON, whether it were merely
 " formal, or mixtly material, I cannot but doubt, when I consider of the pathetic
 " speeches she hath sometimes used in great secrecy to sig. ANTONIO PEREZ, that
 " the queen of England would intercede for her marriage with the count Soissons. But
 " if this be the sole means of her conperversion, there will be small hope of perfect-
 " ing it, while her brother lives, who is presumed partly to fear, and therefore
 " more than partly to hate her friend, as perfectly as she can love him." In general the cause of the reformed was thought not likely to prosper, who had now, by the alarms given in their loud and importunate propositions to the king, awaken'd and in a manner united their adversaries against them. The duke de BOUILLON, at his departure, was said to be employed by the king to appease the protestants in the parts, into which he was going. But it was now discovered, that he went away very much discontented, tho' the particular cause was not known; and he was thought unlikely to return out of his own country, having taken order to transport his lady and most of his followers thither, till he should see all things better settled in the state.

It was once confidently delivered in secret where mr. NAUNTON came, that the legate should, upon the 6th of that month, have been working with the king about a four years truce between him and Spain; a motion, which if the king could as surely repose his trust upon the Spaniard, as he might elsewhere, it was very disputable, whether, upon his late kingly disposition more to pleasure than to the camp, he were not likely to hearken to it, as partly necessary by reason of his wants, and partly more excusable to his friends, that were his confederates. On the other side the case was clear, that such a truce would serve the Spaniard's turn much better than an universal peace, who would both hold what they had already gain'd, and have respite to employ his whole self upon England and the Low Countries, from which he should in the mean while thus separate the aids of France. ANTONIO PEREZ added to these reasons another inducement, by which the Spaniard looked to deceive the French king, which was the hope of marrying the infanta ISABELLA. But mr. NAUNTON rather join'd with the French in thinking him farther inveigled with

with his mistress, than that he would desire to marry any other, if he were once at liberty to marry her. But this treaty, if there were any such at all, was carried very closely; and the first informer of it had been somewhat suspiciously diligent to retract it. “ I am bold, concludes *mr.* NAUNTON, to acquaint your lordship with
 “ what I hear, that can much better consider of the likelihood hereof than myself,
 “ who, the less my experience is, the more prone I must be still rather to mistrust
 “ the worst than hope the better, taking these for men, among whom the rule is
 “ to take place, *diffidere nervus sapientiæ*. Here is such a world of surmises and
 “ masterless rumours, according to the diversity of disposition in the people, some
 “ credulous to bear themselves in hand of that they most wish; others apprehensive
 “ of that they most fear, but all confident in that they give out, as the king is said
 “ to be giving order for a peculiar officer to call all rumours to account, either to
 “ bring proof, whence they had their reports, or else to be severely punished them-
 “ selves for the first authors. I may well apply it to these, which TACITUS wrote
 “ of the mathematicians in Rome, *Genus hominum, quod in istâ civitate & vetabitur*
 “ *semper & retinebitur*. The humour is here so radical, as he, that shall take in
 “ hand to purge and evacuate this notion of it, must sublime France itself out
 “ of France, where the king himself can play the souffleur now and then to blow
 “ such bruits abroad, as shall serve his own turn. It may well make for mine own
 “ excuse, if I slip often, standing upon such a slippery ground, since the king finds
 “ himself now and then deceived, and hath much ado to distinguish the reports,
 “ that come to him, which be current, and which be counterfeit.”

He wrote again from Roan to the earl on the 17th of January^b, that the parliament was at length drawn to an end, and had that day presented the king with their conclusions, to which he promis'd to give in his answer touching his royal assent, as he should see cause after three days deliberation. They had granted him, as marshal DE MATIGNON had told ANTONIO PEREZ that day, six millions of crowns, for his wars, and four millions for discharge of his debts and household expences, for levying of which they demanded a new impost of a fifth part in every hundred, that should be laid out, bread only excepted, for three years. The fruit of this assembly began already to appear in actions more safe for the king, than pleasing to the people of Roan, “ *qui*, says *mr.* NAUNTON, *nec totam servitutem*
 “ *pati possunt, nec totam libertatem*.” It was decreed, that upon that day the castle of St. Catherine, that commanded the town, should begin to be demolished, especially towards the town, upon jealousy lest some more birds of VILLARS's feather should muster there again. *Monf. le Grand Ecuyer* was likewise made governor of the town, and lieutenant for the king throughout Normandy, as if the duke DE MONT-PENSIER's government had been somewhat too general for the king, and too much in particular for himself. All the struggling and refractory practices of the burgeses to have maintain'd their own stiffness, were now thought to be prevented by the king; and one of his special intentions in culling their convention was taken to have been the final extinction of the civil wars, in which his subjects and soldiers had all the odds and advantage against himself, what by ruining of such like forts and castles of strength, which were but sanctuaries for rebels; what by discharging

^b Vol. VIII. fol. 129.

of his garrisons, which he found so expensive, so dangerous, so untrusty, and so seditious; and what by transplanting, or at least counterpoising his greatness, for while every man sought to serve themselves and their own turns, he was obliged to serve and please them all. The insolence of the people of Roan gave him just occasion to make his first experiment of this policy upon them; which, as he should find it succeed there, he would probably extend farther throughout his kingdom, so as to make and establish himself a very king indeed. Mr. NAUNTON made no doubt but that the duke DE MONTPENSIER's fond prostitution of her majesty's letters, of which he had written to the earl before, was a concurrent cause, that wrought as inwardly with the king to this effect, as the ill-dissembled obstinacy of the town offered itself as a sufficient reason to be pretended outwardly. That duke upon the Saturday night before was a little inquisitive to know of ANTONIO PEREZ, when and what he heard of the earl of Essex; and upon the latter's denying, that he had received any late intelligence at all, either from or concerning his lordship, the duke said, that himself was in hope very shortly to see the earl within the confines of France, without any farther entering into the occasion of it. Upon considering what the duke's drift in this should be, it was conceived, that this was but an artificial and insidious mention suddenly cast out of purpose to see, whether ANTONIO had any knowledge of such a design, the king himself and divers of his council being somewhat apprehensive, that her majesty had a secret purpose to make a sudden enterprise upon Calais, before the Spaniard should have finished his many fortifications there in hand.

It was now given out, that the legate had been busy about the four years truce, and that the king had made him a resolute answer, that unless his confederates should enter as parties into it, he could not hearken to it: and for his objection of the religion, he meant it thus, that in the mean time during this truce the controversies about religion might be treated and considered of accordingly. What hope he might conceive of a conformity in the king of Scots to back his own example then upon the troubles in Scotland, did not appear. But if this was his resolute answer, Mr. NAUNTON still persisted in his former opinion, that it proceeded more from a distrust of the king of Spain, than any fidelity to her majesty. "They are so tickled," *adds he*, with a mathematical prognostication of their great almanac-maker NOSTRADAMUS, who hath lately taken upon him to divine somewhat favourably against England, as their proneness of credulity argues their propension of contentment thereat; and the guiltiness of their own affections towards us makes them so mistrustful of no better than a due correspondence from us. This diffidence in England may one day work a confidence amongst themselves. But a man, that can be content to let the stars alone in heaven, and look no higher than the earth, may fear this king will hardly live to sing that *nunc dimittis in pace.*"

It was said, that the duke DE MERCOEUR offered to perfect his truce into an entire peace and obedience to the king, upon the terms of his majesty's concurring resolutely and peremptorily in rooting out the protestants.

The king longed to be gone, for fear the discontentment at Paris should grow to have as much need of his presence there, as Roan had at his coming thither. But it was thought, that the duke DE MAYENNE's pretending of sickness to linger there behind him would detain him some time longer, on purpose to see the duke *disdennd* out of that suspicious corner, and to make all the coast clear before he left it himself.

ANTONIO PEREZ was on the day of the date of this letter sworn counsellor. Mr. NAUNTON inclosed in it a copy of the king's original brevet, which he had perused and compared with it. ANTONIO was resolved now to study the French tongue, and accommodate himself to please the king, who had few absolutely trusty of his own natural subjects, and bore him in hand, that he would employ him nearly. He was desirous, that the earl of Essex would place some faithful Englishman with him, by whom he might securely write or send now and then, as occasion should be offer'd. But he would have no person know of his being commended to him by his lordship, for fear of reviving old jealousies. He had a liking of one of the lady WALSINGHAM's gentlemen, who, he said, was known to sig. BASADONNA and his late servant RIVET. He thought long for a line of the earl's own hand to assure him of the burning of all his letters, and such of Mr. NAUNTON's, as contained special matters of his intimation; which till he should receive, he said, that he should have no confidence to write any thing, that might endanger him in jealousy of his enviers in France, and his enemies in England.

The earl of Essex having been about this time commanded by her majesty to set down in writing his opinion about some design against Spain, Mr. REYNOLDES sent a copy of it, dated on Saturday night, to Mr. BACON, with a letter^c, telling him, that he saw how the world was like to go shortly, and was afraid, that the earl must go another journey. “Yesterday, *says he*, his lordship was commanded to set down his opinion and advice concerning that, which was necessary to be done; as you may perceive by the inclosed, which I presume to send unto you, praying you to read the same, to return it presently, and to conceal the knowledge and notice thereof. Yet if his lordship did know it, the offence was not capital to communicate greater matters to so dear a friend, as I know he doth hold you, and who may challenge all respective duties and services of me by many obligations. The drift of some is to draw on his lordship by insinuations to take the charge of chief commander; which I am of opinion (his noble disposition to be in action for the good of the state considered) needeth no rhetorical persuasions, his own mind being a spur to him. But now must his honourable wife friends use all the art and strength of argument they can to move him to stand upon very honourable and profitable conditions; and that this charge be rather offered by others, than sought for by him. But what meddle I in so high matter? Not of any curiosity, I protest, but out of a faithful, true and honest zeal of his lordship's honour and the good of his estate, which I know all desire not to advance, thinking the one too great, and not to be taken down but by the weakening of the other.”

Mr. BACON, on the 22d of Jan. 1597⁶*, acknowledg'd the receipt of three packets of dr. HAWKYNs that week, which he sent immediately to the earl of Essex, whom, by reason of an indisposition, which had held his lordship for two days, he had not seen. He informs the doctor, that the lord BURGH had his dispatch for Ireland, the state of which was desperate. That count MAURICE and sir FRANCIS VERE had, by their valour and diligence, made a happy incursion into the Low Countries, and given the cardinal arch-duke a great blow: and that the king of Scots was said to have wisely improved the rebellious presumption of the ministers and their factionaries in Edinburgh, who had made offers to him in reparation of their heinous offences.

Two of the ministers of Edinburgh, who had been most active against the king there, mr. ROBERT BRUCE and mr. WALTER BALCANQUAL, having retir'd to Caldwell, wrote from thence to the earl of Essex, on the 20th of January 1597⁶^d, that the constant bruit of his valour against the common enemy, and religious disposition towards God, had ever knit their affections so entirely towards his lordship, that in all his honourable enterprises and exploits they had been feeling in his joys and dolours, and had common affections with him, having recommended his great journey publicly in their prayers to God, and privately often wished themselves present in body, as their hearty tears poured out in sundry privy corners could well testify. “ And suppose, *said they*, our condition be somewhat altered now from
 “ what it was then; yet our conscience towards God, our estimation with good
 “ men, and our affection towards your honour, is not any whit impaired. Yea, if
 “ our estate had always continued after one, neither should we have had occasion to
 “ signify our love towards your lordship, nor your lordship new matter to obligate
 “ us farther unto your honour. And that your lordship may know you have to
 “ do with honest men, such as suffer for righteousness only, we offer this willingly:
 “ if short time, and God in time try us not, to be free of all these calumnies and
 “ forged cavillations to be laid to our charge, we shall utterly refuse all benefit,
 “ that we may have by your lordship's countenance. We are of this mind, that
 “ there was no man in Scotland, that possessed his majesty's affection in a greater
 “ measure before these papist lords came in, and would doubtless have continued,
 “ if conscience had not constrained us to pity the wounds of the common cause
 “ wounded so craftily by the policy of some men, who of late have copen in credit,
 “ devoted, as appears, to the Spanish course, and to the service of the intestine
 “ enemy. And it may be, that after God, by his grace, hath cleared the matter
 “ sufficiently to the consciences of men, we may recover our possession and credit
 “ we had in his majesty. Always for the present the gifts and graces, wherewith
 “ the Lord hath avowed you, the bleeding wounds of the common cause, yea he,
 “ who owns the cause, I doubt not, hath sent us to your lordship, to crave your
 “ honour's protection and favourable passport, that we thereby may travel safely
 “ within her majesty's bounds. And we have made choice of your lordship, as one
 “ most worthy of this honour; and our desire is to be obliged only to your lordship
 “ herein. If your lordship will see our apology, to answer the misreports given out

* Vol. VIII. fol. 65.

^d Vol. VIII. fol. 170.

“ and spread against us, we shall be ready to satisfy your lordship herein. We
 “ have purposely intreated this bearer, your lordship’s servant, to come to your lord-
 “ ship for our good, at whose house we remain, expecting your lordship’s favour
 “ unto us.”

In another letter addressed to the lord ZOUCH * they observ’d, that the violence of the course, which his lordship had apprehended so sensibly and so well, while he remained with them, had now at last broken forth in such fury, that they were forced to leave either the country, or their lives, and had made choice to withdraw themselves for a while into those parts, for the farther benefit of the cause. And because they could have no sure residence or free passage within that country, without the special protection and favourable passport of some nobleman, they had made special choice of the earl of Essex, and his lordship, as one most meet, to intercede for them, and, by his credit with the earl, to return that bearer mr. WHARTON with a good and speedy answer. That they were lodg’d for the present at that gentleman’s house, to whom they were very much obliged, and who could communicate the particulars of their estate to his lordship, and, in case he crav’d it, their apology in writing for his farther satisfaction. Amongst the rest of their sufferings, that was not the least, that they were so borne down by lies and calumnies; to obviate which they thought it proper, that his lordship, and such as feared God, should have matter to stop the mouths of the adversary. They had once intended to have spoken with his lordship face to face; but that the general meeting, which was to be held as well of the kirk as the noblemen, in the beginning of February, detain’d them: for they thought to draw near the borders, that they might receive better intelligence, and communicate their griefs to such noblemen and brethren, as might best further their cause. If their own presence might do any good either to the cause, or themselves in particular, they would, upon his lordship’s advertisement, be ready to come to him. For the present they desired no more than a passport under the earl of Essex’s hand for safe travelling within her majesty’s bounds; and they doubted not, but that the lord ZOUCH would approve their boldness; for he was so dear to them, that love constrained them to press his lordship humbly in all things; and his religious apprehension of the cause had never gone out of their memory; and they had often marvelled to see God directing him so constantly and wisely in such a difficult time.

About this time STEPHANO FERRERA *, a Portuguese, who had been privy to dr. LOPEZ’s design against the queen, gave in a memorial in French to the earl of Essex†, desiring his lordship to remember the words, which he had said to him in the Tower of London upon the confession of LOPEZ. That the king of Portugal was dead, and the king of Spain had pardon’d all the Portuguese, whom the queen had shewn mercy to, except himself. That he had ruin’d his father and mother and himself by what he had done with regard to LOPEZ, and the service, which he had performed to the queen. That he had attended his lordship to Cadiz, both

* Vol. VIII. fol. 169.

* He had formerly been a man of great wealth in Portugal, and ruin’d by his adherence to don ANTONIO, but was afterwards gain’d to the in-

terests of the king of Spain, whose secret agent he was in England. Sir FRANCIS BACON’s report of LOPEZ’s treasons.

† Vol. VIII. fol. 174.

at land and sea, and from thence went to England. He then relates several questions, which had been put to him by a king, perhaps in Africa, as of Morocco most probably, who told him, that the taking of Cadiz had given more satisfaction, than if he had obtain'd the value of what was lost in that city, on account of the mischiefs, which the king of Spain had done him. He demanded then, whether the earl of Essex, the governor of that expedition, was an old or a young man, and whether he was one of the principal persons in England, and married, and had children: to which FERRERA answered, that the earl was not twenty-six years of age, and married, and had children, and was the greatest nobleman, soldier, and general of his country. The king said, that his lordship had gained great honour by the clemency, which he had used towards the subjects of the enemy, and in his own country; and he asked, where the army was; to which FERRERA returned for answer, at the Terceras: to which the king replied, that if the earl took the Terceras, the king of Spain would have no way of receiving money, and would be soon a very poor man. He added, that all things in his country, which were necessary for England, would be supplied to that kingdom; and that he had written to that purpose to don CHRISTOPHER. He desir'd an answer of the queen to a letter written by him in favour of a merchant.

Sir THOMAS CHALONER, who was at Florence in January 1597, sent from thence a letter to the earl of Essex on the 24th of that month^g, to acquaint his lordship, that the king of Spain, whose sure footing in Italy held the other princes to the bridle, had made a disliked purchase of the marquissate of Rocca, rather to be a troublesome neighbour to the duke of Mantua and the Venetians, than for any farther assurance of his state in Milan. To take possession of two principal castles within that marquissate, there were certain bands of soldiers departed from Milan. The duke of Mantua was preparing to prevent them, alledging the marquissate to be within his signory, and therefore the sale to be unlawful without his license. The Venetians to assure Brescia, which lay near those castles, were said to intend to put in shortly a garrison of French and Swiss.

MAXIMILIAN, duke of Bavaria, to whom his father resigned that dukedom, was gone to Pisa to see the great duke, to whom he was allied by the marriage of the duke of Lorrain's daughter, sister to the great dutchess. He came only attended with four servants and two jesuits. His purpose was to pass to Rome to gratify the pope for the creating of his brother cardinal. There was speech in great secrecy of a marriage between the duke of Parma and the princess daughter of duke FRANCIS, eldest brother of the present duke. The treaty of this contract was carried on very closely, because the king of Spain was affirmed to be averse to the match.

The Genoese, who by the king of Spain's means had together with themselves ruin'd almost all the merchants in Italy, had suffer'd another very considerable loss of a rich ship near Marseilles; and to increase their misfortunes, news was that day brought from Genoa, that a ship of theirs coming from Spain was cast away by

tempest. It was said to contain a million and half of gold in merchandize. The knowledge of this loss was only grounded on the finding of a great mast and certain drowned mariners driven to land by the waves. A smaller ship, that departed from Spain in company of the galleon, was arrived with the loss of the masts and anchors, having escaped with great difficulty, and declared it to be their opinion, that the other was sunk.

The king of Spain, who, as the Italians said, by refusing payment, had without strokes sack'd all Italy, to abate the humour of his great disgrace, had procured a bull from Rome, prohibiting all catholics to traffic where the free use of the masts was not allowed. This interdiction was a greater blow to the merchants than the loss of their money, whose only hope was, that this tempest would not continue long. The common proverb was in every man's mouth, *Omne malum ab Hispaniâ, omne bonum ab Aquilone*. For in Florence the most part of the city had that year been maintained by English merchants, who traded thither for salt, on which account England was greatly favoured there. The immoderate rain, which had fallen there, had raised the Arno very high, so that towards Pisa it had overflowed a great quantity of corn-ground, and Tuscany was in fear of a dearth to ensue. The Tiber had also overflow'd six principal mills in Rome.

Sir THOMAS CHALONER wrote likewise two days after to Mr. BACON^h mentioning, that this was his seventh letter to him since his departure from England; and that the news most stirring in Florence was the daily breaking of merchants, ruin'd by that of the king of Spain, for so the Italians call'd it; *il re d'Espagna e fallito*; he was grown bankrupt. One comfort however they said remain'd to them, that twenty years hence they might reckon, that such a thing happened in the year, in which the king of Spain and they proved bankrupts together.

The merchants arrested one another daily for their money, which was not due to them for three months to come; which was an order in Florence, that a merchant might compel another person to put in good security for the money, which at the first was lent upon credit. One of the house of SALVIATI, a principal family in Florence, being on the exchange arrested in that manner, gave the merchant, who procured the arrest, many great wounds in the face with a pair of sheers. The merchants wanted money to pay the shopkeepers, who having laid all they had to pawn, daily shut up their shops, and left the poor workers of silk to live upon alms, which few gave in Florence.

At Rome there were many Scotsmen of good houses, and amongst them one lately come from Scotland, who was said to attend the consistory about affairs, for which he was employed there.

Sir ANTHONY MILD MAY, the English ambassador in France, not being agreeable to that court, mons. DE SANCY wrote to the earl of Essex from Roan on the 5th of February 1596, N. S.ⁱ that the desire, which he had to see the amity and corre-

^h Vol. IX. fol. 77.

ⁱ Vol. XV. fol. 20.

correspondence between their two sovereigns more and more confirmed, would not allow him to conceal from his lordship, that sir ANTHONY was not a proper person for that purpose. The king was inform'd, that he did many ill offices with those of the religion in France, and endeavoured to excite their ill humour, infusing into them diffidence of the king, which his majesty had before well got over. In a visit made to him by mons. DE SANCY the day before, he told the latter, that the king had said to him, that the queen had neither generals nor soldiers sufficient to take Calais; and that his majesty had talk'd to him in such a manner, as seem'd to shew, that he was thinking and projecting what was to be done after the death of the queen. This, and other things to that purpose, mons. DE SANCY thought it his duty to report to the king, who answer'd, that he had indeed said, that he did not believe, that the queen and states general alone were able to force Calais; and that all the forces should be united to theirs, because the enemy had strongly fortified that town since it was taken; and that he should be very sorry, that, if this enterprise should be undertaken, himself should be excluded, considering the proposal, which had been made to him by her majesty; assuring himself, that tho' the queen should retake Calais, she would not think of keeping it, any more than if the Spaniard should have taken a port in England, and the king recover'd it, he would have kept it from the queen; in whose friendship however he had such confidence, that he could as much wish that town in her hands as in his own, provided, that he could be assured, that she would live for ever. But seeing in what manner the English ambassador distorted his words, and his practices to raise discontent among those of the religion, of which the king had information, mons. DE SANCY perceived clearly, that this ambassador would never be agreeable, and do little service in France. His majesty had hitherto been so well satisfied with all those, whom the queen had employed with him, that it was an extreme misfortune to the French court, that sir ANTHONY MILD MAY should be so opposite to his predecessors; for which reason he would be always suspected there, and not liable to advance the queen's affairs there. The assurance, which mons. DE SANCY had, that the earl was convinc'd of his desire of the union and correspondence between both their majesties, induced him to take the boldness to let his lordship know his opinion, that the queen ought to send another ambassador, and recall the present.

The French king's opinion of sir ANTHONY MILD MAY appears likewise from a letter of his to the earl of Essex of the same date from Roan^k, wherein he observ'd, that he had expected, that sir ANTHONY, having been sent by the queen his good sister and cousin, would have performed all offices suitable to their amity and the ambassador's own quality during his embassy; so that the king began with treating him with his usual frankness. But he had found the contrary for some time past, the ambassador seeming to take pleasure to traverse the king's affairs with his subjects of the religion, and to disturb, or at least render useless, the alliance lately contracted with the queen, giving a wrong construction to every thing, which he saw and heard, even to the conversations, which the king had with him in his audiences, as if he had come, or been sent over, expressly rather to do mischief to the king, than to cultivate the amity and good understanding between the queen and the king; which

^k Vol. X. fol. 72.

the latter knew, that she did not at all intend, and he was conscious, that himself did not deserve such a treatment. But sir ANTHONY had cross'd the sea with an opinion, which while he maintained, the king could expect no satisfaction from that ambassador's residence with him; for the latter thought, that England could not prosper but by its re-union with the house of BURGUNDY, as he had declared to a person, who had told it to the king; and he confirmed it still more by his actions. The king had informed him of, or caused him to be acquainted with, the overtures of peace from Spain, which had come to his knowledge, with the answer, which he had given to them, and every thing, that had passed with respect to his affairs, which he thought proper for the ambassador since his arrival, in order that he might advertise the queen, and shew the king's entire confidence in her. But the ambassador, instead of making use of this to render the alliance more close, according to his own duty and the king's expectations, took pleasure in infusing jealousies of that negotiation into England and Holland, and those of the religion in France; so that the king had great reason to complain, as he did in his present letter to the earl, to whom he knew such proceedings would be very disagreeable, since they could not but be highly prejudicial to the service of the queen, and contrary to her intention. The worst circumstance, which the king observ'd, was, that he found the ambassador a man not disposed to change his opinion and design; so that whatever his majesty should do hereafter, would be turned to his disadvantage by the other, who had persuaded himself, that the queen's service depended upon her reconciliation with the king's enemy, and had no confidence in his majesty. This being the case, the king could not treat with sir ANTHONY with any freedom for the future; and therefore desired, that the queen would send over some other person, who should have no other will but hers, and depend only upon her, and not be governed by opinions prejudicial and contrary to the friendship between the two crowns, as sir ANTHONY was, who professed to receive and interpret what the king said to him in another sense from what was meant, and what the words signified. The situation of the queen's affairs and of the kingdom of France requir'd such an instrument. The king therefore desired the earl to consider this, and to apply such a remedy, as he should think proper; for his majesty had resolved not to speak for the future openly or confidently to sir ANTHONY, to prevent his misrepresentations; upon which footing his lordship might judge of the inconveniences, that would follow. "Interpose therefore, *says the king*, your prudence, and the remedies, which that will suggest, as soon as possible; for this point concerns my repose and the service of the queen, which will always be as dear to me as my own. The affection and honour, which I bear towards her, deserve, that her ministers should behave towards me otherwise than ambassadors generally do with respect to the princes, to whom they are sent: for I do not breathe any thing else but her contentment and prosperity with the good of my crown and my subjects, which I judge at present to be inseparable, and desire to unite by interest more closely than ever. I request you therefore to answer for me to the queen, and to perform for me with her the office, which I have always promised myself from your virtue and benevolence, in order to assist me to obviate all accidents, which may break our union, or to promote the effects of it; and I shall return the favour, which you shall do me on this occasion, when you shall have occasion for me."

Mr. BACON writing to dr. HAWKYNs on the 5th of February 1596^c, told him, that, according to his promise in his last letter, such little glimpses, as had reflected upon his knowledge of that, which had lately been resolv'd to be effectuated hereafter, he would now transfer to the doctor *per transfennam*, till he could enlarge himself farther. “ You know, *says he*, it hath been an infallible principle observed in
 “ all times and states by the principal politiques of both robes to follow fortune,
 “ when she leads, to dance after her pipe, and to improve her favour with all careful diligence and speed possible, whilst she is in a good mind, and to tread upon
 “ an enemy, when he is sinking either in honour or power. The contrary whereof, *nescio quo fato*, is like to be practised by us; who, notwithstanding that all the
 “ elements, by God’s infinite mercy and providence, do, as it were, lead us the
 “ way to overthrow and break the neck of the Spanish tyranny, by the admirable
 “ concurrence of his so many losses, both at home and abroad, by sea and land, of
 “ men, mariners, money, and reputation; yet we are rather thereby lulled asleep
 “ in a most dangerous security, than encouraged to embrace and improve such unlook’d for and advantageous opportunities. The particular confirmation hereof
 “ I cannot now set down, till I receive a clearer light; which having done, I will
 “ not fail to impart unto you. In the mean time I may not omit to certify you,
 “ that TYRONE hath met and conferred with sir JOHN NOREYS, to whom he hath
 “ offered all submission. How he meaneth to perform his large offers, and when,
 “ God knoweth, and time must discover.”

Monf. DU MAURIER, who was afterwards, in 1613, sent embassador from France to the states general, with whom he resided many years, and who had contracted a friendship with mr. EDMONDES, during the residence of the latter in that kingdom, in a letter to him from Paris of the 16th of February 1596-7, N. S. ^a, inform’d him, that the assembly at Roan having presented to the king their *Cabiers*, was now broken up, and he was come to Paris to pass some time there, in almost a general cessation of all business, till the beginning of Lent, when he would take again into consideration the *Cabiers* of the assembly, in order to select from them what he should judge of advantage to his affairs. But his principal care would be to take the opinions of his council.

The duke DE BOUILLON was gone from Sedan towards Turenne, where he was now probably arriv’d, with a design to attend seriously to the settlement of his own affairs, which, by his long absence, had suffer’d considerably. His wife was to follow him, and would probably be there about the middle of March, in order to make her principal residence there; which would be more secure, and at a greater distance from the cannon, which it was thought the Spaniards would point against Sedan, if they should find as much facility as they seem’d to have design to do it. But Turenne itself was not without danger, as being nearest to an attack, and farthest from assistance. The approaching spring would shew against what place the enemy intended their forces; and then the duke would be with the king to be ready on all occasions, which should offer on the frontiers.

^c Vol. IX. fol. 70.^a Vol. XV. fol. 23.

The duke DE MERCOEUR continued his truce, which it was said would end in an absolute agreement, of which the king's deputies gave hopes.

There had lately been some contest between mons. LESDISGUIERES and marshal D'ORNANO for the lieutenancy of Dauphiné; but it was then composed.

The deputies of the assembly of Vendosme were departed from thence, and returned towards Saumur; but nothing was yet done upon their demands.

The defeat given by count MAURICE to the enemy at Turnhout had rejoiced all good men: and if that, which was reported to have been gain'd in England over the Spaniards, were true, their preparations would no longer give any terror to France.

Mons. DE MAURIER concludes this letter with desiring mr. EDMONDES to renew to the earl of Essex the offers of his service on all occasions.

The earl of Northumberland having about this time had a quarrel with the earl of Southampton, which had like to have proceeded to a duel, as it produced a challenge, sent the copies of the papers, which had pass'd between them, to mr. BACON. with a letter, dated from the court on Sunday night, giving an account of the affair^b; in which he observes, that the gentleman, whom the earl of Southampton sent with his rapier, coming to do his message, upon his naming Southampton, his lordship instantly embraced him, asking him, if he had brought him a challenge; “which, *says he*, if he did, I accepted of it beforehand. His answers
“were, that he did not; only he brought his rapier, which the night before he
“promised to send, withall appointing time and place that same day. My reply
“was, that Southampton had not a novice in hand. I knew well when I was be-
“fore or behind in points of honour; and therefore I had nothing to say farther,
“unless I were challenged. After his departure he returned within the space of a
“half hour, and brought me a challenge absolutely, but in mine opinion stuffed
“with strange conditions; for he would both have assigned the place and the time,
“and have chosen the rapier single, because his arm was hurt with the ballon. My
“reply was, that I knew the earl play'd not with his left hand, and that I would
“stay to press him till his arm were well. Afterward I would appoint every thing
“apt in such a case. But within one hour after, her majesty's commandment was
“laid upon us with the bond of allegiance. We went to court, where we were call'd
“before the lords. The conclusion was this, that they assured of their honours,
“they knew, that he had not spoken those words; which afterwards he affirm'd.
“My answer was, that I rather believed their lordships than any other; and there-
“fore the lie I had given was nothing; and so revoked he his challenge, and we
“made friends. This is the end of an idle tale.”

Mr. BACON having receiv'd a letter from don EMANUEL, son of ANTONIO, the

deceased king of Portugal, sent it that day, February 8th 1596-7, to the earl of Essex inclosed in one from himself^c, informing his lordship, that don EMANUEL's to the queen, after respectful complements and acknowledgments, contain'd no other request but that of her majesty's princely recommendation to count MAURICE and the states general, as mr. BACON had last advertised his lordship; whom he now requested to direct him what he should answer to don EMANUEL as from his lordship, with respect to his taking leave before his departure: "Which, *says he*, in regard of his late father and himself, I cannot but in loyal duty to the honour of my sovereign and country wish might have been with more respect and contentment; unless it be upon some secret design, and not out of security and contempt of others misery; the most dangerous superfluous humour, I will not say leprosy, that a long prosperous reign can bring forth in a politic body."

The *Essays* of mr. FRANCIS BACON being now printed and ready for publication, with a dedication to his brother, the latter, on the 8th of February, wrote to the earl, that the infinite obligations, by which they both stood bound to his lordship, made it his duty to present to him the first sight and taste of such fruits, as his brother was constrained to gather, as he profess'd himself, before they were ripe, to prevent stealing; "and withall, *says he*, most humbly to beseech your lordship, that as my brother, in token of a mutual firm brotherly affection, hath bestow'd, by dedication, the property of them upon myself; so your lordship, to whose disposition and commandment I have intirely and inviolably vowed my poor self, and whatsoever appertaineth unto me, either in possession or right; that your lordship, I say, in your noble singular kindness towards us both, will vouchsafe first to give me leave to transfer my interest unto your lordship, and then humbly to crave your honourable acceptance and most worthy protection."

This first edition of the *Essays* was printed at London, in a small 8^{vo}, in 1597, under the following title: *Essayes. Religious Meditations. Places of Perswasion and Disswasion. Seene and allowed.* The dedication was in the following terms:

"To mr. ANTHONY BACON, his dear brother.

"Loving and beloved brother, I do now like some, that have an orchard ill neighboured, that gather their fruit before it is ripe, to prevent stealing. These fragments of my conceits were going to print. To labour the stay of them had been troublefom, and subject to interpretation: to let them pass, had been to adventure the wrong they mought receive by untrue copies, or by some garnishment, which it mought please any, that should set them forth, to bestow upon them. Therefore I held it best discretion to publish them myself as they passed long ago from my pen, without any farther disgrace than the weakness of the author. And as I did ever hold, there mought be as great a vanity in retiring and withdrawing men's conceits (except they be of some nature) from the world, as in obtruding them; so in these particulars I have play'd myself the inquisitor, and find nothing, to my understanding, in them contrary or infectious to the

“ state of religion or manners, but rather (as I suppose) medicinable. Only I dis-
 “ liked now to put them out, because they will be like the late new half-pence,
 “ which tho’ the silver were good, yet the pieces were small. But since they would
 “ not stay with their master, but would needs travel abroad, I have preferred them
 “ to you, that are next myself, dedicating them, such as they are, to our love; in
 “ the depth whereof, I assure you, I sometimes wish your infirmities translated
 “ upon myself, that her majesty might have the service of so active and able a
 “ mind, and I might be with excuse confined to these contemplations and studies,
 “ for which I am fittest. So commend I you to the preservation of the divine
 “ majesty. From my chamber at Gray’s-inn, this 30th of January 1597.

“ Your intire loving brother

“ FRAN. BACON.”

The *essays* contain 25 pages, and are ten in number, 1. Of study. 2. Of discourse. 3. Of ceremonies and respects. 4. Of followers and friends. 5. Suitors. 6. Of expence. 7. Of regiment of health. 8. Of honour and reputation. 9. Of faction. 10. Of negotiating. They are printed in the form of distinct sentences. The *meditationes sacræ* are 29 pages, and are upon the following subjects, 1. *De operibus Dei & hominis*. 2. *De miraculis Servatoris*. 3. *De columbinâ innocentia & serpentina prudentia*. 4. *De exaltatione Christi*. 5. *De mensurâ curarum*. 6. *De spe terrestri*. 7. *De hypocritis*. 8. *De impostoribus*. 9. *De generibus imposturæ*. 10. *De atheismo*. 11. *De hæresibus*. 12. *De ecclesiâ & scripturis*. The last piece intitled, *Of the colours of good and evil, a fragment*, contains 36 pages. He afterwards enlarg’d these essays, and wrote a dedication to prince HENRY; upon whose death he inscrib’d them to sir JOHN CONSTABLE, and publish’d them at London in 1613, in small 8^{vo}, under this title: *The Essaies of Sir FRANCIS BACON Knight, the King’s Attorney Generall: His religious Meditations: Places of Perswasion and Disswasion. Seene and allowed*. To this edition is prefix’d the following dedication.

“ To my loving brother, sir JOHN CONSTABLE, kn’.

“ My last essays I dedicated to my dear brother, master ANTHONY BACON, who
 “ is with GOD. Looking amongst my papers this vacation, I found others of the
 “ same nature; which if I myself shall not suffer to be lost, it seemeth the world
 “ will not, by the often printing of the former. Missing my brother I found you
 “ next, in respect of bond both of near alliance and of strait friendship and society,
 “ and particularly of communication in studies, wherein I must acknowledge my-
 “ self beholding to you: For as my business found rest in my contemplations, so
 “ my contemplations ever found rest in your loving conference and judgment. So
 “ wishing you all good, I remain

“ Your loving brother and friend

“ FRANCIS BACON.”

The essays in this edition are, 1. Of religion. 2. Of death. 3. Of goodness, and goodness of nature. 4. Of cunning. 5. Of marriage and single life. 6. Of parents

parents and children. 7. Of nobility. 8. Of great place. 9. Of empire. 10. Of counsel. 11. Of dispatch. 12. Of love. 13. Of friendship. 14. Of atheism. 15. Of superstition. 16. Of wisdom for a man's self. 17. Of regiment of health. 18. Of expences, 19. Of discourse. 20. Of seeming wise. 21. Of riches. 22. Of ambition. 23. Of young men and age. 24. Of beauty. 25. Of deformity. 26. Of nature in man. 27. Of custom and education. 28. Of fortune. 29. Of Studies. 30. Of ceremonies and respects. 31. Of suitors. 32. Of followers. 33. Of negotiating. 34. Of faction. 35. Of praise. 36. Of judicature. 37. Of vain glory. 38. Of greatness of kingdoms. 39. Of the public. 40. Of war and peace. 41. Of honour and reputation. In this edition the twelve *religious meditations* are in English.

Having at last added several other *essays*, he dedicated the whole, in 1625, to VILLIERS duke of Buckingham.

Dr. HAWKYN'S letter to mr. BACON from Venice, on the 21st of February 1596-7 N. S. ^a, contain'd intelligence from various parts; particularly that the pope was busy about the preparations of Hungary with much to do and little help, and had, upon the scarcity of money at Rome and continual *fallimento*, made a strict edict, that no man should carry out of the ecclesiastical state above five crowns in silver or gold. That the appointing count FUENTES general in Spain might breed some jealousy in the council of state, and scandalize the grandees; that the preparations of men there being all *bisogni*, new disciplined soldiers, were the less to be fear'd, the old militia being quite consumed. That the popish earls in Scotland had their negotiators in the court of Rome, who at that time labour'd hard and hop'd for good backing: and if the controversies between the king and the ministers were not accommodated, it might prove dangerous. For it being the cause of religion, the pope might not, nor would, be wanting on all occasions. And that was no time to nourish intestine quarrels, Spain being ready to take all advantages. The doctor adds, that in the three last days of the carnival there were eighteen murders committed in mascarades.

Mr. GEORGE GILPIN, the English resident in Holland, appears to have given the earl of Essex frequently an account of the course of affairs; tho' few of the copies of his letters are now extant among the papers of mr. BACON. In one, dated from the Hague on the 12th of February 1596-7 ^b, he observes, that since the dispatch of his last of the 12th of January, there was arriv'd from the French king a *portmanteau*, who brought the ratification, under the great seal, of the agreements and treaty made at the Hague by the duke DE BOUILLON at his last being there; at which the states general rejoiced the more, because the king by his letter assured them, that he would keep his promise, and in no wise agree with the Spaniard, but be ready and do all endeavour to take the field, encouraging them to the like, while the occasions were offered so fair; which his ambassador BUZENVAL should open farther to them. And that ambassador being then in France, would suspend his return, or abide the time, till the king should send to Holland some other person, or

^a Vol. XV. fol. 17.

^b Vol. IX. fol. 92.

by pen manifest the same farther : in the mean while this message and dealing of the king reviv'd their declining hope with an encouragement to take matters in hand the more roundly, in order to bring the two kings to blows, and fasten their enmity with a hearty resolution of revenge ; wishing, that it might please the queen to unite her forces, and with joint advices to resolve the taking in hand of some great and special enterprize. They expected monf. CARON with devotion, to understand by him what her majesty's desire was ; fearing much, lest the troops should be drawn away with sir FRANCIS VERE towards summer, when they should most need them there, and so be unprovided ; which they could wish to know in time, to make their account accordingly. They having therefore of late ask'd sir FRANCIS, whether he knew not what they must trust to, and if they might be sure of him and his regiment ; he answer'd, that he was a subject and a servant of her majesty, and consequently in duty to obey all commandments : that whilst he had lived in these countries, he had endeavour'd to do them good service, and continued still no less affected so long as he should be there ; yet with that dutiful respect to her majesty and his own country, that became him. And thus the matter rested without reply, they staying, as mr. GILPIN thought, till monf. CARON's arrival, to hear what he should bring and could say of the queen's pleasure. The worst was, that in the mean time it was doubted, that they would not appoint any certain repartition of payment in the provinces, but would pay the regiments, as hitherto, out of the extraordinary ; and that was uncertain, and some hindrance to the soldiers, and trouble to the captains to have a new solliciting monthly. There were also some amongst them, who in private communication told mr. GILPIN, that if they could make sure account of sir FRANCIS VERE's stay, there would before this have been some special charge committed to him, knowing his worth every way, of which the country had trial. This mr. GILPIN thought proper to certify to the earl, because he knew, that his lordship favour'd sir FRANCIS, and had a singular opinion of him, wishing his good and advancement. The states had resolved and appointed, that sir FRANCIS should immediately go into the Zutphen parts, to command over those garrisons, and to see what means there was of making some attempt on the enemy ; for which purpose a great number of men were to be sent into those parts. And within a while, when the states of Guelderland were to meet, count MAURICE would go thither, and attempt some service, as mr. GILPIN touch'd in his former letter, upon the enemy. The cardinal archduke lay still at Brussels, where there was a very great court ; but he could do nothing for want of means, the Spaniards refusing to stir out of the place, in which they lay, unless they were satisfied. It was thought by those of the best judgment at the Hague, that if matters were well handled and followed against the king of Spain the following summer, he would be brought very low, and put to a plunge, having too many irons at once in the fire to make good work of them.

Mr. GILPIN wrote again to the earl on the 18th of February from the Hague^c, acknowledging the receipt of a letter from his lordship on the Monday preceding by monf. CARON, who was the welcomer to his masters, the states general, on account of the confirmation of the treaty sent by him from the queen, which was

very pleasing and acceptable to all in Holland, coming very fitly to draw on the provinces to contribute the sooner, which were somewhat slow, as wearied with the continual taxes and charges.

Sir FRANCIS VERE told mr. GILPIN what the earl had written to him concerning monf. CARON; and having join'd resolutions, they would do what lay in them with that small credit, which they had, to further any matter of his, and had already in places, where speeches fell out, used all; so that the good offices, which monf. CARON did, were made known, and yet so, that it could disgust none, nor raised the least jealousy, nor yet be perceived, that he knew any thing; so that mr. GILPIN hop'd, that he would succeed in his suit, and very shortly return to England.

Mr. GILPIN receiv'd the queen's dispatch with the letters to the states, which were presented, and he had such an answer for the present, as made him not to doubt but that they would yield to the demand of the 20 ships; to which end the provinces would be immediately written to, such motions being well enough lik'd, so long as the soldiers were not drawn away; which they much fear'd, especially count MAURICE, whom, when mr. GILPIN presented her majesty's letters, he found very willing and forward to further the shipping; but protested, that if any men were drawn away, the season being so forward, it would hinder all their designs, and make them lose such an opportunity, as in all likelihood they had not had these seven years, to do good upon the enemy, who was without money or credit, and his soldiers discontented, the provinces wearied, the peasants spoiled, and no hope of remedy so soon as was requisite; having, as news came from Antwerp, sent of late two special men of quality from Calais to Spain, to shew the king the state of the country: and, if reports were true, the cardinal archduke would be gone, and leave the place to his brother MAXIMILIAN, who must try, whether his fortune would not change and prove better against the Christians than it had done against the Turk.

There was much speech of levies in Germany for the cardinal, but no certainty of the rendezvous; so that if the wars in Hungary continued, he must look for nothing, the emperor having, after some sort, sent him such word; and without money he could get no man near him.

Sir FRANCIS VERE's going to the Zutphen-quarters was stay'd till count MAURICE went, in order to give the enemy no cause to draw more men to his garrison, which might hinder the intended enterprizes; the count purposing to be on the first of March at the meeting of the states in Arnheim, and then to proceed with his designs.

Mr. HUDSON, by a letter to mr. BACON of the 14th of February 1596-7^a, inform'd him of the arrival of mr. ASTON at London from Scotland the night before, and of his lodging with him. “ I perceive, *adds he*, some green headed “ ministers yet lie out, and exclaim against the king; but the wisest, and men of

^a Vol. IX. fol. 14.

“ account are very near content and satisfied in all points. And as for those of
 “ Edinburgh, that are fled, they are never like to breed more sedition in those
 “ pulpits. EDWARD JOHNSTON, for whom you did so much, and I my best,
 “ hath been one of the chiefeſt of the town-rebels; and for his pains hath his
 “ eſcheat diſpoſed, and given to a gentleman, that will take it up ſomething ſtrictly.”
 Mr. HUDSON found, that the greateſt matters, that Mr. ASTON had to manage,
 were to give an account of the affair between the king and the miniſters, and to
 ſhew all proceedings on both parts, which he had in writing, with letters to the
 queen; and to propound ſome means to be liked or appointed between her majeſty
 and the king, how matters of blood and the danger of the number of out-laws,
 that were like to be on both the borders, might be beſt and ſafeſt help’d; for the
 laws of the borders being uſed without ſome moderation, might make each of theſe
 two things grow to a foul ulcer: And to give her majeſty full ſatisfaction in the
 matter of the popiſh lords in all points, and to remedy or better any point therein
 to her contentment; and laſtly, to requeſt her majeſty’s gift of ſome bucks for the
 king of that ſeaſon, and ſome young fallow deer. Mr. HUDSON perceiv’d, that
 the preſident, treaſurer, and ſecretary would be willing by any means to deſerve to
 be in the queen’s good graces; and would for that purpoſe do all ſervices and good
 offices, that lay in them, if they would be accepted. He deſir’d in the poſtſcript,
 that this might be kept private; “ for tho’, ſays he, I will ever ſerve her majeſty in
 “ all, without reſpect of any, yet I would not wrong this gentleman, who, I ſee,
 “ loveth me.”

The lord EURE wrote on the ſame 14th of February to Mr. BACON from Hex-
 ham^d, that the commiſſioners authoriſed by the queen and the king of Scots to
 deal for redreſs of diſorders upon the frontiers, were then aſſembled at Berwick,
 whither the Scots commiſſioners came not till two days after the appointment,
 hinder’d, as they alledg’d, the firſt day by extreme and extraordinary inundations
 of waters. The next day they came to the bound road, which parted the bounds of
 Berwick from Scotland, where three of the Engliſh commiſſioners met them; the
 biſhop of Durham (purpoſely, as it was thought) abſented himſelf, becauſe they had
 not met him and the reſt of his associates in commiſſion the day before aſſign’d for
 that purpoſe. The Scots taking hold of the biſhop’s abſence reſuſed to enter Ber-
 wick, unleſs his lordſhip were likewiſe there preſent to receive their biſhop of
 Dunkeld; on which point they inſiſted ſtrongly; and there was a long debate be-
 fore the Scots would yield, but they were at laſt content to accompany the Engliſh
 commiſſioners to the town, where they were honourably entertained, and no means
 omitted, which might incite them to the true love of juſtice, and advancement of
 the ſervice, which they had then in managing.

The appearance and attendance was great on both ſides; but the lord EURE was
 apprehenſive, that the jar, which was depending between the lord SCROOP and the
 laird of BACLUGH, concerning ſome bills of Liddeſdale, would fruſtrate much of
 that good, which was intended by, and expected from that commiſſion. The Scots
 were apt to lay hold of any evaſion, which might delay juſtice.

Among the Scots nobility, and those no small ones, there was at that time great diffension, which made continual expectation of some extraordinary event and alteration to ensue at the convention shortly to be made at St. Johnston's.

Sir ANTHONY MILD MAY, after his return from Roan to Paris, in a letter to the earl of Essex from thence of the 16th of February 1596-7^e, desired his lordship to pardon him for having so long forborn to write to him. “ I have, *says he*, vowed
“ my service long since to your lordship in another kind, which I long to shew in
“ effect, and to be commanded by you thereto. These negotiations are too trouble-
“ some and unfit for my poor capacity. The times and persons are much changed
“ since your lordship's being there, where there are now daily so many alterations,
“ as it is hard for a man to lay hold upon any resolution of their's. I am sorry,
“ that I must report unto your lordship the likelihood of their inconstancy in one
“ principal point, in respect that I cannot express it without touching the chief of
“ this country in honour, if that should come to pass, which all wise men here
“ greatly fear, I mean the peace with Spain; which, what assurance soever is given
“ of the contrary, is at this present greatly practised and much desired. There is
“ no want in their wills, but in their means to effect it with reputation, which, if
“ they regard it, will be a sufficient lett, being a manifest breach of the late alliance
“ made with her majesty; which how many reasons there are, besides her majesty's
“ goodness towards the king in the times of his greatest necessities to move him re-
“ ligiously to observe, and how many arguments on the contrary of his ruin, if he
“ forsake it, I know your lordship in your wisdom can judge, and therefore I for-
“ bear to enlarge it any more. The assembly, for any thing I can learn, hath ef-
“ fected nothing. It seemeth it was but a stale to bring on the peace with Spain.
“ They pretend now to assemble the three states to confirm such things, as the as-
“ sembly giveth not sufficient authority. I suppose, that so general a reformation,
“ as might follow of this great convocation, will not be well indured here of the
“ great ones; and therefore likely to be suppressed also, for want whereof this
“ country must of necessity continue still in misery.”

The earl of Essex was now, and had been several days before, very much indisposed, thro' chagrin from the opposition and mortifications, which he met with at court. This appears from a letter of Mr. ROWLAND WHYTE to Sir ROBERT SIDNEY, dated on Monday February 14 1596-7^f, in which he observed, that his lordship gave it out very confidently, that he would go into Wales, where his estate lay, to view, it and see his friends; which Mr. WHYTE thought he might do, since little was to be done at court: and he remark'd in a letter of the 19th of that month^g, that the earl kept his bed still, Sir ROBERT CECIL being in greatest credit with the queen, and passing the most part of the day in private and secret conference with her majesty.

Mr. BACON wrote the same day, Feb. 19, to the earl^h, that as his lordship's in-

^e Vol. IX. fol. 131.

^g Ibid. p. 17.

^f Letters of the SIDNEY family, vol. II. p. 16.

^h Vol. IX. fol. 102.

disposition had increased the last week, *with just cause of undeserved discontents of mind*, which were far more irksome to mr. BACON than his own bodily pains, and had prevented him from troubling his lordship with any particular remembrances, of which some points of sir THOMAS CHALONER's and dr. HAWKYNs's last letters gave occasion; so having receiv'd that evening the inclosed from them both, he sent them to his lordship, of whose deep wisdom, sound judgment, and true magnanimity he rested so assured, that his confidence in them check'd such grievous and stinging apprehensions, "as may, *says he*, without offence spring from dutiful care and unspeakable devotion of a continual sympathising heart; which, since my first intire vow hath, doth, and by God's grace so long as it hath being, shall prize more your lordship's most worthy love, than all worldly happiness whatsoever, and possessing so inestimable a jewel shall never envy their endless ambitious hopes and insatiable desires, who set the height of their felicity in a prince's momentary favour and temporal greatness."

The earl's keeping in was now generally taken notice of; and he was said to be particularly concern'd, that some lands of sir JOHN PERROT, whose son, sir THOMAS, had married the earl's sister DOROTHY, after his decease, wife to the earl of Northumberland, were again call'd in question for the queen, thro' the instigation of the attorney general COKE, tho' they had, since sir JOHN's death, been by due course of law adjudg'd to be the right of the countess of Northumberland and her daughters. But the queen began now to use his lordship very well again, who went often to her privatelyⁱ; and tho' he kept his bed the most part of Monday the 21st of February, yet one of his chamber told mr. WHYTE, that he could not weep for it, for he knew that his lordship was not sick; and there was not a day passed, but that the queen sent often to see him, and himself, every day, went privately to her^k; and after fourteen days retirement came out of his chamber, upon good terms with the queen, who had resolv'd to break him of his will, and pull down his great heart, but found it a thing impossible, and said, that he held it from his mother's side. *But all is well again*, says mr. WHYTE, in a letter of the 25th of February^l; *and no doubt he will grow a mighty man in our state*. But that gentleman in a letter of that month^m observes, that his lordship once again kept his chamber, and said, that he would go into Wales, leading, in fact, a very unquiet life at court. Sir ROBERT CECIL was said to have been with him, and with acknowledgments of some things to have desir'd his lordship's love and favour, with great protestations of assuredness to him; but without the success expected. The earl continued in the resolution of going to Wales in the beginning of March, having obtained the queen's leave of absence for twenty days, on account of health, but more probably from discontent, tho' sir WALTER RALEGH had been often with him in private, in order to mediate a peace between his lordship and sir ROBERT CECILⁿ. But his journey to Wales was laid aside upon the death of the lord COBHAM, lord chamberlain and warden of the cinque ports, on the night between the 5th and 6th of March, in the former of which posts he was succeeded by the lord HUNSDON^o, as he was in the latter by his son.

ⁱ Letter of mr. WHYTE of Febr. 21. SIDNEY letters, vol. II. p. 18.

^k Letter of Febr. 22. *ibid.*

^l *Ibid.* p. 19.

^m P. 22.

ⁿ *Ibid.* p. 22—25.

^o P. 25.

HENRY lord COBHAM, tho' the earl had used all his interest to procure that post for sir ROBERT SIDNEY.

During the earl's confinement to his chamber, mr. BOWES, embassador in Scotland, wrote to him from Edinburgh on the 20th of February^p, that the view of the assured testimonies of his lordship's continued favour towards him, confirmed by his late letter, had renew'd and plentifully increas'd his comforts and joy; and that tho' his tongue and pen suffic'd not to approach near the door of due thankfulness, yet his tongue, pen, heart, hand, action, and service should be always ready to give seasonable and true proof upon all occasions. That his lordship might understand the broken state of Scotland, running headlong into farther inconveniencies past domestic remedy, mr. BOWES had instructed his servant, the bearer of this letter, CHRISTOPHER STEPHENSON, to inform him of all the particulars by report or writing, as his lordship should direct. And by the sight of the articles, petitions, answers, acts, and matters lately pass'd in that country, and to be presented to the earl by the bearer, “ some crooked courses, *says mr. BOWES*, may haply be discovered to your lordship, and found meet to be seasonably prevented by the address of some fit person to be employed and sent hither for her majesty, as well to remove the dangerous appearing, as also to take from my shoulders the burden exceeding my power to bear with any profit for her majesty's service, as with certainty and truth this bearer can make known to your lordship, and wherein it may please your lordship to give credit to the bearer, and to render my suit grounded wholly and only for the most benefit of her majesty's service here.”

The lord EURE in a second letter to mr. BACON from Hexham of the 23d of February^q, after acknowledging mr. BACON's favour in his causes, which he had learned from his brother mr. EURE, and expressing his joy in renewing and confirming friendship with so worthy a man, informed him of the occurrences in the north, desiring his assistance in such things, as concern'd her majesty's service in his lordship's charge. He observes, that the commissioners at Berwick had lovingly concurr'd in their weighty businesses, filed the bills of the east and middle marches for Teviotdale effectually and orderly, and sir ROBERT KER for his invasion into the middle march, and the laird of BACLUGH for murder in Teviotdale, sparing to file other bills for Liddesdale till some bill of the lord SCROOP's march should be filed for Liddesdale, which the English commissioners were forced to yield to by the resolute standing of the Scots, whereby it was yet concluded, that the rest of lord EURE's march should appear at Carlisle.

The Scots commissioners departing from Berwick on Saturday the 19th of February for Scotland, resolved to return to Carlisle on the 8th of March; in which services sir WILLIAM BOWES had exceedingly laboured to his great praise, with judgment, skill, equity, and courage. The bishop of Durham had proceeded in his ecclesiastical commission, and touch'd some offenders therewith. His lordship and the rest were now upon the return homeward.

^p Vol. IX. fol. 141.

^q Vol. IX. fol. 110.

“ Thus briefly, *concludes the lord EURE*, I have signified unto you the state of our
 “ public affairs. For the others, which concern myself and my particular govern-
 “ ment, I refer you to my brother’s report, intreating your help and furtherance
 “ therein, that thereby the country may be better governed, and I in my honest
 “ actions comforted; for which as you shall do me a deed meritorious to the coun-
 “ try, so you shall bind me to endeavour my uttermost to deserve and requite the
 “ fame.”

Don EMANUEL, son of ANTONIO king of Portugal, being about this time to leave England, was in such necessitous circumstances, as to be incapable of undertaking the voyage, and therefore wrote to mr. BACON in French ^r to procure for him the loan of an hundred crowns, which he promised upon his word to repay within four months, and in the mean time sent a ring for a pledge, as a thing, of most value to him on account of having inherited it from the king his father. This letter and ring mr. BACON sent the same day, February 25, on which he had received them, to the earl with a letter ^f, in which he likewise inclosed a petition of JACOMO MARENCO to the queen, who, as mr. BACON thought, would shew no less wisdom than princely bounty to recompense and bind at once that gentleman, and in his person ANTONIO PEREZ, without opening her coffers, or any other prejudice to speak of. “ Not six days ago, *says he*, mr. secretary procured a license to
 “ transport 800 cloths for a prince of Germany’s clerk of the kitchen, whose master,
 “ I think, cannot do so good offices, as these two may do service in their kind
 “ upon a princely and so obligatory reward. Touching the jewel, which sir GILLY
 “ MERICKE, by your lordship’s appointment, brought me this afternoon, tho’ I
 “ find it very honourably fit, yet could I wish, that sig. MARENCO and his Achates
 “ sig. PEREZ might be rather superabundantly rewarded and satisfied for their whole
 “ life-time with her majesty’s grant of his suit.”

He wrote the same day to don EMANUEL ^r, thanking him for his confidence in his devotion to serve him, and promising to give an answer to the contents of his letter the next day, and expressing his hopes of being able in time to serve him in some more important instance. Don EMANUEL immediately wrote him another letter of acknowledgments of his kindness ^v, and inclosed one, which his brother don CHRISTOPHER had just received from Barbary, and which he desired might be shewn to the earl of Essex. And in a third letter, don EMANUEL sent mr. BACON a copy of one, which he had written to the queen.

Mr. BACON in his letter to sir THOMAS CHALONER of the 26th of February ^w, mention’d his having received seven from him, and therefore had no reason to doubt of the miscarriage of any of his to the earl, who accepted very honourably of sir THOMAS’s mindfulness and respect, as he would very shortly understand from his lordship himself, of whose late indisposition mr. BACON being unwilling to alarm

^r Vol. IX. fol. 107.

^f Vol. IX. fol. 114.

^v Vol. IX. fol. 118.

^v Vol. IX. fol. 108.

^w Vol. IX. fol. 76.

that gentleman, chose the last week rather to be silent to him and dr. HAWKYNs, than to mention so unpleasing an accident, presuming, that he should before that Saturday certify the earl's sickness and amendment both at once, "wherein, I thank God, *says he*, my hope hath not been frustrate, his lordship being presently well recovered and disposed in body, and in good way and assurance to receive some princely real demonstration for the contentment of his noble mind correspondent to the expectation of the world and his most worthy merits."

He touches upon the same subject in his letter of the same date to dr. HAWKYNs^x, whom he informs, that there was a calm in the state of Ireland, where sir JOHN NORREYS and TYRONE *jouent au plus fin qui trompera le premier son compagnon*: that the lord BURGH had his commission signed to be deputy of that kingdom: and that mr. ROGER ASTON was arrived a few days before, being sent by the king of Scots to acquaint her majesty with the rebellious insolencies of certain ministers, and his proceedings thereupon; of which mr. HUDSON wrote mr. BACON about this time an account in a letter^a, wherein he acquainted him, that it was found treason to hold up hands both in the ministers and people, because it tended to banding against the king; and that the sermon made before this holding up of hands was likewise found to be treason, as also the convocating the people in such a rebellious and mutinous manner, when the king was present; for which fact JAMES COLDEN and JAMES BARTANE, two burghers of Edinburgh, had suffered an affize, and were, as mr. HUDSON thought, executed before that time. The seat of justice, called the session or lords of the session, was removed from Edinburgh to Leith, and there sat; to which town, being but a mile distant from Edinburgh and the king's palace of Holyroodhouse, the king daily resorted. This town is the haven town for Edinburgh, and had its liberties engaged for a sum of money; which mr. HUDSON said the king would cause to be repaid to it, and so make Leith free again. This would utterly impoverish Edinburgh, and make Leith rich, being the better seat for a town than the other, both for strength, and haven, and pleasure in all degrees. All people were weary and ashamed of the insolence of the ministers, and the king was likely to have his full intent against them. And it was supposed, that the popish lords would come in, and satisfy the king and kirk at the convention.

The four banished ministers, who were in Yorkshire, were so busy in preaching and talking, that the archbishop was weary of them, and, it was thought, would expect, that they should leave that county.

The king proceeded with great patience in all these matters, but at the same time with severity.

Col. STUART and MACLEAN were greatly desirous of being employed with their own forces in Ireland against TYRONE; which if her majesty approved, the king and council would answer for their honest and faithful endeavours. And their own particular interests would make them true in this matter, and earnest likewise, since they might that way be revenged of their enemies at the king's charge.

^x Vol. IX. fol. 48.

^a Vol. IX. fol. 30.

Mr. NAUNTON in his letter to the earl of Essex from Paris of the 2d of March 1597^b observed, that having newly dispatched mr. RYVET to England with a packet, he had found an opportunity to press ANTONIO PEREZ still to continue his accustomed frankness of intelligence with his lordship, assuring himself, that it was not in ANTONIO's nature with those shallow poets *deficere in extremo actu*, having begun so well, and held on so far; which would be the next way to forfeit all the thanks, which he had deserved all this while, by giving the least appearance of a causeless repentance, and would make his friends suspect, and his enemies insult, that all his former offices were not so entirely sincere, as they had been taken to be, if they should not prove durable and constant to the end. He started at this challenge, and asked mr. NAUNTON what he meant by addressing him thus? who answered, that he was desirous to maintain his own good interest in him by the same means, by which he had obtained it, which was by plain and open dealing. And that it was not his own mistrust alone, but that now he had better bethought himself, he remembered, that he had in his letters newly dispatched given the occasion to mistrust some like diffidence in him, having written therein, how ANTONIO had promised him to inclose the copy of his discourse against the legate's motion set down in those letters. But at the making up of the packet mr. NAUNTON could by no means get ANTONIO to insert it, alledging, that it being penned in Spanish, the earl would be obliged to communicate it to some one or other for the perfect understanding of it, which he could not with any patience abide once to think of. Mr. NAUNTON desired him therefore to consider of his instant request; and tho' he saw, that it would be some note of rashness in himself to have written to his lordship of a matter, which he could not make good; yet he was to account and esteem much more of the mere correspondence between his lordship and ANTONIO for the good of his country and christendom in general, than of his own credit in particular. At length ANTONIO was pleased to comfort him by saying, that he spake like an honest man; and mr. NAUNTON perceiving, that he gave ground, incroached upon him by little and little, and, after a solemn capitulation, propounded and agreed upon a new treaty to be set down in articles at the end of mr. NAUNTON's letter. He got leave of ANTONIO likewise to translate his discourse into English, which translation he inclosed in his letter. And to sound ANTONIO farther to the bottom of his knowledge and ignorance both, in what terms the present affairs in France were thought to stand, he told him, that the general presumption of the protestants was, that it was in a manner already accorded between the two kings and their complices upon the points of the catholic pacification. ANTONIO answer'd, that this could not be done, but himself must needs know of it. Mr. NAUNTON replied, that it might be, that the king would conceal it from him of purpose, either upon a jealousy of his partiality as well against Spain as for England; or else lest for his own particular respect and interest he should unseasonably urge the performance of the articles, which the king so lately had signed to him, concerning a special proviso to be concluded in the treaty for ANTONIO and his children in Spain. Here ANTONIO shewed himself immediately exceedingly apprehensive, and profess'd ingenuously, that the king had in very deed said never a word to him at any of his accesses of any

one point of that whole business, but had rather shewed himself more strange towards him, than usual; which was a principal occasion of his suspiciousness, that some play had been offered him in sending over to France some of the letters, which he had written to England. But he began now to grow into a new doubt what to conceive, and was ready to declare, that if the king should serve him so, and not make good his conditions, he would turn his back upon him and all his French offers, and make trial once again of his surest friends in England. Mr. NAUNTON then said, that he had mistaken him all this while, that the latter had told him, that he had treated of the whole subject of his discourse against the legate's motion with the king himself. ANTONIO answered, no; but that the knowledge, which he had thereof, was from mons. DE SANCY, who was an enemy to the Spanish peace, and with whom he said he had an entire intelligence, as being become partly obnoxious to him by communicating some secrets in the time of that domestical familiarity, which he had with mons. DE SANCY, when mons. DE VILLEROY and he were at odds. Mr. NAUNTON finding ANTONIO in this freedom, desired him to resolve him of his opinion of the common report, part of which ANTONIO had written for current to the earl, whether the king was indeed like to go for Picardy, LESDIGUIERES for Milan, BIRON for Champagne, the constable for Bretagne, and, as some said, the duke DE BOUILLON for Franche Comté; which, Mr. NAUNTON told him, the reformed could not believe, being in no wise to be persuaded but that the peace was too far advanced; and jealous, that the king's intention was rather to unite and draw together all these forces to make head against themselves, than to employ them so scatteringly against their new confederated catholics. Mr. NAUNTON protested to ANTONIO, that he was and would be a stranger and no meddler at all *in alienâ republicâ* to give light to the party, which ANTONIO might suspect his religion would induce him to favour against that other, which himself affected; but only that he concurred in a zeal to inform the earl of the proceedings in France, being so nearly collateral, and after a sort correlative to the state of England. Upon this ANTONIO reminded him of the late prophecy concerning the insurrection of the protestants, of which Mr. NAUNTON had advertised his lordship from Roan, and which ANTONIO observed was now going to be fulfilled. That the king had been extraordinarily melancholy for two or three days past, and in continual private councils with the constable, the duke DE MAYENNE, marshal D'ORNANO, and others of his chiefest catholic companions, whether to prosecute the former courses given out in speech, or to obviate the designs of the protestants, who, as ANTONIO was particularly assured, were already full 50,000 men strong, and had disposed themselves into such order under their several commanders and captains, that they could on a sudden, upon a view of their muster-rolls, take a ready survey either of the increase of their numbers, or the diminution by death, desertion, or other causes. That they had beforehand one million collected out of ecclesiastical rents and revenues: that they were sure of and had accorded upon the general and head, who was kept very secret, and would not fail to answer to his name, when they should call upon him, and was still suspected to be the count DE SOISSONS. That their resolution and purpose was, whatsoever became of the catholic pacification, to press the king to grant absolutely, and to confirm to them by his own royal authority, those liberties and conditions demanded lately of him, and that without referring them to expect or depend upon the delays and inconstancies of his parliaments, or

else to procure themselves assurance of the said immunities and propositions by force of arms. This was delivered for certainty by ANTONIO within an hour after mr. RYVET's dispatch to England; and if this was as sure as it was probable, mr. NAUNTON imagined, that the king never held the wolf by the ears, if he did not then, and would find it a very nice point of deliberation, whether the opposition of the protestants should put him either to draw in the Spaniard for a suspicious aid, or rather at once to abandon him, and compound the intestine and civil dissensions, if it were possible so to do.

With regard to the articles of accord between the earl and ANTONIO, as his lordship tender'd the continuance of the intelligence of the latter, they must either be religiously observed without fail or delay, or ANTONIO would take it for a flat disavowing and renouncing of his devotion and allegiance to his lordship. First, there must be an occasion taken, as if the earl was to search out some special matter, which he had forgotten, to call in all ANTONIO's former letters, and especially those, which mr. SMITH had in keeping, who, ANTONIO said, had a great number of them, and those, which mr. BACON had seized into his custody, who was often noted by him for a greedy curiosity in treasuring up other mens writings, *tanquam belluo literarum*. And then that his lordship having gotten them all in, should under his own hand assure ANTONIO, that he had burnt them all; unless his lordship's intention was to oblige him to write still by keeping him in this awe, as if his lordship doubted of his adventuring himself any farther, if he were once out of danger for what was past. And with respect to those letters, which ANTONIO should write for the future, the earl must likewise assure him, that he would not fail to burn them, without communicating them to any person except the queen herself. And farther, that if her majesty should chance to forget his danger, and to open what she might understand by his letters to any other, who might give notice of it again to France, as mons. DE LA FONTAINE sometimes did, his lordship should not fail to insist upon the denial of the privacy to any such matters for the satisfaction of ANTONIO, if they should come to be called in question; and should promise yet farther, that in case that by such unkind correspondence to his zeal towards the queen and the earl, his state in France should grow into hazard and loss of what he then enjoyed, his lordship should then assure him, that he would re-accept him into his protection and patronage, if the hardest should befall him in France. And for mr. RYVET, ANTONIO earnestly requested the earl to prefer him to some place in the camp, whence he might pass to and fro with less suspicion. But he would in no case have him to be returned into his service, because he found RYVET both too expensive and somewhat querulous, as not having been considered to the contentment of either his friends or himself for all the time, which he had spent under ANTONIO. ANTONIO presumed, that his lordship would take immediate order for some certain course of conveying his letters to and fro without that continual doubt of their being intercepted, which disturbed him; and acquaint him in what manner his letters were esteemed in England. He said, that how much soever he could trust the earl himself, yet he could not do the like to every one, whom his lordship should recommend to him. Mr. NAUNTON offered himself to him to take the best order he could for his assurance in this respect during his residence at Paris; which tho' ANTONIO was contented to accept of, yet mr. NAUNTON saw, that he expected to be farther respected

respected and satisfied by one, who should be directly addressed to him for that purpose alone. “ It may be, *says* *mr.* NAUNTON, he makes semblance of more anxiety
 “ and scruple in this point than he finds just cause for, only to set an edge to me
 “ to write more eagerly in his behalf. But I assure your lordship, I never saw him
 “ so discontented and perplexed with any one thing, so far as I can discover, as he
 “ hath been, and is, and still will be between whiles, when he grows into confidence
 “ of his unsatisfaction.”

In the postscript *mr.* NAUNTON adds, that as he was sealing up this letter, which he sent by *mr.* KEIMAR, an English merchant, who had been recommended to him by *mr.* WOTTON, and had been formerly employed by secretary WALSHINGHAM and the earl of Leicester, there came a post more hasty than welcome to the French court with news, that the Spaniard had gotten Amiens * by corruption of the soldiers, where the king had bestowed most of his artillery and munition for his proposed expedition into Picardy. It was feared, that the rest of the towns in that province would follow this example, if better order were not taken for them, the people being as indifferent to live under the tempered and politic government of the alluring Spaniard, as under the awful insolence of the French noblesse. The king went immediately for Beauvais to stop the like practices from spreading farther. “ The
 “ drift, *says* *mr.* NAUNTON, of these Spanish treaties is now apparent in their own
 “ likeness; and that peace is utterly dashed, if the queen and this king can grow
 “ to accord upon Calais. It is constantly said, that 8000 Spaniards are newly
 “ arrived in Bretagne. I had almost forgotten to instance his [ANTONIO's] particular
 “ jealousy and fear, that his letters to your lordship touching MONTPENSIER's
 “ marriage have been advertised of hither, because he finds a most suspicious change
 “ in the duke's demeanor, who bears himself with much less affability and more
 “ strangeness towards him.”

The earl of Essex's design of going in the beginning of March to Wales is evident, from a letter of his secretary *mr.* REYNOLDES to *mr.* BACON ^a, informing him, that the common speech was, that his lordship would go thither on the Monday following, not to return till Easter; “ altho', *says* *mr.* REYNOLDES, I hear, that he having mov'd
 “ her majesty this day for leave, she heard him with great impatience, and was very
 “ much offended at the motion. This is told me in private. I do wish his lord-
 “ ship's contentment in all his honourable desires; but this journey I cannot much
 “ affect, which will give time, opportunity, and advantage to the cunning plotters
 “ and practicers of the court, who work at all times, and prevail too much, but
 “ most of all in absence, upon the discontented humours of her majesty, who, I do
 “ hear, useth his lordship with great respect, and seeketh more to give him con-
 “ tentment, than he to her. And truly I fear, that his lordship is wearied, and
 “ scorneth the practices and dissembling courses of this place, and therefore desireth
 “ to solace himself, and by degrees to discontinue, and so to retire from among
 “ them. Pardon, I beseech you, my boldness and freeness with you; which I use
 “ with all dutiful respect, and out of a most sincere mind. The general opinion is,

* It was surpriz'd on the 11th of March by Dourlens.

HERNANDO TELLES PORTOCARRERO, governor of ^a Vol. X. fol. 14.

“ that her majesty will not put his lordship to take this journey, making his late
 “ indisposition a sufficient reason for her denial. But I know he hath already
 “ resolved it.—Sir ROBERT CAREY is come, and supped this night with
 “ my lord.”

Mr. REYNOLDES in another letter to mr. BACON^b observed, that the earl was resolute in his Welch journey; “ which, *says he*, I am sorry for, first for his health,
 “ in respect that it is far, tedious, unpleasant, and soon after his indisposition: next
 “ for the advantage he shall thereby give to his enemies to play their party in his
 “ absence.”

Mr. BACON in a letter to the earl^c, indorsed the 3d of March, having mentioned, that JACOMO MARENCO had sent LOPEZ to him to desire him to remind his lordship of his dispatch; and that BASADONNA had informed him, that ANTONIO PEREZ had written to him, that the French king had sent for MARENCO back to France; he observed, that both these strangers took a deep apprehension by the alarm of his lordship’s journey to Wales; “ which, *says he*, if your lordship hath resolved to perform, I doubt
 “ not but it hath been upon a deep judicious deliberation precedent with an obser-
 “ vation of all due circumstances and respects, and can but pray to God by the most
 “ cordial defensive of his divine grace to preserve her majesty’s royal heart, if not
 “ her ears, from the venomous infections of the two pestilent vipers, sovereign jea-
 “ lousy, and subaltern unquenchable envy.”

He wrote again to the earl on the 6th of March^d, that JACOMO MARENCO, in his return from his lordship that afternoon, had come to him, and desired him to remonstrate and recommend three points to his lordship: first, that the French king would be, according to the humour of that nation, and the custom of princes, very inquisitive of the state of England; and therefore MARENCO would be glad to receive the earl’s directions, how he might perfunctorily satisfy the king’s curiosity, without incurring the suspicion of dissimulation by silence or allegation of ignorance. The second, that it might appear both at the court of France and at Genoa, that his errand to England was to better his state, and not to practise intelligence: and for full proof of this craved only, that his petition might be indorsed by one of the masters of the requests or clerks of the council with *la Royne s’avisera*; which kind of princely refusal he said was more respectful than the king of Spain’s, which was, *Il n’y a point de lieu a present pour ceste requeste*. He desired lastly, that he might return under the earl’s protection to Dieppe safely, meaning well recommended in a good ship. “ I am bold, *adds mr. BACON*, to send your lordship here inclosed
 “ a copy of two letters written to the king, which mr. CASTOL sent me; which,
 “ mentioning, and commending their stile to monf. DE LA FONTAINE and mr. ED-
 “ MONDES yesterday, I perceive neither of them had seen. Whereupon not know-
 “ ing whether they had come to your lordship’s hands, and judging them very
 “ worthy your lordship’s reading, the rather for that my lord HARRY could not
 “ chuse but commend the indicting of them, howsoever he wished the writers
 “ not only indicted, but arraigned and condemned, I presume to send them

^b Vol. X. fol. 10.^c Vol. X. fol. 94.^d Vol. X. fol. 76.

“ now

“ now to your lordship.” In the postscript he observes, that he could not omit to intimate a special important advertisement of a confident friend of his that afternoon, that a courtier, whom the earl trusted very inwardly, would *make brocage of his lordship’s honour by improving his facility to forgive and forget*, in mediating the recovery of his lordship’s favour for the attorney-general COKE, who had highly provoked the earl by endeavouring to deprive his sister, the countess of Northumberland, of her jointure by her first husband sir THOMAS PERROT*. Mr. BACON assures his lordship, that his forgiving of the attorney would, besides giving offence to the earl of Northumberland, his brother-in-law, not a little scandalize, not only the nobility and gentry, but the whole world, who had no hope of redressing COKE’s intolerable insolency but by his lordship’s authority and wisdom.

* SIDNEY papers, Vol. II. p. 35.

B O O K XI.

THE loss of Amiens, which was surpriz'd by HERNANDO TELLES PORTOCARRERO, the Spanish governor of Dourlens, on the 11th of March 1597⁶ N. S.†, occasioned sir ANTHONY MILD MAY, the English embassador in France, to give an account of it to the earl of Essex; and in his letter * to his lordship from Paris on the 6th of that month, he remarked, that it had already made a great alteration in the state of France, and caused such an amazement on the sudden, as he should scarce have believed, if he had but heard it reported, and not seen it. The secret underhand practice of peace had produc'd a new and sudden war, an unlook'd-for fruit from such a tree, yet such, as was suspected by some wise men at the French court would prove untimely, because it was too artificially and with too great security nourished. The king left Paris very meanly accompanied, and was still at Beauvais. The duke DE MONTPENSIER was sent to Roan, both to assure that town, and to collect together as many horses, as he could upon so sudden an occasion, to be sent to the king, whose foot consisted of 800 Swiss, 1200 English, and 2000 French. He had no cannon nor ammunition in readiness; all his provision of that kind being lost in Amiens, as twenty-six cannon mounted upon their carriages, 40,000 bullets, 8000 milliers of powder, six score thousand crowns in ready money, and 8000 siftiers of wheat. If he might by the small means, which remained, assure the rest of his towns in that quarter from revolting, it was as much as could be expected of one, who was constrained to take a desperate course. “How unprofitable that will be against so mighty an invader, *says sir ANTHONY MILD MAY*, your lordship in your own experience can judge. It pittieth me greatly to think on the misery to come on this wretched state; but I hold it very hard to be helped; their own want of government and inconstancy being ever more the cause of their ruin.”

Mr. NAUNTON's letter to the earl of Essex from Paris on the 7th of March 1597⁶ inform'd his lordship, that since his letter of the 5th ANTONIO PEREZ had a conference with monf. DE SANCY, whom he told mr. NAUNTON he made a conscience of visiting and comforting the best he could, under the apprehension, which monf. DE SANCY seemed to have taken to heart upon the loss of Amiens. ANTONIO found him in a manner oppressed and overwhelmed with grief, and not in a condition either to give or take seasonable advice, very impatient to think of the public affairs, and their cross proceedings, and for his own particular so forward to no one thing at present, as to crave this only favour at the French king's hands for the reward of all his services past, that he might immediately be delivered from having any farther commerce with the council of the financiers. ANTONIO seemed to take all his protestations in this point as sincere, and told him, that the king saw well what he did in chusing a person of unexceptionable integrity for a charge

† THUANUS, Vol. V. l. cxviii. cap. vi. p. 674, 675, 676. METELEN, l. xix. p. 399, 400. & GROTII Hist. l. vi. p. 279. * Vol. X. fol. 112. † Vol. XV. fol. 52.

so subject to corruption, which having managed so honourably as he had done for so long a time, he could not in any case think of shrinking from it now, to discourage the king and his majesty's other ministers; but that he must for the time digest all difficulties, that might affect him in private, and devote his whole self to the public service in these extremities. That he ought not to abuse the injurious imputations of the malicious to the relinquishing of a post, for which no other was so fit as himself; which if he did, his detractors might proceed in malice to scandalize him farther, as a man obstinate in holding that office till now, that the treasure was gone. Having thus flatter'd and condol'd with him with respect to his own particular, ANTONIO drew him to the consideration of the public state: and as he had been tampering with the constable, so he try'd mons. DE SANCY likewise upon the same point of seeking to queen ELIZABETH for assistance. Mons. DE SANCY answer'd, that he was out of hope of any good coming from England, and he had dissuaded the king in council from either demanding or expecting any seasonable resolution from thence; since England was now more likely than before to take all advantage of France in its present necessities, and perhaps stand upon the execution of more unreasonable conditions than would satisfy the common enemy: and therefore he was of opinion, that the only sure means for the king was to levy another subsidy immediately by some new device of impost. ANTONIO replied, that such a violent remedy would but increase this, and breed another as dangerous a disease, the people's patience in this kind having been so far try'd already, that many of them were ready to resign their very freeholds, as finding them but dear farms, after the rate of the late impositions, which were as yet scarce discharged. And he was ready to take upon him to answer thus far for the queen's princely disposition, that it was sufficiently known to the world by good proof of all the states around her, that she never sought to improve their afflictions to the making of her own advantage; to which, if she had been so inclined, the times had offered her no want of opportunities, but had always upon convenient solicitations shewed herself most ready to aid and relieve the parties oppressed, tho' to her exceeding great charge, and even the manifest engaging of her own estate. But if she should now obtrude such extraordinary succours, as the present dangers of France required, undemanded, there wanted not jealous heads there, who would be sure to make a different construction of her meaning, as if it were as insidious and prejudicial to their state, as the Spaniards themselves could be. And therefore there was great reason, besides their urgent necessity, that her majesty should be sought to, and that speedily, before it was too late. Mons. DE SANCY could not bear to hear of that, but persisted in his own conceit, that the more England was solicited, the more it would be sure to hold off; and if by importunity any thing should be extorted from thence, yet it would be so long delayed, that the time of any execution would be past before any thing could be hoped for from thence. "And against this conclusion, *said he*, never open your mouth farther. We have too much experience of England already, to admit of any new information or hope of reformation concerning their immutable mutabilities there."

After mr. NAUNTON had compared this stiffness of mons. DE SANCY with the same resolution in the king, intimated by ANTONIO in his late letters to the earl of Essex, he was much the more easily engaged by ANTONIO to tender his own offer to
his

his lordship of a middle course, that might be entertain'd to mediate a necessary correspondence between England and France, before they should be too far estranged each from the other: and that was, that the earl should sound what convenient and sufficient forces might be expected from England, upon the delivery of any of the port towns of France into the queen's hands for her assurance; and that his lordship should in the most secret manner assure him particularly, what would be granted and accepted with the queen's best liking and contentment; and this to be done with all possible expedition, delays being full of danger in such a crisis; and that then he, ANTONIO, would offer himself to the king to take upon him the accomplishment of such a treaty, and bind himself to a most religious secrecy to conceal to death whatever his lordship should intrust him with, as far as he should be enjoined. And if the king should not be as forward to render her majesty reasonable conditions for her security, as to request means from her to furnish his own wants; then what could save France, that would needs perish, and be the principal accessory to its own ruin?

What bottomless depth of policy, or what curiosity of trying conclusions in so unfitting a season, the French might affect in this course, as presuming to obtain more from England by seeking nothing, than by rendering themselves supplicants to the queen, mr. NAUNTON could not divine. But he was persuaded, that ANTONIO dealt sincerely in affecting the office of mediation out of a zeal to the common good as well of England as of France; and he was in hopes, that her majesty would interpret graciously his offer of service in that point; or else mr. NAUNTON was convinc'd, that he would not seek to employ himself at all in it, because he found, if that motion did not take effect, ANTONIO would be as much affrighted as ever he was with his former apprehensions of the particular danger of his own estate and residence in France; in which respect he began to mediate wholly of such offices and endeavours, as might make him acceptable and welcome in England, whenever he should find it for his safety to fly from France. And he desired mr. NAUNTON to acquaint the earl yet farther with one piece of his confidence in this motion of his, that he presumed so much the rather to venture himself and his credit in this negotiation, because, notwithstanding his late unplaussible entertainment in England, yet he was the rather emboldened by his own conscience and the earl's consciousness of his so constant continuance in all good devotions towards England, as to hope, that he should be received as acceptably, and heard as unsuspiciously and as graciously there, as he knew the English ambassador was in France. He had already been in hand with mr. NAUNTON to accompany him to England, if occasion should so serve, by seeking to imprint a fear of equal danger likely to grow to him by remaining in France. Mr. NAUNTON held him in uncertainties all he could, by telling him, that if this proposition of his should go forward, the earl would be very likely to come over to France with the forces thither. But for his own attending ANTONIO, he kept the middle course, neither flatly denying him, that he might not make him too apprehensive of his being ill used all this while, nor yet promising him any such matter, for fear of too much forwarding him, by his concurrence with him, thither, whither he was so prone and inclinable of himself alone. Mr. NAUNTON desired his lordship to return ANTONIO some answer, in order to continue his, mr. NAUNTON's, credit with him, and to give himself some short direction, how he might best

best frame his persuasions from time to time, when he should find ANTONIO content to hear them.

He adds, that the French king went on Monday to Montdidier to take order for assuring it and the places thereabout, as Corbie, Perronne, and the rest to St. Quentin's. After the dispatch of which business it was expected, that he would presently return to Paris to take advice with his council how to dispose of his troubled affairs. In the postscript, dated the 8th of March *, he observes, that the Spaniards in Amiens were somewhat anxious for their own situation there, being not many of themselves, and having small hope of succour, the king having laid all the country round about with his soldiers, and there could not pass a man to or fro but he was intercepted. The garrisons of Corbie and Perronne were said to have cut to pieces 120 of the enemy's horse and foot, as they met with them straggling up and down in their countries. The king's strength was 1500 English, 2500 Swiss, 3000 French foot, and 2000 horse.

ANTONIO PEREZ began now to suspect as great art as grief in mons. DE SANCY, whose seeming forwardness to decline his office tended indeed to decline such burthens and supplies, as it was most likely the king would expect, and his council be ready to exact at his hands *tanquam ex officio*, especially in such an extremity, as was presumed to have befallen the king by some want of circumspection in mons. DE SANCY himself.

Mr. REYNOLDES on the 9th of March acquainted mr. BACON ‡, that the earl of Essex had taken order with his officers to provide 100*l.* for JACOMO MARENCO, besides a jewel, and the present of a horse, and the defraying of the charges of his diet; and that ANTONIO PEREZ seemed to be jealous of his letters, inculcating so often the burning of them. “For my part, *adds mr.* REYNOLDES, I must profess, that “I learn more out of mr. NAUNTON's and others, than out of them, and do discern “matter of greater moment and judgment in their's than in his, especially since “his last return into France. Whom he so much suspecteth, I cannot conjecture; “but this I protest, that I never shewed any of his letters to any creature, but only “to such, as his lordship commanded me, nor communicated the least point of them “to any.”

He wrote again to mr. BACON on the 12th of March § mentioning, that he had been all that day about the dispatch of MARENCO, who received the earl's present with great affection and respect, professing and vowing all service and duty, making at first a little scruple to receive the money, but after a maidenly refusal put it up. “I doubt not, *continues he*, but you have heard, how my lord was upon the point of “his departure, and what good friends his resolution of taking this journey hath “produced. I have it but by report, and so I send it. The countess of Northum- “berland's matter is brought about again, and her jointure shall be established, “notwithstanding all mr. attorney's traverses; and we say, his lordship is appointed “also master of the ordnance.”

* Fol. 51.

‡ Vol. X. fol. 21.

§ Vol. X. fol. 11.

This report of the earl's being preferred to that post was mention'd in a letter of the same date of mr. ROWLAND WHYTE to sir ROBERT SIDNEY ⁱ, in which he takes notice, that his lordship having mov'd the queen for sir ROBERT to be warden of the cinque ports; upon her majesty's answer, that HENRY lord Cobham, son of the deceased warden, should have that office, the earl resolved to leave the court; and on Thursday morning, March 10, himself, his followers, and horse were ready, and about ten o'clock he went to speak with the lord treasurer, but by Somerset-house was met by mr. KILLIGREW, who desir'd him to come to the queen, who after some private speech made him master of the ordnance, which place he accepted, and received contentment by it; and on the 18th of March his patent for it was sign'd and pass'd all the seals ^k.

JACOMO MARENCO having on the 12th of March desired mr. BACON to recommend two points to the earl, that gentleman wrote the same day to his lordship ^l to know his pleasure concerning them. The first was for a cypher, which MARENCO said that the queen mention'd particularly and enjoin'd him to demand, "whether in
" jest or earnest, *says mr. BACON*, your lordship can best judge. The second, some
" formulary direction, how to satisfy the French king's inquisitive humour, where-
" unto he is not only inclined by birth and office, but hath given himself over, not
" as a sweet but deceitful charm *de ses journalieres soucis piquants*, that spring out of
" the ticklish uncertainty of his estate."

The lord EURE, who by means of mr. BACON had proposed a marriage between his son and a daughter of the lord RICH, and niece of the earl of Essex, having received a letter from the earl on that subject, wrote an answer to him from Hexham on the 10th of March 1597 ^m, that his lordship's most affectionate letter had assured him of that, which with all his endeavours he had sought to obtain, the earl's favourable conceit and affection; which, as it was the chief of his desires, so the gaining of it was his greatest earthly joy and comfort: and that since his lordship, as an infallible token of his high favour and kind respects, had vouchsafed to honour his poor house by linking his son by an alliance with his own family, he held himself so infinitely bound, that himself and all the means, which God had endow'd him with, were and always should be assuredly devoted to his lordship's service; and he wish'd nothing more than some happy occasion to demonstrate the same. He had acquainted mr. BACON with his whole estate and ability, which, such as it was, should be disposed of for the satisfying of the lord RICH, as the earl should think good; and since the young years of his son render'd him as yet unfit for marriage, as he had dedicated him wholly to the earl's service, so he left him to be disposed of in the mean time, as should please his lordship. "I wish, *says he*, that for those
" defects, which time and age shall lay upon me, such supplies may renew in him,
" as the service of my poor house to your lordship may ever continue."

ⁱ Letters of the SIDNEY family, Vol. II. p.

^l Vol. X. fol. 77.

^m 27.

ⁿ Vol. XV. fol. 58.

^k Ibid. p. 31.

Dr. HAWKYNs's letter to mr. BACON from Venice of the 12th of March 159⁶ N. S. " took notice, that the Spaniards there boasted, that they would assault France on both sides at once, Bayonne by Galicia, and Perpignan with the forces of Catalonia, where they levied men apace, that province affording store both of good mariners and land soldiers. It was thought, that prince DORIA should go with his gallies into the French seas; so that the great duke was now obliged *alla scoperta* to send men and ammunition to fortify Castel Dief, and the other fortresses in those parts. In Spain likewise by sea they armed *alla gagliarda*, having already hired seventy tall ships Ragusans, making full account of Bretagne, from whence they hoped to be lords of the isle of Wight, and to command all those coasts at pleasure. To the furtherance of which designs they were said to have already embarked 7000 Italians old soldiers, and out of Sicily 30,000 cantare of biscuit, which by estimation would be sufficient for the provision of four or rather five months for 30,000 soldiers.

The doctor mentions likewise the arrival, on the Tuesday preceding at night, of a courier in five days from Lyons with letters from NANI, the Venetian ambassador in Spain, relating the greatest disgrace, that ever was offered to any christian ambassador in that age; the particulars of which were as follow. A person being pursued by an officer of justice or serjeant, took refuge in the ambassador's house. The officer still following him was stopp'd by sig. BADUERO, a gentleman of Venice, and cousin to the ambassador, and the mace, as was said, wrested out of his hands, and broke and thrown at the officer's head; who immediately complain'd at the court, and returning with two or three hundred men enter'd the house with force against the ambassador and his whole guard, carrying them all to prison, the people by the way throwing stones at the ambassador, in which fury his cloaths were cut in divers places; for the avoiding of which danger he was carried into a barber's shop, and the rest to prison. Towards night the ambassador was also conducted to prison, where he remained all that night, and the next morning was released. In the mean time his house was sacked and rifled, and whatever was found of value carried away. The Spanish ambassador was at the college of the state at Venice on the day of the date of dr. HAWKYNs's letter, and told by them, that they were most heartily sorry, that they had so just cause to be grievously offended; yet that they would wait to see what his catholic majesty would farther resolve. The doctor censures them for their patience of injuries from Spain, and obstinate neutrality like that of P. SERVILIUS, *qui medium se gerens nec plebis vitavit odium, nec apud patres gratiam iniit*; and mentions a saying of king ALPHONSO, who compar'd them to a middle tenant in an house, *da quelli di sotto travagliato del fumo, & da quelli di sopra dall'urina*: " which is daily seen here, says dr. HAWKYNs, by experience, the Venetian suffering continually infinite indignities, sometimes spoiled by the Uscocchi, " as at this time; sometimes by the Turks, and sometimes by the Spanish gallies, " DORIA, and others. In the end I fear me they will prove that saying of QUINTUS of Livy to be true; who, if they were such, as they would seem to be, " imitators of the most excellent wise government of the antient Greeks and

“ Romans, they would soon amend this fault; wishing they would amongst many
 “ other perfect consultations of THUCYDIDES of the wars of the Morea read but
 “ the *parlamento* of the embassadors of Corinth in the council of Lacedæmon, per-
 “ suading them to oppose the tyranny of the Athenians: all which reason might now
 “ better serve against the designs of Spain.”

Mr. NAUNTON, in a letter to the earl of Essex from Paris on the 14th of March 1596-7^o observ'd, that since his last of the 7th and 8th, they had begun to conceive a kind of hope, that the blow at Amiens would have prov'd like JASON PHERÆUS's wound, to cure the dangerous impostume, of which mr. NAUNTON had written so particularly before. But the very next day after the date of that letter there came to Paris a confident rumour, that the protestants had taken Tours, which made those of the religion at Paris not a little apprehensive, notwithstanding the untruth of it, that such a report might be spread by the catholics, as a foundation, upon which to ground a second massacre, being so scandaliz'd as they were, at the sermons in the lodgings of the king's sister, which, *mal gré bon gré*, were still continued and frequented.

This noise was scarce over, when there was a second alarm founded by the duke DE MAYENNE's followers, that the protestants and the catholics in Metz were come to blows. Which report, tho' it grew yet bare and naked as a thing new born, and unfurnish'd of all the circumstances of any plot, execution, or success, with all which that of Tours was invested and bolster'd out; yet the raiser of it, whose name was great at Paris, gave more credit to it; and the duke DE BOUILLON's neighbourhood in jurisdiction, tho' not then in person, increased their jealousy. But whether it was true or false, mr. NAUNTON thought proper to set down the rumours themselves, as undoubtedly forerunners and prognostications of some stirrings likely to burst out into action before long.

The Parisians, as impatient to be mere auditors and beholders of the forwardness of other places, had been broaching in the parliament certain unseasonable propositions, especially against the chancellor^a, the financiers, and even the privy council itself. With regard to the chancellor, they had been very earnest with the king's procureur, that he should *ex officio* accuse him of mal-administration, bribery, and of what not? And if he should refuse to prosecute so thankless an office *bonâ fide*, they menaced, that the parliament itself would proceed to make both their processes. They propounded it at the first in their full senate to have committed him on the sudden; to which 37 voices consented of their 100. And if the greater part had agreed to it, they would of their own authority have secured him, while his process had been framing, without troubling the king now in his wars with

^o Vol. XV. fol. 54.

^a PHILIP HURAUT, count de Chiverny, appointed counsellor of the parliament at Paris in 1554. He was afterwards chancellor to HENRY duke of Anjou, whom he attended to Poland, and by whom he was made keeper of the seals, and chancellor of France in 1582, upon the death of car-

dinal DE BIRAGUE. He quitted the seals in 1588, and retir'd to his house, but was recall'd to the exercise of his office in 1592 by HENRY IV. He died the 29th of June 1599, N. S. at the age of seventy three. His *Memoires d'Etat*, printed at Paris in 2 volumes 4^{to} in 1636, extend from the year 1586 to that of his death.

any communication at all about it. Monf. CAUX, one of the masters of the requests, whisper'd in the ear one monf. ANGENOUST *, a principal counsellor in the parliament, and of the forwardest in that business, that he should remit of his earnestness, and forbear a while; and finding his own persuasions to make but little impression, he delivered him in somewhat rounder terms, as by way of message from the chancellor himself, an advice to stop in time, and to consider better what he did, and how far he went; or else he might, perhaps, be the first, who repented it. The other upon this rose up, and in open parliament declared the sum of the chancellor's message, charg'd the bearer of it to acknowledge it for true, and then bid him publickly return this for his answer to the chancellor, that if he had done his duty aright, he would have been as forward to serve him, as now he was to except against him: "But doing, *saitb he*, as he hath done, and doth, tell him, that I am and will be a professed solicitor for the service and good of my country against him, till the law shall have passed upon him. And whereas he threatneth me with repentance, tell him, that when I shall have condemn'd him, I shall die much more contentedly in the conscience of such an office perform'd to my prince and his people. And for yourself, sir, that being the king's servant, and a member of this assembly, would for your seal of Lyons, which you hold under this chancellor, for the salary of a baser office than becomes me to name in this place, and much more you to manage it in yours, that would thus take upon you to be his pander in this convention, I am greatly grieved you should so mistake your mark as to be master of this request."

Their second petition against the financiers was, that the king would make an abridgment of these abridgers of his treasure, of some 1500 of them into one score, which, upon examination of their accounts, they made no doubt but he would condescend to. Their demand was, that the privy council should no more intrude and usurp upon them, to interpose their own authority and judgment in such matters and cases, as properly belonged by all right and antient custom to the decision of the parliament. They had chosen their syndics to be dispatch'd away immediately to the king, to press him for these and some other demands, of which mr. NAUNTON was promised a copy. But the constable, monf. DE BELLIEVRE †, and the rest of the council at Paris, all set themselves to appease them, and to divert their purpose of presenting to the king these propositions so out of time, which, it was urg'd, would be a very great grievance to the king, tho' mr. NAUNTON thought that some doubt might be made of that. For notwithstanding the office and place of a chancellor were as necessary for the king to curb the insolence and supremacy of parliaments, for which reason it was odious to them, (as some chancellors in England, for the same reason, had been observ'd to have been unacceptable to the common

* JEROM DE ANGENOUST admitted counsellor in the parliament of Paris 16 December 1558.

† POMPONNE DE BELLIEVRE. Having studied the law at Toulouse and Padua, he was made counsellor of the parliament at Chambery, and afterwards counsellor of state by CHARLES IX. after having discharg'd two embassies to the Swiss cantons. He attended HENRY III. into

Poland as embassador from the king his brother. He was next appointed super-intendant of the financiers, and then president à mortier in the parliament of Paris in 1588. He was one of the commissioners for France at Vervins, and upon the death of the chancellor CHIVERNY advanced to that post, in which he continued till his death, in September 1607.

lawyers;) yet mr. NAUNTON could never either hear or see any late signs of affection in the king to the person of this chancellor, who was supposed to be more corrupt than was necessary for his own service. And with regard to the financiers, mr. NAUNTON's suspicion, which he had written to the earl from Roan, that the king would at last squeeze some of these sponges for his own benefit to himself, and the satisfaction to many of his subjects of all ranks, was now increased, as well by their own late default in both occasioning and heightening the loss at Amiens, as by the king's necessities, which were grown still more considerable by that loss. For the third point, as the parliament resented, that mons. d'INCARVILLE and the rest, whom the king was not at all delicate in admitting into his council, should exercise a more than chancellor-like jurisdiction and high commission over their arrests and decrees; so it was difficult to say, whether the king himself might find it fit in his policy, either by way of prevention to reduce some of them to order, who were even then thought to be aspiring to take upon themselves to reform him, and give law to his exorbitances, or at least in general to scare and awe his great councils in the height of their vogue with these popular insectations and challenges. These reasons being grounded upon the king's utter diffidence of all in general, and upon his necessary practice of encountering the designs and greatness of one party with the opposition of another, they made some persons doubtful, whether these propositions would be so disagreeable to him, as his chancellor pretended. For as mr. NAUNTON was persuaded, that if he had any strength left in his kingdom, which would adhere firmly to him, it must arise from his great towns and his commonalty; so there did not appear any such means for him to possess himself surely of them, as the controuling the insolence of his high noblesse, and to chastise the oppressions and extortions of his chief officers, who had done nothing else for a long time under his connivence than made a spoil of both him and his people, as well of his authority as their liberty, of his treasure as of their wealth, and all for the advancing of their own particular estates and stations, by establishing a strength to themselves out of the weakness of him and his commons. But the constable, who had made as it were a Diomedes's change with the king, being at Paris as it were king, by the leave of the parliament, had solicited and prosecuted the matter so vigorously, that they had stopp'd their syndics, and were agreed to make a second assembly of all their presidents and chief counsellors, in order to reconsider the matter with him and others of the principal of the king's privy council, which were to meet upon the Wednesday following. And if they should then grow to any good conclusion of accord, it was thought, that the council would follow the king; their lodgings have been taken at Beauvais ten days before. But till they should have settled the people of Paris in some better contentment, they seem'd to take it to be the safer way, not to leave the burghers to their own selves, and their town in a time of such agitation, when every man stood for himself to fix on something for his own assurance, and few or none for the common.

The king was then at Picquiny, within five leagues of Amiens.

Marshal DE BIRON was much commended for annoying the enemy; but it was suspected, that all successes on the king's part were artificially amplified.

The

The duke DE MAYENNE was said to furnish the king with six cannon, duke D' ESPERNON with three, and the duke DE MONTPENSIER, the constable, and divers others of the greater peers, each his part; so that by them and the towns adjacent he would have about 50 field-pieces, for recovering the town by battery rather than fail. The constable told ANTONIO PEREZ, that the king would have surpris'd it, if the French within the town, who were privy to the design, could have kept their own counsel. But now the good nature of the whole country was so return'd upon them, that every man was ready to strip himself, even of his shirt, to regain Amiens. And to encourage them the more, it was affirm'd, that there were 2000 more English newly arriv'd to aid the king. Such an assistance would indeed come then very seasonably after his parliament at Roan, his loss at Amiens, his mutinous parliament at Paris, and the readiness of his protestants to put forth almost every where. And if some prosperous success did not soon make up these breaches in his state and person, what could be thought but that his present condition would become more desperate than at any time before? For in his former wars and troubles his personal valour, which was his greatest virtue, still shone out and obscur'd all his wants. He had still a great faction, first of protestants, and, after his revolt to popery, of catholics, tho' they were not altogether so firm to him as the others. And still his greatest enemies, even those of Spain, honour'd and reverenc'd him: "But since this late unwholesome ease, *says mr. NAUNTON*, hath
 "so staged his imperfections to the view of the world, his inability, yea, his inap-
 "plicability to the policing and managing of his state, his security and reachless-
 "ness in husbanding his coffers, his want of government over his own person, &c.
 "these have been occasions to make his great counsellors usurpers over himself and
 "his people, his financiers spoilers and voleurs of them both, his catholic male-
 "contents to despise him, and protestants to disdain and almost to disavow him;
 "his foreign enemies to contemn him; yea, and all his friends both at home and
 "abroad to distrust him, as well his nature, that hath bred him these alterations
 "both in himself and others, as his fortune, that is of all likelihood to ensue
 "thereupon."

How far these impeachments at home had flush'd his friends in Spain against him, appear'd by the changing of their own courses propounded for the treaty of peace, which had occasion'd such jealousies among his allies. First, there were some letters from a clerk of the pope's chamber at Rome, which inform'd the legate of many bad offices, which GONZAGA bishop of Mantua, who was to be left nuncio in France after the legate's departure, of whose devotion to Spain mr. NAUNTON had advertised the earl long before from Roan, had intimated against him to Rome by divers of his letters, as one more zealous to perfect the pacification in good earnest, than himself, upon his near discovery of the king's weakness, had found it to be for the advantage of Spain. The legate was content in his discretion to swallow that pill for the time, yet not without some chewing, which made it the bitterer to his taste. He had written since to the cardinal archduke in an expostulatory manner, to know what his meaning should be, since the king of Spain had promised a cessation of arms, while he should be soliciting the peace, and treating for these farther agreements between them, of which mr. NAUNTON had written to the earl by mr.

RYVER, that he, the cardinal archduke, in contradiction to his master's promise, should thus abuse the pope's mediation for an insidious assuring of the French king, while his party should take all advantages, as the surprizing of Amiens, &c. Cardinal ALBERT return'd him this short answer, that since the French king had first proclaim'd war against his master, it was his part, if he repented at length, and found himself weak, first to acknowledge his being over-match'd; and then Spain might be content to admit of an after-treaty for so much the more reasonable conditions of a just peace between them. ANTONIO PEREZ suspected upon this, that the king of Spain was as forward to effect the pacification as the French, or at least was the first in the moving it: and therefore foreseeing, that the greatest difficulty likely to grow between them would arise upon their straining courtesy, who should make the first offer, the pope was employ'd as umpire between them: and that it was probable, that the insolency lately entertain'd upon their late successes, and the French king's distractions, was but a cunning dissimulation to cloke their own appetite to the peace, that they might recover it with the more honourable and commodious conditions to themselves. But whatever their drift might be therein, mr. NAUNTON was persuaded, that their braving insults would make the French king's party much stronger and more entire to him at home. His chief want was like to be of money, which made the council resume a scheme, which they had before laid aside, of levying a kind of subsidies by admitting the Jews to inhabit some of the great towns; a course, which was most probable not to help him so much in his necessities, as to injure and impoverish his people in the sequel, unless he should play foul play with the Jews in the conclusion.

As mr. NAUNTON was concluding this letter, there came an account to the Venetian ambassador from Lyon, dated on the 15th N. S. that upon the retiring of a Spaniard, who had slain his fellow in single combat, into the Venetian ambassador's house at Madrid, the officers coming to apprehend him there were repulsed by the Venetians, who determined to maintain the privilege of the ambassador's house. Hereupon after the officers had increased their number, they returned thither in a rage, took the ambassador himself, and committed him to prison for nine hours, and imprisoned all his followers for a considerable time, and still guarded him in his own house, so that he could neither write nor confer with any person. The grand duke's ambassador in Spain sent this news by post to Italy. There arriv'd likewise at Paris letters from Lyons, dated the morning after the former, which affirm'd, that the Venetian ambassador had been hereupon sent home with a white wand in his hand, with a general inhibition first given to all the king's subjects against furnishing him or any of his train with horses.

Mr. NAUNTON wrote another letter to the earl of Essex on the 15th of the same March ^p, that he had heard by some persons at Paris, who knew but little of his obligations to his lordship, that the king in a discontented discourse with the English ambassador, sir ANTHONY MILD MAY, had declar'd, that there was never a cavalier in England except the earl of Essex; and that the ambassador answer'd like a plain spoken Englishman, that the queen had other brave gentlemen enough, and

^p Vol. XV. fol. 49, 50.

as valiant as any himself had. Now whether the king's intent was by this speech to disgrace the rest of the English nobility, or to gratify some cavaliers in France by this solitary (not to say odious exception of the earl) *tanquam qui male laudando vellet ledere*, was left to his lordship to determine. It was said, that the embassador had advertised the queen of it; "*quam id libenter*, says mr. NAUNTON, *nihil dico*. " I refer your lordship to mine author's [ANTONIO PEREZ's] intimation, which he " sent from Roan, touching monf. BEAUVOIR's report of a very like office proceed- " ed from the same person; and that the king, upon knowledge of her majesty's " offence taken thereat, should expostulate it by monf. VILLEROY with him, that he " would write of every such trifling speech, that might pass him in a humour, &c. " But for all this unkindness he hath been contented, since his loss of Amiens, to " give order for his lodging at BEAUVAIS's, and to send twice or thrice for him, " inasmuch as there is a new unkindness taken for his absenting himself so long " in this necessary time, notwithstanding all these invitations; which it is con- " strued, that he doth not of his own discorrespondence alone, but of some farther " special instructions receiv'd from thence [England]. I have heard, that many " counsellors here of divers factions do take exception against an unamiable man- " ner of proceeding in him, resembling him to BERNARDIN MENDOZA, that was " no make-peace in his late employment in England."

Mr. NAUNTON inclosed in his own a letter, the writer of which he had found a malecontent, being absolutely unrewarded for his many years service in France, which he had perform'd with good commendation. He was of himself most inclinable to go and serve in the war against the Turk, in order to improve his experience, and seek a better fortune at a greater distance from his own country. But he was advised by mr. NAUNTON, that the times were now fittest for an Englishman to employ himself in the defence and service of his own country, and that a man of his experience and sufficiency could not serve there unrewarded. After half a dozen conferences he communicated to mr. NAUNTON divers solicitations, which had been made to him from the governor of the town (whom in his own letter he had nam'd *Retrograde*) by SKINNER and HENLEY, two Englishmen there, who half discover'd to him an opinion, which they had of the easiness to surprise a castle on that shore, by which mr. NAUNTON supposed they meant Dover. They knew him to be well acquainted in Kent, and were privy to the causes, which he had to live discontented in France, besides some farther familiarity, when he was prisoner with the enemy. The French on the other side persuaded themselves, that he was so much in love with them from his long continuance among them (as many other Englishmen were) that they imagin'd, that he stood more affected to them than to his own native country: in which conceit the king and the constable and duke DE BOUILLON endeavour'd to procure his preferment to an English company in sir THOMAS BASKERVILE's regiment, as one, who, they presum'd, would have advertised them underhand of whatever should have been purposed or spoken of there. Having drawn all this from him, mr. NAUNTON thought him a man much likelier than mr. GRIMESTON was in the Low-countries to be employ'd in those times, being so well conceiv'd of by both the nations; and that if there should be occasion to use such a man, he might be long sought for before one like him would be found. And mr. NAUNTON could attest this for him, that upon little solicitation he was
very

very forward to make this tender of his service by a letter to the earl, before he would resolve upon any other course.

What opinion the earl had of mr. NAUNTON's correspondence, appears in some measure from the following letter of his lordship's^a.

“ Mr. NAUNTON,

“ If my leisure were as great, as is my affection to you, I would send you as many answers as I receive letters from you. But I am in a place, where I am tied to infinite attendance, and am tied to entertain many businesses, and have a fortune of great exercise. And therefore I am sure you will not look for many compliments from me; and for directions, you need them not.

“ I have secured sig. PEREZ for his letters, and have written an answer to sig. GERONYMO GONDI, and a letter to recommend RYVET to sir THOMAS BASKERVILLE. I will send him [ANTONIO] an attendant with my next letters, which shall be immediately upon mons. DES REAUX's coming; whom we look for every day.

“ I can return you no answer to your good advertisements, and probable conjectures of that star and the destiny of it, but this, that if the king's danger do make him offer us a fair party, that will be plausible to the English nation, there is good to be done. If not, we are deaf.

“ The queen is every day more and more pleased with your letters, and doth promise me she will not let your skill rest. I do truly protest, that I read no man's writing with more contentment, nor ever saw any man so much and so fast by any such like improve himself. Therefore let the pains you have taken, and incommodities you daily suffer, not discourage you; for as your own increase in sufficiency doth make you amends, so I doubt not but you shall see, you have made yourself a way to good employment and good fortune. I hope strongly of her majesty's gracious disposition towards you, but promise for myself to be

“ Your most affectionate and constant friend

“ 16th of March.

“ E S S E X.”

Sir THOMAS CHALONER residing still at Florence, in a letter from thence, on the 15th of March, to mr. BACON^r, remark'd, that the retir'd nature of the Florentines and the late arrival of news thither afforded him but little matter to write; and that the gate of Rome, which used only to be open to give occasion of some speech of novelties to Florence, was shut up in such a manner by the pope, that upon pain of death none dar'd to write or advertise. Thus they rested there feeding on nothing else than an exceedingly cold air coming from the Apennines all cover'd with snow.

^a Vol. X. fol. 93.

^r Vol. XV. fol. 114.

The week before the date of this letter sir THOMAS had sent the earl of Essex two copies, in one sheet of paper, of two pasquins or libels publish'd at Florence, the authors of which the great duke was endeavouring to discover, but would possibly lose his labour.

Dearth and want of money reign'd over all Italy, consuming to the bare bone. The streets were full of poor people running naked, and starved, to and fro, ready to die; yet few merciful or able enough to relieve them. “The joy is great here, adds he, of the Spaniard going backward (as they call it) in the Low-countries; and were his force as small as his credit, his kingdom were at an end. For if his prosperities should depend on voices, doubtless the curses of Italy would weigh down the blessings of Spain to the hard earth. I can write nothing else but that the expectation of England's forces is hoped here to revenge the breach of payment to the Italians. Were their horns long, answerable to their fury, or deeds suitable to their oaths, they would not only prove curst kind, but enraged devils.”

Mr. BACON on the 17th of March inform'd the earl of Essex by a letter^f, that his antient friend monf. CASTOL, the French minister, had just visited and acquainted him, that he having very urgent occasion to make a journey to France as far as Paris, to settle the estate of some orphans nearly related to him, left destitute by the late decease of their parents, was desirous of doing the earl any service there, which his lordship should direct or command, he intending to set out on the Monday following. Mr. BACON therefore desir'd the earl to honour monf. CASTOL with a letter to monf. DE SANCY in favour of him, and recommending the case of the orphans to his protection. Mr. BACON then mentions a particular, which he had understood that afternoon from a friend of his, that the secret principal motive of the French king's deep displeasure against sir ANTHONY MILD MAY arose from the verbal relation, without partiality, of that king's answer to a proposition, which sir ANTHONY made from the queen for the recovery of Calais, on condition that it might remain in her hands till the money should be reimbursed. The king asking, who should command that army, and sir ANTHONY answering, the earl in chief, and sir JOHN NORREYS as second, the king with a disdainful smile was said to have replied, “*Que le general NORREYS avoit trop de besogne taillée en Irlande; & que sa majesté ne laisseroit jamais son cousin a' Essex d'esloigner de son costillon.*” That upon the embassador's advertisement her majesty return'd four lines of her own hand, upon receipt of which from sir ANTHONY's hands, the king, having read them with a manifest alteration of countenance, was ready, lifting up his arm, to have stricken him; but checking himself, commanded him to leave the chamber. “Whether this, says mr. BACON, be a fiction or a truth, I doubt not but your lordship knoweth. If the first, it is not without design. From whencesoever it springeth, if the circumstance be true, some effects, no doubt, will follow, if they be not in time prevented.”

^f Vol. X. fol. 82.

Dr. HAWKYNs, in his letter to mr. BACON from Venice of the $\frac{1}{2}\frac{3}{8}$ of March 1596-7, observ'd^a, with relation to the Spanish affront to the Venetian embassador at Madrid, that the state of Venice would rather lay the whole blame upon him, than break with Spain. They accused his ill conduct, first in opening his doors, and letting in the officer, the place being privileg'd; then in sending down, to deal in the matter, BADUERO, a rash young gentleman; and lastly, after the disorder committed, in staying two days and more without excusing the fact to the king. The embassador could stay no longer at the Spanish court, with his reputation, and therefore was like to be recall'd, and to meet with small respect at his return; which might chance to produce some broil at home, the two houses of NANI and BADUERO being both rich and greatly allied. The doctor then mentions the circumstances of the taking of Amiens, which he had seen written by the cardinal archduke's own hand to MENDOZA, the Spanish embassador at Venice. FRANCISCO D'ARCOS, sergeant-major to the governor of Dourlens, obtaining of the cardinal certain companies, Spaniards, Burgundians, and Walloons, with sir WILLIAM STANLEY's regiment, the whole number amounting to 1800, of whom 200 were horse, upon the 11th of that month N. S. march'd all night, and in the morning arrived near Amiens, and planted themselves in ambuscade within cannon shot of the city. This FRANCISCO D'ARCOS, with 14 others in company, all dress'd like countrymen, with pistols under their cloaths, drove a cart full of hay into the city at eight of the clock in the morning. Half of them were hidden under the hay in the cart, who in passing into the gate, the portcullis being let down at the halfway, discharg'd their pistols immediately, and kill'd the guard, giving notice to their other forces near at hand to advance to their assistance, with which they enter'd the city. The people both arm'd and unarm'd fled out at the other gates. The count DE ST. POL, governor of the province, was said to be wounded, but escap'd, his wife being left behind. "This accident, *says dr. HAWKYNs*, hath much increased the pride of the Spaniard, and disgraced the debauch'd French here in all places, even with those, who were before their best friends. I protest I am sorry and ashamed to hear the scorns given out against them, attending only their sports, called *Comedianti* out of Italy, sending embassies to Rome to perform idle complements. In the mean time the Spaniards conquer." The doctor observes, that the same stratagem had about 20 years before been used at Turin in Piedmont, in the wars betwixt France and Spain, but without success; for the French guard then gaging the cart of hay with their halberds, and drawing out blood, the design was discover'd, and the Spaniards conceal'd cut in pieces. He adds, that he understood, that there was newly come out of England father BALDWIN, a jesuit, and that there was going thither one SKIDMORE, a priest.

The earl of Essex, about this time, receiv'd a packet of secret intelligence relating to the designs of Spain; the writer of which appears from the indorsement to have been father CECIL, the priest, who had been employ'd by the Scots popish earls at the court of Madrid.

^a Vol. XV. fol. 42.

The intelligencer observes ^b, that the project of carrying two great personages out of England was first communicated to him in Scotland by father GORDON, uncle to the earl of HUNTLEY, who affirm'd, that lady ARABELLA STUART was shortly to be convey'd to Spain; and that he coming afterwards into that kingdom, met there capt. NORTH newly arrived, to treat of that affair, affirming, that she was inclined to it, and that her common speech was, that she thought no match in England good enough for her; and that he had commission from her to negotiate with foreign princes, as he did, before he came to Rome or Spain, in Germany with the archduke ALBERT, CHARLES's son, upon whose towardness the hope of the whole house of Austria relied.

The second proffer or attempt was made by one SAKILL, a northern man, for the conveyance away of the eldest of the late earl of Derby's ^c daughters. He pass'd likewise by Scotland, and was well receiv'd and heard in Italy, not that the enemy intended, as the intelligencer could collect, any way to favour or further these pretenders, if they had possession of their persons, but by them to fortify their own title, to lessen the number of antagonists, and to reserve them *in omnem eventum*, in case their own cord should fail them.

This SAKILL was some time with the lord treasurer, to deal for the earl of Westmoreland, and FRANCIS DACRES, who being discontented sought a composition at home. He made the matter of conveying away the lady so easy, and the means and friends he had so evident, that he was credited.

“ While you were at Cadiz, *says the intelligencer*, they were once in a mind to
 “ have sent me to have dealt with your honour upon such heads, as one ANT.
 “ ROLSTON was, by means of ANT. STANDEN, dispatch'd some three months be-
 “ fore to have made his entrance and treated with your lordship. And the heads
 “ were, 1. To see, if you could be induced to hear or confer with some famous
 “ man in matters of religion. 2. To see, if you could be brought to favour the
 “ infanta's title, as the most plausible, with promise and proffer and assurance of
 “ such sums, rewards, or conditions, as your self should set down. 3. To see
 “ and feel, if with the exchange of Calais with Flushing things might be drawn
 “ to terms of peace. This ANT. ROLSTON was likewise to sound my lord admiral
 “ and the earl of Shrewsbury, if any hope had been offer'd of prevailing.

The conditions, which the Adelantado stood upon before he would accept of the charge, were,

1. To be free from the visit of the Alcade ARMENTURAS, who had already condemn'd him in 100,000 crowns, and still follow'd his visit.

^b Vol. X. fol. 51. and XV. fol. 57.

ANNE, the eldest, being married afterwards to

^c FERDINAND, earl of Derby, who died April the 10th 1594; and left three daughters his heirs, GREY BRIDGES lord Chandos.

2. Not to have his hands tied, but to have absolute commiffion to fight or fly, to land or fortify at his pleasure.

3. To have always a year's provifion before hand, that his foldiers might live of their pay, and not their prey.

4. To go fo ftrong, that he need not fear foes, nor care for friends.

5. In particular, that he fhould have 80000 men and 200 fhips.

The account given by father PARSONS concerning the book of the fucceffion was,

1. That he had receiv'd above 300 letters out of England in applaufe and approbation of that book.

2. That the lord chief juftice found in the book nothing feditious or treasonable, and fo difmifs'd the merchants, who had brought in the copies of it.

3. That the catholics, after the books once feen, made fearch in the tower, and found certain records confirming greatly the exceptions againft CATHARINE SWYNFORD's iffue.

4. That dr. STAPLETON offer'd to defend the book with his tongue and pen.

The points neceffary for accompanying the army were,

1. To create an English cardinal, which, if their plot fhould fucceed, would be PARSONS.

2. To make fir WILLIAM STANLEY marquis, and STILLINGTON and fuch others, as were their confidants, prelates, to carry the more authority in England.

3. To publifh two books, the one intituled, *The Declaration of the King of Spain's Intention*; the fecond, *A Reformation of Imperfections, as well in matters of Eftate, as of Religion in England*.

The fubject of the book of *Declaration* was to be,

That the king of Spain's intention was not any way to annex England to the crown of that kingdom, but that he would leave the election to a free parliament, which he doubted not, confidering the commodities, that might arife thereby to England, would conclude upon the infanta.

That he would feek no revenge of injuries paff but upon fome few, who had difturb'd chriftendom.

That the nobility be preserv'd, honour'd and advanc'd to the antient ranks and dignity.

That the cities and communities enjoy their old privileges.

That nothing be altered of the laws and form of government, but to inlarge their privileges.

That the merchants should have the same liberties in the Indies and all his kingdoms, as his natural subjects.

That whoever should absent himself, fly, pass to his party, or being in the contrary party, could give sufficient reason thereof, should not be prejudiced either in goods or possessions, or estates.

That whoever should withstand the enterprise, their estates should pass to the next of kin, which should favour it.

That he would give satisfaction to all the pretenders.

That to those, who should pass over to his party, if they were on foot, he would give horses; if they were captains, he would make them colonels; if they had castles, he would give them towns, &c.

To make the pope and princes of Italy capable of this project, it was in deliberation, that either CRESWELL or PARSONS should go to Rome; and the choice had fallen since upon the latter.

The subject of the book of *Reformation*, was,

A general reformation to be proposed in the first parliament of all estates, especially of the errors committed in queen MARY's reign.

Universities to be erected in every diocese.

A form how to draw men to the catholic religion, without compulsion or inquisition, by conference, preaching, and good example.

A form to deal with schismatics, not to trust or admit them to government before they had made the spiritual exercise.

How to deal and dispense with those, who had church-livings.

The order of admitting other religions :

How to induce the reformation, that AVILA and others fought in the council of Trent,

Trent, which the corruptness of that age would not admit, but might be brought into England at that time.

The persons most employ'd and advis'd with in Spain in that affair, were,

Padre ANTONIO PADILLA, who resign'd the post of Adelantado, and became a jesuit; Padre CECILIA, suppos'd a bastard son of the king, and father PARSONS, and, in his absence, father CRESWELL.

The Adelantado, a man devoted altogether to the designs of the jesuits, so that having him for general, they fear'd not the rest.

Father PARSONS dealt now immediately with the king by JUAN RUYS DE VELASCO, master of the requests, and not by don JUAN DE IDIAQUES, as he was used to do. The king was informed, that he had two nephews with the earl of Essex at Cadiz, of which he desired to be satisfied.

The jesuits feared greatly the count DE FUENTES, lest he should be joined in commission with the Adelantado, or put him out.

A note of such letters, as the intelligencer had for matters of Scotland.

Divers of the letters of the laird PURY OGLEBY, agent of the king of Scotland, written from Madrid, approving his negotiation there.

Letters to all noblemen of Scotland for his [the intelligencer's] credit.

The instructions of the noblemen of Scotland for his negotiation.

A letter of the earl of Angus, sent to him by PURY OGLEBY.

A letter from sir FRANCIS ENGLEFIELD, written from Madrid.

Instructions of CRESWELL's to Rome.

A note of PARSONS's hand to HAD: in Rome.

The alphabet of the noblemen of Scotland, and cyphered names.

A copy of the noblemens letters to the king of Spain.

A copy of a letter written to don JUAN DE IDIAQUES by F. R.

The persons, whom father PARSONS most used and relied upon, were,

In Spain, sir FRANCIS ENGLEFIELD, father CRESWELL in Madrid.

In Lisbon, father FOSTER and dr. STILLINGTON: in Seville, MARTIN, ARRAYE and WALPOLE: in St. Lucar, father SEABRIGHT and THOMAS JAMES.

In Flanders, mr. OWEN, father HOLT, and sir WILLIAM STANLEY.

In Rome, mr. BAYNES and mr. HADDOCK.

In England, father GARNET, father GARRET, father HOLBY, father LISTER, NELSON, HOLDCORNE, STANNYE:

In Valladolid, father TANKARD.

Capt. CISNERAS had a habit of St. JAMES bestowed upon him for the good news, which he brought from the rebels in Ireland, with whom he left some money, and instructions to dissemble and make proffer of compositions, till succours should come, in case they found themselves overpressed.

“ A note of service which may be done by the way of Scotland.

“ If your honour think it of importance, I dare undertake to bring the most of
 “ the nobility catholic, or that way inclined, to band with her majesty against all
 “ foreigners, and to discover whom you may rely upon, and whom not. Whereas
 “ there are sent by the king of Spain men of purpose into Italy, to persuade the
 “ pope and other princes there of the plaufibility and probability of this intended
 “ action of Spain for the infanta and cardinal, they may be brought to send some
 “ men of importance to except against it, and shew the absurdity and injustice
 “ thereof. Or if your honour think it of more importance to discover the time and
 “ quality of the enemies preparations, they may be easily induced to continue their
 “ correspondence in Spain, to send a bark of purpose to Lisbon to the general, who
 “ is acquainted with that negotiation; and that bark may either attend till the army
 “ be near departure, or return sooner, as your honour shall think most expedient,
 “ with the particular relation of the whole army. A man may likewise, for greater
 “ expedition, be sent over land to the same effect.

“ By some of these gentlemen of Scotland I doubt not likewise, by means of the
 “ affinity they have in Ireland, to work the like aversion in them towards matters
 “ of Spain.”

Mr. NAUNTON in a letter to the earl of Essex from Paris of the 22d of March 1597* takes notice, that tho' he had been promis'd a perfect copy of the propositions, agreed upon by the parliament of Paris to be sent to the king, of which he had inclos'd a defective draught in his letter of the 14th; yet he now found his author more sollicitous, that the former might be concealed than enlarged by a new edition; so that he could only procure this one article, that his majesty would be

pleased not to consent to the selling for the future the posts of judicature, but to give them to men of merit, and capable of discharging them in a proper manner; the venality of all places arising from the avarice of eight or ten persons about his majesty.

Besides the instances of the constable, and the rest of the privy-council, both in their promis'd solicitations, and at the meeting agreed upon between the presidents of the parliament and them, the king's mistress now join'd them, in softening the rigour of the resolutions of that body against the chancellor and others; for which purpose she employed intreaties, flatteries, and even tears: in which it was hard to say, whether she dealt more officiously, out of regard to an aunt of hers, madam SOURDIS †, who had as near intelligence with the chancellor § as herself had with the king; or more artificially for her own particular, having reason, both from her long absence from the king, and the late libels thrown out against her at Paris, to be a little jealous of her own state; and therefore affecting to try what grace and interest she might promise herself from these precedents, and that in the cause of another person beforehand, against she might find a like occasion of using their favour more nearly for herself hereafter. Divers of those, over whom she presumed that she had most power, were personally visited, and so supplicantly importuned by her, that notwithstanding her application was at first taken for an indignity and high presumption, yet at last they were prevail'd upon to suspend their former violent and peremptory proceedings. After which she retired to her house at Monceaux.

The constable and the council of finances resided still at Paris, as well to continue the burghers in good terms of allegiance, as to furnish the king's multiplicity of wants.

The duke DE-MAYENNE was crossed the Seine to the Augustinian monks, to prepare himself for his Easter devotions, and from thence pretended to go to his aunt DE NEMOURS, as if he made a conscience of it not to pursue the Spaniards to death during that holy season.

The king was still in and about his camp, where the greatest engine and artillery, which he had left to carry on the war with, seem'd to be nothing but false fires, and rumours without truth, as it were powder without bullets.

Since the news of Metz, which appeared to be only a tale to entertain the world with for a day, there were come divers reports of a second enterprize against Amiens *. And still the Spaniards were made the midwives, and so all the designs proved abortive. This want of secrecy had been endeavoured to be remedied by giving out false projects among the true. But the Spaniards were too cunning not to distinguish them, and the intension of Arras from the pretence of Dourlens;

† ISABELLA BABEU, wife of FRANCIS D'ESCOUBEAU marquis de Sourdis, and aunt of GABRIELLE D'ESTREES, the king's mistress.

§ See L'ESTOILE, journal d'HENRY IV. tom. II.

p. 133 & 203, 204.

* The king endeavoured to surprise that city on the 26th of March N. S. METEREN, fol.

400.

so that still prevented all success on the king's part. It was said, that the king had the last week approached Arras with 30,000 men, and thinking to have made his entry in the night by the use of three petards, two of them failed, and the third only gave the enemy an alarm. This enterprize was too old in intention, and too slow in execution, to be either undiscovered by the enemy, or succeed with the French. It had been treated of a good while before with the English by the unfortunate count DE ST. POL, who, while he was so busy about surprising another town, lost his own. In the mean time the king by this digressing from his design against Amiens, had wearied his troops, and convinced both his friends and enemies of his despair of being able to recover his loss soon. "And that, *says* *mr.* NAUNTON, "which hurteth him not a little, still his old Nemesis doth apparently attend him in "all his purposes, and gives all his lookers-on occasion to observe, that since he "forsook God's truth, these his idol-gods of fortune and victory, which he now "seems only to adore, have forsaken him and all his enterprizes."

The protestants lay in the wind, hovering aloof, still attending their own surer advantage, when it should offer. They were not at all forward to spend their strength upon the Spaniards; so that whichever of the two should be defeated, the king might account it his own gain with the self same affection, which he was surmised to hold between the Spaniards and the English auxiliaries, as jealous, that first or last they would like to part his coat between them. The protestants therefore kept their forces entire, presuming, that the war with the Spaniards, and the under-factions among the French catholics themselves, would so weaken and wear them out by little and little, that themselves should in the mean while grow to be the strongest, and beat both the others at last. Their only want was a sure and absolute head: and if they could but get the young prince of Condé into their hands, they would make small doubt of his religion, notwithstanding his forced education for the present, and his mother's late disconformity. Some of them said, that they would yet wait for the king's death (whom they alledged to have a charter for his life) or till Paris should become a frontier town, or at least till the harvest should be well ripened in the field to bait their horses with. They inveighed bitterly against the legate and the king's mistress, declaring, that the two cardinals made but a gain of France between them, and that the Spaniard employed her for a CIRCE to transform the king, or rather for a DALILAH to bewitch their SAMSON, while the Philistines encroached upon him.

The coming of the duke DE BOUILLON to Paris, tho' he was said to be expected there within a month after *mr.* NAUNTON's arrival, was still postponed, and uncertain; and in the mean time the count MAULEVRIER took upon himself the style of BOUILLON, the duke himself not greatly opposing it, and the constable not obscurely favouring it.

The catholics were at such a loss between the Spaniards and the protestants, that their great towns, which at first were so fond of a civil war, found themselves so intangled with factions, and so troubled with causes of diffidence, that they did not well know what way to turn themselves, except that the consciousness of their own massacres inclined them to expect more mercy at the hands of the Spaniards than of

the protestants, if the latter should prevail. The former they might trust after a sort (tho' that with no greater assurance than many of them at Amiens did :) the latter they could not, any more than the other could them. The catholics began now to be more and more apprehensive of the protestants, seeing their party so mightily increase daily, and that without any intestine division hitherto; which entireness, if it should hold out among them, would make them masters of France before long, unless their antagonists should take some better order in time, than yet they were likely to agree upon.

ANTONIO PEREZ was not a little affrighted with these continual disasters of the king, one falling thus upon the neck of another. He said, that his only hope of his majesty was in some sudden and tumultuary conflict, in which his experience and fortune reigned most. But for any advised plot to be put in execution after mature deliberation, he utterly despair'd, on account both of the king's own personal unfitness, and of the suspicion of the secrecy and faithfulness of his followers. This distrust of ANTONIO's of his state in France had heightened his zeal to England to such a degree, that he had confess'd to an English protestant, that disburthening his conscience lately in that season of lent, whether it were a mortal sin for him to traffic intelligence with England (which he took for his own proper function and vocation) he was at length resolved by his Italian confessor, with this distinction, that in respect of his desire of revenge on his hard master's part, he sinned grievously; but as being a counsellor to the French king, he sought the assuring and strengthening of his majesty's estate, and, as a catholic, the universal good of Europe, since the end of every action was to be considered, his intelligence with the heretical states thus intended was not only lawful, but highly meritorious. "But to leave, *says mr.* NAUNTON, the depths of his religion, whatsoever his devotion be to GOD-ward, I am resolved he wisheth it might be so meritorious toward England, as when his fortunes in France shall fail him, he might be welcome thither. He was in hand with me to write to your lordship, that whereas he had set some at work (I guess it to be sig. JACOMO MARENCO) to play the mannerly beggar for some *aiuto de costa* out of England, wherewith to settle himself in a counsellor's furniture here, &c. he was now resolving to alter that favour into one of a diverse nature for his safe transporting thither, when occasion should require. I answered him, that as I was too bashful a beggar on the one side to take upon me to present requests; so I was to make a conscience of it on the other side, not to become so prejudicial an instrument to hinder the fruit of other mens labours, especially being so persuaded as I was, that this latter part of his motion, was no likelier to take place, in respect of your lordship's likelihood to be employed abroad in these stirring times, which I saw by his late experience how it would disadvantage him there, &c. But all I can alledge beside will take no such place, as my putting him still over to sig. JACOMO MARENCO's so long expected return."

Mr. NAUNTON in his next letter to the earl from Paris of the 26th of March, 1597^a, observed, that the king had at length relented from his unseasonably stiff resolution against soliciting for more succours out of England, and would still

^a Vol. XV. fol. 48.

practise the desperate debtor's advantage to draw on the queen to credit him yet farther, with the hope by this last adventuring a little more to recover the whole debt already past. Whether this new obligation was to be accepted for a sufficient surety for a discharge of the old, or rather to be thought likely enough to bring another like pledge for assuring of itself hereafter, would undoubtedly be discuss'd in England. But it must still be taken for the best pawn of his thankful correspondence, which now in these extremities he could lay in, that he would yet vouchsafe in his constant kindness, notwithstanding some late unkind repulses, *cui multum debeat, eidem plurimum velle debere.*

If mons. DE FOUQUEROLLES, sent by the French king to England, took his course immediately from the army thither, he would necessarily arrive there before this letter of mr. NAUNTON, who however thought proper to acquaint the earl with what he could learn concerning him by this first opportunity.

There was arrived GIL DE MESA newly come from him at the camp, who in process of speech told him plainly, that he would obtain nothing to any purpose out of England, unless he had an ample commission to make offer of some real assurance and satisfaction. "What real assurance, *said mons. DE FOUQUEROLLES* ; " and of what offers ? " Marry, answer'd GIL, *you must tender them Calais, or Boulogne, or some other coast-town at least, that shall be fit for them ; or else your journey is lost.* Hereupon mons. DE FOUQUEROLLES mistaking him, as it should seem, by GIL's formerly taking upon him as a man of near intelligence with the court of England, offered to make him good 10,000 crowns at the first word, if he could procure, that for the offer of Calais her majesty would assist the king his master thoroughly, as with some 1000 men, or any thing proportionable to his present wants. So fond they thought the English to be of the very name of Calais, as to be willing to buy the bare title of it so dear, besides the after-reckoning for getting the possession. ANTONIO PEREZ in a manner ridiculed these dilatory and oblique proceedings of the French, which were contrary to his own opinion, who would have had them make their application directly ; and he presum'd, that mons. DE FOUQUEROLLES had no instructions at all of warrant to assure any condition of importance, but only, after the French fashion, to give a glimpse by the way of some gay matter, which they imagined the English would be captivated with. But ANTONIO concluded against them, that they had taken the wrong way, after he had attempted to set them in the right ; and that mons. DE FOUQUEROLLES would return empty ; since, as he observed, whatever they should offer, if it were any thing at all, the queen would be sure to stand upon the exacting of more, presuming, that they would bid less at the first than they would be content to give in the end, and rather than fail : whereas if their offer lay in Calais, mr. NAUNTON doubted, that their first offer would be more than any performance of theirs would be able to make good, their deed of gift otherwise being no better than of a bird flying in the air, to take it, if they could catch it.

The duke D'ESPERNON was lately arrived at Paris, who at his departure from the camp had been twice or thrice desired by the king to give his faithful advice, what course should be taken in that exigence of affairs, before he could be prevailed

upon to give his opinion, but at last wished his majesty to think and consider of these three particulars: first, that he would be content to sit by his business himself, and determine of all matters more deliberately, resting himself, and grounding his principal actions, on his own judgment, rather than to dance, flinging up and down, as he did, after other mens whistles. The next was, that he would look more nearly into the dealings of his officers, whom he put in trust, and survey how far their courses respected his affairs and proceedings, and learn to value his own true strength, what monies and forces he was able to raise, by what means, and in what time. The third point was, what proportion of strength would be now requisite for him to employ; which, in the duke's opinion, considering the important business then in hand, could be no less than 20,000 foot and 4000 horse. And for his own part, tho' he were no monied man himself (notwithstanding mr. NAUNTON knew where his secretary said in secret, that he had always 100,000 crowns ready by him for any sudden occasion) yet he had 200,000 crowns value in jewels, and was very soon to receive 50,000 crowns in coin for a sale, which he had already made; of all which he made offer to the king's use, if he would pursue his affairs with full vigour and without any delay. The king gave him thanks, and that in pretence much more for his good advice, which he promised to determine upon very seriously, than for the loan, which he offered. Yet he requested him to reserve that treasure ready for him, assuring him of this farther by way of favour, that he would be forward to use his aid in that kind also as soon as any other man's, when his need should require.

The old design of invading Arragon was now revived, at least in discourse. But when it should grow to any likelihood in execution, there was a great difficulty made how to yoke and couple a sort of foxes to draw all one way, that is, how to combine the governors of those adjacent places, the constable, the marshal DE MATIGNON, and the dukes of JOYEUSE and ESPERNON, to join in the same enterprize; of all which four there was not one, who could bear to hear the mention, that his own forces should be employed and hazarded under the conduct of any one of his neighbourhood, or indeed of any other than himself. From this the king might form a judgment of the disposition of all his great men, as well with regard to their mutual diffidence of each other, as their nearer care to keep every man his own strength entire to himself, being intent upon every sudden alteration, which they expected every day should produce in the state, nothing being wanting but the beginning.

The king was said at the camp to be come towards Beauvais, to treat with his council, which were still at Paris. But it was muttered, that he was stealing from his business during that holy time to visit his mistress, who was now suspected to have retired to Monceaux, that he might bury his pleasures with less scandal. *Nunquam ita ad curas intento Vitellio, ut voluptates interim obliviscatur.*

There were arrived letters that evening from JACOMO MARENCO, mentioning only his arrival at Roan, and the earl of Essex's honourable treatment of him; and referring all other particulars till his coming to Paris, which he promised should be

be immediately after his Easter solemnities at Roan. In the mean time ANTONIO PEREZ could dream of nothing but him, and had sent one of his lacqueys already to hasten him. He was exceedingly melancholly for not hearing from him so long, and began to doubt, whether MARENCO would return yet into France on account of its troubles; and upon that to think of transporting himself to England too, out of jealousy, that his friend had prevented his good fortune there. But now he conceiv'd a special contentment from this very first intimation of JACOMO MARENCO's reception in England, and hoped to receive by him some satisfactory resolution concerning those many scruples, that had troubled him for a long time.

Mr. NAUNTON had intended to have sent away this letter on Easter-day in the morning by the English embassador's messenger, who departing of a sudden without them, he drew up on the 28th of March a postscript^b, in which he mentions, that ANTONIO PEREZ had since heard, that monf. DE FOUQUEROLLES lay close for two or three days in his house to furnish himself for his voyage; and had an absolute commission to assure the French king's consent and assistance for the recovery of Calais to the English. Hereupon ANTONIO had conferr'd with monf. DE SANCY, his friend, as well by conference as writing, who join'd with him in misliking that course of the king, as conceived suddenly by himself, without the privity of any of his council, except monf. DE VILLEROY, who might be willing enough, that the motion should take no place in England. Monf. DE SANCY now acknowledged, that the counsel, which ANTONIO had given him and the constable upon the first surprize of Amiens, and with which mr. NAUNTON had acquainted the earl of Essex, was much better than the course now taken; and concurr'd in opinion with him, that either the offer of Calais must be prosecuted by his lordship's good management and address, or else that the king's enemies in England would easily persuade the queen to the contrary by insisting upon greater demands; and so both the time and this whole offer would be lost, besides the occasion of doing all that good to the general cause, which might follow from it, if it were timely entertained. Monf. DE SANCY therefore had desired ANTONIO to write this advice to the king of staying that offer, till the earl should have beforehand prepared her majesty to accept of it, as if it were to be wrung out of the French by his lordship's special persuasions to be now urged in this extremity of their state: otherwise his lordship himself could not greatly favour the motion, because it would not be heard of in France, when he had propounded it, and now was propounded by them without his privity. The constable was likewise of the same mind, and they both intreated ANTONIO to write to the same effect to the king by monf. CLIVERY, who was to go directly to him the next morning. Mr. NAUNTON inclosed to the earl a copy of monf. DE SANCY's letter to ANTONIO, which the latter desired might be kept secret from the knowledge of all his jealous friends in France. ANTONIO's letter to the king was a plain frank one of advice, in which there was much concerning the earl, and of which he promised to send a copy to his lordship by his own lacquey immediately after MARENCO's arrival at Paris. And if it should happen, that monf. DE FOUQUEROLLES should reach England before the king could alter the latter part of his instructions, ANTONIO was desirous, that his lordship

should deal with monf. DE FOUQUEROLLES in the mean time not to be too hasty in opening the utmost offer, which he had commission to make, till either he should receive some second advices from the king his master, or at least till his lordship should have prepared the queen, that they might work the better with her, *quam interdum fallendam esse mordicus tenet, tanquam qui scitè calleat ingenia & principum & fœminarum*. He profess'd, that he was zealous in this point as much for the queen's good as the king's service, not affecting to diminish the king's utmost offer in the least, nor to alter the matter at all, but only to change the form, that it might give the greater perfection to the agreement propos'd. Mr. NAUNTON observes, that in his last letter he had written of that point like an Englishman, but in this like a secretary of ANTONIO : but that his lordship could best consider of all.

The dukes of ESPERNON and JOYEUSE were at length agreed to make the king an offer to pursue the enterprize against Arragon at their own charge, without demanding a scute out of his coffers. But the constable was wholly in the opposite; his reasons for it being supposed different by different men.

It was said, that LAVARINA was preparing a lodging for the king at Monceaux : but since upon some indisposition this spring-time he was let blood in his way thither at Pequigny, where the very same night, upon a false report, that the Spanish forces were coming to relieve Amiens, he mounted himself with his lame arm, and marshal DE BIRON with all his forces, to have encountred them, he was now entering into a course of physic for a fortnight at Beauvais, where his mistress was likely enough to be a piece of a nurse this resting time.

Three days after the date of this postscript, on the 31st of March 1597, mr. NAUNTON wrote another letter from Paris to the earl^c, informing him, that JACOMO MARENCO arrived there the night before with his lordship's letters to ANTONIO PEREZ, sig. GONDI, and himself; and thanking him for the encouragement, which he had received by his lordship's letter of the 15th, inserted above. He then remarks, that he should have enough to do to express ANTONIO, as it were to paint PROTEUS, who before a man could pourtray him all at length in any one likeness, would still transform himself into another. In his last letter he had written of ANTONIO's affectation to alter monf. DE FOUQUEROLLES's instructions, and of his letter to the king to that effect; and it was probable, that he could have been content with that employment himself. He told his majesty, that monf. DE FOUQUEROLLES said of himself, that he doubted, that he should not prove the welcomest man, whom the king might have sent, by reason of some displeasing offices to the queen, which he had treated in the Low Countries. He took upon him likewise in the same letter to the king to be half discontent, that his majesty would resolve upon such a message without the earl's and his own privity, this whole counsel being originally his. At monf. FORSE's departure from Paris towards the court, whom he had made choice of instead of monf. CLIVERY to carry his letters, he told him, that he perceived at length, that his place of counsellor was only thrust upon him *tanquam pro compede*, to hold him out of England; an apprehension, which it was wonderful

how it had escaped him so long, since mr. NAUNTON had half suspected such a matter by his guard of Swiss, when they were at Roan. However ANTONIO said, that it made all for his honour and the reputation of his judgment, if in these unsuccessful proceedings it should be known, and even felt, that his advices were not used. He made mr. NAUNTON thus far of his council, that he threw out these punctilious speeches beforehand, of purpose, that if he should hereafter find occasion to give the French the slip, they might not think it strange, as a sudden, miraculous, and necromantical transportation, as he term'd it. In this mind he was upon Tuesday, as a man then wholly ravished with the love of England, upon the glimmering light, which he then had concerning MARENCO's good entertainment there; upon whose arrival now at Paris, mr. NAUNTON went to ANTONIO, whom he expected to have found full of joy, but was extremely disappointed in it. For ANTONIO took great exception against any man's privacy to the sending of any attendant to him, and was ready to reproach mr. NAUNTON for not having written so particularly as he should, concerning the age, secrecy, and the manner of the party's recommendation to him. And he conceived both from MARENCO's conference with mr. ANTHONY BACON and sig. BASADONNA's letters, that there was one intended towards him, who should be to him, as mr. NAUNTON had been. This he could not take well, first as a kind of publication and prostitution of him, *tanquam patentis meretricis, quæ publice excipiat lenones*. He represented, that it stood not with the opinion of his antient loyalty and wisdom, that he, who had lived so long in place in his own country always untouch'd with this note of foreign intelligences, should now, being a stranger in France, envied and perhaps suspected, become a *servus servorum* to live in other mens powers and continual danger of being betrayed. He then descended into a deep apprehension, that if mr. NAUNTON had written in such a manner, as the latter assured he had, some of those, who did not love him, had plotted this to draw that gentleman from him, as one, who would not be untrue to him, and to substitute some other in his place, who should be the instrument of his ruin. Mr. NAUNTON acknowledged, that this confidence of his was a special obligation of his own due correspondence to it; but told him, that he thought him in that point a little too suspicious; since it was well known in England as well as to himself, that “ notwithstanding my promise, *says mr. NAUNTON,* “ to resort still, as I do, unto him between whiles, till he were better furnished; “ yet I could not be always about him; and therefore no reason any man should “ seek to remove me from him, whom howsoever my devotion to him and his “ favour towards me had all this while, and still would make loth to depart from, “ yet they knew I was to go at length. And for the other part, I disputed it out “ of his concessions, that if he would needs have it so, that your lordship's love “ to him had raised such degenerate emulations against him, as I could not think; “ yet he was to assure himself, that the same love of your lordship towards him “ must needs have more care of his safety and assurance, than that the supposed malice “ of any could undermine such grounds, as your lordship should warrant unto him “ to stand upon. I told him farther, that in my conceit it would be fitter for him “ to have one, that should not be too much a yonker; for his reason of less malignity “ in that age was accompanied with less wit also, and that he might be much more “ easily circumvented by others, that might practise upon the simplicity or uncir- “ cumpection of them he should put in trust, than by his attendants themselves,

“ had

“ had they never so much wit and never so little honesty. And if he would have
 “ such innocents about him, which he might use as conjurers do their young
 “ children, yet he could have none able to pass to and fro with his letters, but they
 “ would first or last learn to know the weight of their carriage, unless he would
 “ renew the old device of sending by dogs and hares, which would be hard for
 “ him to employ over the sea.”

But after all that mr. NAUNTON could alledge, ANTONIO would still be precise in the genius and temper of this new messenger, who must be just wise enough, and not a dram too much so; which, mr. NAUNTON told him, it would be very difficult for the earl to find.

The next exception of ANTONIO, which indeed deserved the first place, was against his lordship's silence to a short begging letter of his, which he had sent inclosed in a packet of mr. NAUNTON's from Roan about the 12th of January. He professed on Tuesday his contentment at his friend MARENCO's so liberal rewards to have been much greater, than if he had received twenty times as much himself; and that it alone would now satisfy him, tho' he had nothing at all sent in return to his own demands. But it now appeared, that he was then deceived by an account of his lacquey, who had told him, that MARENCO had brought over two great hampers of stuff with him, one of which was his own, and the other for a friend of his, which ANTONIO concluded to be for himself, tho' it proved to be a merchant's; in the strength of which conceit he triumphed so much, that he could not forbear mentioning in his letter to the king, that MARENCO was returned to Roan *cum præmiis amplis & opimis ex Angliâ*, before he knew any thing particularly what he had really brought. Mr. NAUNTON thought then, that the forwardness of his affection and good nature somewhat anticipated his judgment in thus exciting the king's jealousy against both himself and his friend: but he was obliged, upon that as well as all other occasions, to restrain himself from advising him contrary to the vein of his present humour, while it reigned, unless he were invited by him, as he was sometimes, to such a freedom, and that for fear of seeming to assume a greater wisdom to himself than might be borne in his scholar: and he now saw, that if he had interposed his opinion in this point, ANTONIO would peremptorily have inferred, that mr. NAUNTON had been informed by some nearer correspondence underhand, that nothing was coming for him. For he had since urged him particularly to certify him directly, whether the earl had not signified to him any manner of unwillingness to hear of any such motion, which mr. NAUNTON might be loth to tell him unask'd, out of love to him, and doubt of discontenting him thereby. He seemed the more inclined to this suspicion from BASADONNA's suggestion to him, that whereas at his first motion for the redeeming of his children, he found the earl forward to it of his own inclination, he afterwards, when he moved him again in the same matter, discovered a less disposition to it in his lordship; which notwithstanding his letters would excuse, as more conformable to the inclination of some other person than of his lordship. ANTONIO sometimes said, that this request of his did not succeed, because he had not recommended it to another man's intimation, who perhaps having intercepted those letters might cross him merely on that account. Sometimes he presumed the earl's secrecy therein to be so deep, that he would not
 trust

trust MARENCO with the knowledge of it. This was the conceit, which for the time mr. NAUNTON saw best to help forward what he could, telling ANTONIO what a satisfaction PHILIP DE COMMINES takes in his memoirs to tax most of king EDWARD IV.'s council for being pensioners to LEWIS XI. On the other hand, MARENCO carried the matter so, that if ANTONIO had not seen the earl's letter to him, he should have surmised, that MARENCO and mr. NAUNTON had buried the secret between them, without imparting it to him, concluding, that his lordship, who had so bountifully treated MARENCO, who ask'd nothing, would undoubtedly have shewn a proportionably greater regard for him, out of love to him, and respect to his rank and merit, especially as he did his lordship the honour of demanding it at his hands, in which he had equall'd the earl alone of all men living with God himself. So that in the humour, in which he then was, if a man saw cause to excite a quarrel between ANTONIO and MARENCO, it would have been no hard matter to persuade the former, that the latter had dealt so with him, as to intercept the relief, which he seemed to have had instructions to solicit for ANTONIO. For mr. NAUNTON could not imagine what other mediator in that affair ANTONIO could employ, having protested to him, as a demonstration of his singular confidence in him, that he could trust neither BASADONNA nor any other with it, but him. And when he had alledg'd, in order to engage mr. NAUNTON to solicit for him, the earl's charge to his servant GODFREY ALEYN, that he could not please his lordship better, than by advertising him, without ANTONIO's knowledge, when he saw him in any want, mr. NAUNTON shewed himself, notwithstanding both precept and example, still dull in conceiving that means of making himself acceptable; and being farther press'd, was forced to distinguish between ANTONIO's state then being scant, tho' a pensioner to the king, and now being a counsellor; and between ALEYN, who had received such a charge, and himself, who had not. So that in conclusion ANTONIO could obtain no more of him than to inclose his own letters, and to give some glance at their contents; which, as far as he remembered, he had not failed to do.

All this conflict mr. NAUNTON should have then set down at one time, but that he saw his letters grown into such a length with other matters, that he was ashamed to extend them farther with such impertinencies. “ And now therefore, *says he*, “ I must be challenged for not having recorded all those his discourses, yea tho' I “ then detrected the undertaking of them, in which office alone of all others I have “ often told him that I should be likeliest to deceive his expectation, if he would “ needs expect it from me, whether I would or not; the multiplicity of them being “ so infinite, as were task enough for all the nine muses to register them, and too “ much for me, that have not one of all the nine. I have told him, that if simpli- “ city could be suspicious, I might well think his friend had prevented me in alledg- “ ing, that he was not trusted in this secret betwixt us, when it was much easier “ for them to conceal it from me, which I desired not to know therefore as from “ him, that was destinated both solicitor and porter of these glad tidings of peace, “ if they had come. All the spite was, that his *virginalis modestia in petendo* hath “ thus at length in his old days lost the maidenhead; which it hath kept so long, “ and yet no ISAAC begotten: *quod*, saith he, *fecisse, id doleo*; which your lordship is “ to take heed by the way how you take it in the letter. For mine oracle expounded

“ itself unto me, that it is *ambigüe dictum: sed virgo noster, postquam vestem illam*
 “ *interiorem semel exuit, omni pudore simul exuto, tandem instare. & urgere voluit.*
 “ He would therefore needs send such a bearer, as should resolve him both of the
 “ deliverance of his letters, and their answer. The plain truth is, he is taking up
 “ of a new lodging in Paris, and would be glad of some two or three hundred
 “ pounds in plate and chamber furniture, as hangings, a fair bed, and such like,
 “ to set himself out somewhat more counsellor-like than his *aiudas de costa* in this
 “ French court will yet afford him. For mine own part, I have delayed his impor-
 “ tunity all I could, in hope of the 2000 crowns assigned unto him extraordinary.
 “ But I now see, that these delays have nothing cloy’d his appetite, but increas’d
 “ his emptiness *usque dum oblatret etiam stomachus.* All the fault I must take upon me,
 “ being cited with his writ of *Audi Nauntonum*; which must be warrant enough
 “ for me to write whatsoever he will have me. And if this bearer bring not some
 “ kind promise at least, I am threatned, that my *Pythia* will *Philippise* no longer;
 “ and so my conduit-head being stop’d, *ego rivulus exarescam protinus necesse est.*”
 Mr. NAUNTON added in the postscript, that he doubted not, but that within forty-
 eight hours after this ecstasy was over, ANTONIO would be of a different mind,
 and wish himself furnished with a more moveable supply, such as he might better
 carry about with him in those unsettled times; which however were not so unsettled
 as his resolution; and that a man must be more than a prophet to divine aright,
 what would best content him *pro futuris contingentibus.*

Monf. CASTOL, to whom the earl of Essex at mr. BACON’s request had given a
 letter of recommendation of him to monf. DE SANCY on the 20th of March ^a, wrote
 upon his arrival at Dieppe on the 25th to mr. BACON ^b, to acquaint him, that
 monf. DE FOUQUEROLLES was expected in his way to England: that the king
 had fail’d in a great design form’d against Arras, under the conduct of the duke
 D’ESPERNON ^{*}, who was blamed for not having provided scaling-ladders, or petards,
 or any other things proper for the surprising of a town. That the regiment of
 Navarre had suffered extremely: that this ill accident discovered a great deal of
 corruption: that the jesuits of Brussels had hired a goldsmith of Paris to kill the
 king: that it was written by several persons from Caen, that certain priests there had
 set fire to the place, where the protestants performed their worship, and burnt several
 little houses adjoining to it; and justice being demanded of monf. VERONNE, he
 died not without suspicion of poison four days after. The lieutenant being appre-
 hensive of some change, sent for some of the English soldiers from the castle for
 the defence of the town. FONTAINE MARTEL was prisoner at Roan, as likewise
 the brother of the lord LINDSEY of Scotland in the citadel.

The unsuccessful attempt upon Arras on the 16th of March N. S. furnished an
 occasion to sir THOMAS BASKERVILLE, who had given the earl of Essex an account
 of the surprize of Amiens, to write to his lordship another letter †, in which he
 observes, that the French king having pass’d the river of Somme with an army of

^a Vol. X. fol. 120.

^b Vol. XV. fol. 39.

^{*} Histoire de la vie du duc D’ESPERNON, par

monf. GIRARD, Tom. II. p. 174—177.

† Vol. XV. fol. 106.

5000 foot and 500 horse, consisting of 1200 of the English, the regiment of Picardy, and that of the states general, his guard and the Swifs, design'd with them to have taken Arras, which he would undoubtedly have done, if he had been sufficiently provided with the necessaries for it. The order of the attack was divided into two heads; the one led on by the marshal DE BIRON, the other by the duke D' ESPERNON, with whom were sir THOMAS BASKERVILLE and the English. On the one side they gain'd a false port and a drawn bridge; but the port-cullis being fallen stopp'd their farther attempt; neither could any of their petards make any breach upon it, because the powder found passage thro' the grills, which want of resistance made that engine to have no force; and they had no other provision but the force of their arms. On the marshal DE BIRON's side the attempt had the same ill success; for both parties having the like wants, were obliged to retire. But it was not to be doubted, that the place had been carried, if the troops had been divided into more heads, and given a general escalado. "For I never saw, *says sir THOMAS*,
 "any place in greater fear, nor less resistance for the space of two great hours.
 "We lost not above eighty or an hundred men, and some six or seven score hurt.
 "With this we are retired, and here we lie upon the villages between Amiens and
 "Dourlens, only, as I think, rather to satisfy this people, who are infinitely amaz'd,
 "than for any other service. For undoubtedly the misery of this place will break
 "this army by the time the enemy will draw here; and then there will be a fair
 "entry into his country as far as Paris."

Upon the king's first coming into the army he told sir THOMAS, that now he resolv'd to make offer to her majesty of his town of Calais; and that he hoped his good sister would aid him to recover his loss both of men and munition; which if she refused, then of necessity he must be forced to think of peace. And to that end he said, he would immediately dispatch one to England, who had been delayed only upon this enterprize, but was now ready to go.

If the king had taken Arras, his intention was to have put it to ransom of 600,000 crowns, 200,000 of which he design'd to have distributed to his army; and the rest to have kept for the maintenance of the war. Which if he had effected, it seem'd probable, that he would not have troubled the queen any farther; for he hoped that place would have yielded both artillery and munition, with a considerable sum of money.

"Our nation, *adds sir THOMAS*, is so hateful to these great men, that are about
 "the king, I mean those of the league, that they seek to slander us to him what
 "they can; and every villainy committed by themselves they lay upon us. But I
 "have made the king to understand their malice, and likewise made them to excuse
 "themselves by laying the fault upon the report of others. I protest for myself
 "and us all, we are infinitely weary of this service; for I see neither hope of honour
 "nor benefit in it; serving amongst a nation so corrupted and so ungrateful. In
 "this army we have not one friend but only the marshal DE BIRON, whom we
 "find very respective to her majesty, and loving to her people, and in all these
 "speeches of peace he hath been most against them. If it would please her majesty

“ to take knowledge of as much, and to let him know how well she took his
 “ kindness, it were not amiss in my poor opinion.”

He subjoins in the postscript, that if it was the queen's pleasure to continue her forces there for a longer time, he desired the earl, that some town might be put into their hands, to which they might always send such, as should be hurt and sick, and where they might always leave their baggage, and retire themselves, when the army should break up. Otherwise they should be lodged in miserable villages, where there would be no means to keep the troops together.

Monf. CASTOL, immediately upon his arrival at Paris, wrote to mr. BACON * on the 10th of April 1597 N. S. to inform him, that there was nothing but disorder in the state of France; attended with an universal dread, and no kind of conduct. The king was at Beauvais with his mistress, in order, as was said, to go thro' a course of physic, being still bewitched with her to the general discontent of his people; and his council were desirous, that this should continue, that they might govern themselves. Monf. DE SANCY was not then at Paris, for which reason monf. CASTOL could not deliver the earl of Essex's letters to him. The constable had been some days before at the chamber of *Aides* to pass an edict for the payment to the king of the tenth of every thing, that should be sold. But upon the question made, how long this impost should continue, and how often levied, that is, whether as often as the same commodity should be sold and re-sold, and to what purposes the money thus raised should be employed, the prosecution of that demand was discontinued. The duke d'ESPERNON acted the chief man with the king and council; and by his means the reformed at Metz were deprived of the liberty of their religion, and the fine church, which they had built, condemn'd to be demolished. The duke DE BOUILLON, after having borrowed of the merchants of Sedan great sums of money, and squeez'd that city to the marrow, was retired with his wife into his own country, where he committed the same extortions, to the extreme dissatisfaction of every person. He left a governor only in Sedan, which was almost deserted. The duke DE MONTPENSIER had sold Jamets to the duke of Lorraine for 20,000 crowns; the consequence of which would be the exclusion of the protestant religion there. The count DE MAULEVRIER assumed the title of duke DE BOUILLON, and was called so in his family and by his friends; but the parliament would not admit it. Two advocates * were that day † executed, who had gone between the cardinal arch-duke and the duke DE MERCOEUR; and there were four prisoners condemn'd for designs against the king and state, and being in the interest of Spain. It was thought, that the army at the Groyne would make a descent in Poictou, and that the duke DE MERCOEUR only amused the king. The hope given by some of his council of a peace with Spain, which he had evidently relied upon, was the reason of the thorough contempt shewn to the alliance with England. Some expressions had been thrown out by him of allowing the English to recover Calais, as sir ANTHONY MILD MAY had before moved to him, which overture had been the occasion of their quarrel; but those expressions were since retracted.

* Vol. XV. fol. 79.

II. p. 349, 350.

* The sieur CHARPENTIER and DES LOGES. † April 10, 1597, N. S.
 L'ESTOILE, journal du regne d'HENRY IV. tom.

The lord HENRY HOWARD having composed a treatise of devotion, sent it to the archbishop of Canterbury with a letter on the 24th of March, 1597^d, requesting his grace to peruse and correct it, or to refer it to dr. ANDREWS, dr. BANCROFT, or some other learned person, for that purpose. “ Diversity of modes and humours, *says he*, in shaping forms of private prayers to their private ends without due regard to the main, which is the ground of faith, emboldens me to take this action in hand ; but yet with humble acknowledgment of mine own unworthiness to match those passages of holy writ in mystery, which are dispersed in the canon, otherwise than by your grace’s wisdom they shall be found to be consonant. I found some traces in the purest times and writers of the church, that might encourage me to take this course. I tasted by experience of private exercises for the space of many years, what comfort these proportions work in a faithful soul. Besides the liberty of vulgar doubts and atheistical objections, which are too rife and common in our days, made me conclude that course of private prayer to be most effectual and agreeable to the present time, which taught us to join knowledge with devotion, and with one labour both to make us pray, and teach us how to believe in that eternal power, which our hearts pray unto. I make no question, but that by daily exercises of ordinary weapons we shall grow more able to confound that monster misbelief, which with open throat devoureth naked souls, and by the disadvantage of their ignorance draws them headlong into the gulph of infidelity.” His lordship then observes, that it had fallen out of late, that upon certain copies of his book granted to private friends, so many letters were come to his hands with importunate intreaty for the like, that neither his pen nor purse, considering both the labour and charge, could satisfy them. If therefore, upon his grace’s view, or the examination of the divines, whom he should appoint, the prayers should be found agreeable both to the rule of doctrine and regard of the present times, his lordship humbly craved his grace’s favour, that the press might ease him of so great a charge ; “ if otherwise, *says he*, *præfixum veru*, that is, your grace’s mark of disannulling set upon the copy, that comes to your hands, from that time forward shall discharge my reasonable refusal and denial to my friends upon so just a ground from all imputation of discourtesy. I leave it wholly to your grace’s choice, either by inspiring life, or suspending exercise. My hope is notwithstanding, that whatsoever you conceive of my endeavours, yet you will not misconceive the mind of him, that out of antient engagure loves your person, and gives honour to your place, being so far from the starting humour of that giddy levity, which by placing himself ever *ubi sibi fore utile videbat*, as the book of Judges specifies, first drew the puritans with their false ephod to conventions abroad, as I rather seek to settle my abode *ad pastorum tabernacula*.”

About the same time this lord, whose attachment to the earl of Essex made him jealous of any appearance of neglect from his lordship, having expressed some resentment at being twice denied access to the earl, mr. BACON wrote the same day to the latter, on the 30th of March 1597^e, desiring leave, upon this extraordinary occa-

^d Vol. XV. fol. 45.

^e Vol. X. fol. 80.

fion, to make good the title, with which ANTONIO had grac'd him, of *amicorum querimoniarum receptaculum*, by remonstrating to his lordship, which he would make a conscience to mention, if it were any other person's case but his lordship's, without excepting mother or brother; requesting him not to seem to know it from him, because he knew, that it was not pour'd into his bosom to that intent. "My lord HARRY, *says he*, greatly moved in countenance betwixt challenge and charging of your lordship and moaning of himself, took very grievously your lordship's message to him this day, that you were not ill at ease, but would be private; saying, that he would not trouble your lordship again, to receive a third repulse, having yesterday been requested to excuse your lordship, *namely*, saith he, *when his lordship knoweth* (not particularising any thing) *that the occasions of my attending his lordship are full of true love and special use.*" Mr. BACON concludes this letter with desiring the earl to resolve upon the bestowing of the lord EURE's son, his lordship's brother calling upon him daily to know the earl's pleasure and resolution, and saying, that the lord EURE's mind would not be quiet, till his son be provided for in course of marriage.

The earl return'd an immediate answer to mr. BACON in the following terms^f.

" Sir,
 " I do exceedingly thank you for the remembrance; but am sightless of the wrong, that was done to my lord H. for he had been gone two hours before I knew of his being here. I will satisfy him of my innocency, and he shall see I will lay the blame where it is due. I pray you send mr. EURE to me on Friday morning, and I will both give him a letter to his brother, and satisfaction touching his nephew. I rest

" March 30.

" Your true friend,

" ESSEX."

His lordship accordingly wrote, on the 1st of April, the following letter to the lord EURE^g.

" My lord,
 " I send your lordship this letter as a bond of debt, till I be able to pay your lordship that real true kindness, which mine heart doth owe you. Your lordship's free communicating with my dear and worthy friend mr. ANT. BACON, your many noble and kind letters to myself, your lordship's acquainting me with the manner and course of your government, wherein also you were content to hear my opinion; these, I say, were great means to make me deep in your lordship's debt. But this last offer of your lordship's towardly son to be matched with me is such full demonstration of your resolved love to me, as I have no words to express my just acknowledgment. But I hope God will enable me to shew a just requital.

^f Vol. X. fol. 90.

^g Vol. X. fol. 254, and Vol. XV. fol. 96.

“ Now touching your lordship’s offer, I do take hold of it as covetously, as
 “ I can do any thing. For to be nearer knit to a man of your lordship’s virtue is
 “ more pleasing to me, than the advancement of my kin. Having no daughter of
 “ mine own, I can but offer your lordship my niece, daughter to my lord RICH.
 “ Her years are eleven; and if your son spend any time abroad, she will be mar-
 “ riageable by his return. If your lordship will authorise any friend or servant of
 “ yours to confer with my brother RICH before me, I will undertake to make him
 “ agree to all such covenants, as shall be thought fit by your lordship. I will
 “ attend your lordship’s answer herein, and assure you, as the daughter of my
 “ dearest sister must needs be one of my principal private cares, so, if I bestow her
 “ with your lordship’s son, I shall hold her in a far higher account, for I am
 “ constantly resolved to be

“ Your lordship’s true friend

“ 1st of April.

“ E S S E X.”

Dr. HAWKYNs, in his letter from Venice of the $\frac{1}{11}$ of April, 1597^h, imputes his having receiv’d none from Mr. BACON for a month past to the contrary winds, or else to the strict keeping of the passage to prevent discovering the designs; wherein he re-comforted himself, trusting, that the Spaniard should receive the blow before he saw the hand, that struck him; and wishing, that the English fleet were already under sail, holding that rule of LUCAN to be good, *Nocuit differre paratis*, and praying, that there might be no *torpedo* in England, to detain it. He then recommends ALMERO ZANI, a senator of great authority in Venice, who, he desir’d, might be conceal’d from every body but the queen, and the earl of Essex; and who had been inform’d, that her majesty had a most sovereign remedy against the *renella* or stone, which ZANI wanted to be partaker of. He added, that NICOLÒ BASTI had been sent long before into England with traiterous designs against the queen’s person; but being overcome by her royal presence, and other princely favours, return’d with *re infecta*, and with repentance of his former purposes.

Mr. BACON wrote to Dr. HAWKYNs on Saturday the 3d of April 1597ⁱ, that the last letter, which he had receiv’d from him, was of the 8th of March, which was still in the earl’s hands, for whom he must yet, as a careful attorney, demand farther delay till the next Saturday, by which time, in all probability, some general resolution would be taken for the re-encountering or diverting of the Spanish forces, and farther assistance of the French king suddenly plunged into great distress and perplexity by the Spaniards admirable success in the late surprise of Amiens, and his own most unlucky missing of the town of Arras. He observes likewise, that mons. DE FOUQUEROLLES, sent by that king, had an audience the day before, but receiv’d very cold reception and entertainment at court. He had arriv’d on the Wednesday preceding^k; and the sum of his negotiation was for the continuation of the English troops in France, and for a new supply of as many more upon the queen’s pay.

^h Vol. XV. fol. 82.

ⁱ Vol. X. fol. 209.

^k Letters of the SIDNEY family, vol. II.
 P. 35.

To which her majesty's answer was in general, that she would assist the king, if she saw, that it would be of any benefit to him: that now her own preparations by sea and land, for the defence of Ireland and England, would be so chargeable to her, that she could not well tell what she should be able to do in this request. He desir'd, that a conference with commissioners might be appointed, shewing how requisite it was: and he was directed to put it down in writing¹.

But how little satisfaction soever the French agent had in his audience, he had much less in his first conversation with the lord treasurer, whose imprudence in reflecting in the grossest terms upon HENRY IV. was astonishing in a man of his age and experience, and is well represented in a letter of mr. BACON's to the earl of Essex, of the 3d of April^m, wherein he gave an account of a discourse between monf. DE FOUQUEROLLES and an Italian, who lodg'd in the same house; which account mr. Bacon had receiv'd that afternoon.

The Italian, by the means of his chamber, hearing monf. DE FOUQUEROLLES walk up and down in his room, and stamp, all alone, till the ordinary hour of dinner was past, took occasion in going out of his own chamber to look in, and after salutation with respect to ask him, whether he would not go to dinner? "Comment, mort dieu, *said monf. DE FOUQUEROLLES*, diner? Ouy bien pour vous autres, qui estes peuteestre à jeun; mais quant à moy, on m'a fait gouter d'une si meschante carbonado ce matin, que je en soi encore saoul jusques a regorger." *Comment, monf.* answer'd the Italian, *quelque drolerie avec vos anciennes cognoissances de temps passé.* "Anciennes vraiment, reply'd FOUQUEROLLES, jusqu'a radoter. J'entends, pour ne vous pas amuser point, ce vieux tresorier ici d'Angleterre, lequel estant ellé voir ce matin pour le bailler une lettre de la part du roy mon maistre, il a prins fort desdaigneusement, & l'ayant leu l'a paletée parmi les autres papiers sur sa table, & puis s'adressant a moy avec une grimace renfrognée m'a demande, *Et quoy, vostre maistre n'est il pas encore content? Faut-il aussi peu de conscience de nous ruiner en espuisant tous nos moyens, que de perdre tant de bonnes villes, voir son estat & soymesme, pour l'amour d'une putaine? Il se trompe: nous nous garderons le mieux que nous pourrons, & retirons nos espingles de son mauvais jeu; car nous voyons bien, que ce seroit folie d'attendre rien de bon de HENRY de Bourbon.* Sang dieu, *said FOUQUEROLLES*, je ne fus jamais si surpris & au bout de mon sens, estonné comme un fondeur de cloches d'oïr ce veillard lunatique, & tant plus despité en moy mesme de ne le pouvoir, pour le respect de son age, luy faire sentir ma response plustost par ma main que ma langue: Mais le privilege de la viellese, & le regard du l'honneur du roy mon maistre & le mien propre me retient, luy disant seulement, que je n'avois moindre occasion d'esbahissement que de fascherie de le voir transporté sans occasion hors de raison & tout respect au roy mon maistre, pour l'honneur de quel, selon mon tres-humble devoir, j'estois prest & content de respondre, pourveu qu'il fit vuider ses gens hors de la chambre, comme je ferois ceux qui m'accompagnoient. *Ou vrayment*, rejoin'd the lord treasurer, with great disdain, *j'en ay beau affaire de m'amuser de vos responses. J'en sçay plus que vous ne sçauriez*

¹ Ibid. p. 35, 36.

^m Vol. X. fol. 236.

“ *dire avec toutes vos fanfares semblables à celles de ce grand monsieur, qui fust ici*
 “ *derrièrement, j’entends le viscomte de Turenne, qui se fait appeller duc de BOUILLON.*
 “ *Mais avec toute sa grandeur il n’a pas pu encore payer 20000 escus, qu’il doit par obli-*
 “ *gation.* Ainsi interrompit les propes, desquels par le Dieu, said FOUQUEROLLES,
 “ j’advertiray la Royne demain ; & si elle n’en fait pas faire raison au roy mon
 “ maistre, il sçait bien comment en tirer. Pour ma part, je prendray congé de-
 “ main, & ne suis pas comment me démêler & revenger.” Mr. BACON
 concludes his letter with these words : “ Thus your lordship hath here the excessive
 “ untimely morosity of an old Englishman, and the indiscrete manner of a French
 “ fume to a stranger ; namely an Italian, betwixt whose stayed judicious nature and
 “ the French giddy impotent impatency is such an extreme antipathy.

Don EMANUEL, of Portugal, after he had left England, and was arriv’d in Hol-
 land, wrote to Mr. BACON in French from the Hague on the 15th of April 1597
 N. S.ⁿ, expressing his high sense of his obligations to him, desiring the continuance
 of his friendship, and promising to return it upon all occasions. He requested him
 likewise to preserve him in the good opinion of the earl of Essex. He observ’d, with
 regard to the state of his own affairs, that he could at present send no particulars,
 but hop’d in the Almighty, that they would take an advantageous turn ; at least
 they could not be worse than they were when he left England. He took notice,
 that he had heard in Holland, that his brother had been refused leave to go in the
 expedition to Cadiz, for which he had offer’d himself, and shewn great zeal, merely
 because he would not attend the earl of Essex to sermons ; upon which occasion don
 EMANUEL observ’d, that his brother, in offering to expose his life for the service of
 her majesty’s kingdom, had done his duty ; and that his lordship was the judge in
 the other point.

Mons. CASTOL, who was still at Paris, in a letter from thence to Mr. BACON of
 the 6th of April 1597^o, inform’d him, that among other books, which that
 gentleman had desir’d to be bought for him, he had now sent him the first volume
 of the late troubles of France, which was not ill written, nor very common, not
 being sold to all persons ; the second not being yet publish’d. He complains then,
 that the men of genius in France amus’d themselves chiefly with writing upon sub-
 jects of love and gallantry. He found, that within the cities and towns of that
 kingdom there were nothing but plots and intrigues, and without them nothing
 but pillaging. The four heads, the chancellor, constable, duke d’ESPERNON and
 mons. DE VILLEROY, had evidently no other design, than to reduce the king to de-
 spair, by suffering him to lose his towns by degrees, while the new leagues and
 factions grew and multiplied every where, and the chiefs of them remain’d un-
 punish’d, in order that the king being oppress’d on all sides with disorders and con-
 fusions, fomented by them, might be forced to make peace with Spain. Mons. DE
 FOUQUEROLLES was sent to England to deceive the court there ; which was a matter
 of great concern to good men. It was thought, that the king had charg’d him to
 offer Calais to the queen : if this was true, and her majesty should accept it, mons.
 CASTOL gave it as his opinion, that care should be taken, that it might not prove a

ⁿ Vol. XV. fol. 103.

^o Vol. XV. fol. 66.

means of raising France, and weakening England, by destroying the men and treasures of the latter. It would undoubtedly make a revulsion of the forces of Spain, which would defend that place at all adventures. This would give the French king an opportunity to re-take the towns, which were of great importance to him, while the enemy was employ'd elsewhere.

MONSIEUR CASTOL remarks, that it would be impossible for the English to carry on an attempt against Calais without a number of French horse; and it ought to be consider'd, how far they should be trusted; and that the design against that town, and the execution of it, would be attended with many difficulties from France. It was reported at Paris, that Mezieres had surrender'd to the Spaniard: and if this was true, Sedan was in danger, the duke DE BOUILLON having deserted it. The French court seem'd to be grown sick of the alliance with England, and to be dispos'd to discharge itself of it. The king was at St. Germain's en Laye, and was to go thro' a course of physic for three weeks to come.

The earl of Essex having endeavour'd, but without success, to prevail on MR. BACON's eldest brother by another mother, sir NICHOLAS BACON, to assist him with his money or credit under the exigences, which MR. BACON was constantly labouring under; the latter wrote a letter to his lordship on the 3d of April 1597^p, to acknowledge his kindness in vouchsafing to venture the loss of his precious time and noble respect upon one so unworthy as sir NICHOLAS; of whose unnatural miserliness he had receiv'd a proof from himself that afternoon. "The truth, *says he*, "of his only colourable excuse, that he is far behind hand and in debt upon the "marriage of his daughter, I will make no difficulty to doubt of; knowing, that "covetousness and atheism are cousin Germans, and that both make the like account to protest and swear against their own conscience and the public notice of "the world. The particulars of his speech I mean not to trouble your lordship "with, and yet not to forget in due time, being not out of hope to assail him "with his own weapons ere it be long, and to bring him to a *non putáram* by im- "proving his own words. This only I would humbly crave at your lordship's "hands, that he may not be altogether frustrate of his expectation, which he himself pronounced, that he knew your lordship would take his refusal unkindly. "But what of that? He neither could nor would lend me money on credit, nor "join in cutting off the perpetuity. Whereunto I was so bold, as to answer, "asking pardon therefore, that persuading himself your lordship would neither "brook nor allow of his insensible refuse, he did but right to your lordship's judgment and special kindness towards my poor self."

DR. HAWKYNs in a letter to MR. BACON from Venice of the $\frac{8}{18}$ of April 1597^q, after mentioning the news from several parts, added, that the matters of France proceeded very coldly at Rome, both for the ill success of that kingdom, and especially on account of the duke of Luxembourg's coming empty handed, without presents or pensions, the cardinals and other courtiers being ill satisfied in that respect, as

^p Vol. XV. fol. 89.

^q Vol. XV. fol. 87.

being neglected by the French king; whereas Spain took a quite contrary course, being exceedingly profuse in rewards to the court of Rome. The doctor saw great hopes of a good correspondence between the queen and the states of Venice; and doubted not to complete it speedily, if her majesty would accept of his service, and furnish him with authority by letters of credence, requir'd by that state, to negotiate with it.

The lord EURE grew now very much tir'd of his post in the marches between England and Scotland, which he represented in a letter to mr. BACON from Hexham of the 10th of April 1597^r, wishing, that he were remov'd out of that untoward country, “being extremely wearied, *says he*, with the wayward disposition
“of this obstinate thwarting people, among whom neither religion nor civility is in
“practise. And I protest it is grievous to my conscience, that neither my care-
“ful endeavours can occasion, nor my slender means inforce better effects. I shall
“hold you an author of my great happiness, if by your good means I may be re-
“moved from this troublesome place, and employed where my services may have
“better success: yet so, I beseech you, as her majesty's gracious opinion of me be
“no way impaired, and so as my services may be acceptable to my most honourable
“lord, my lord of Essex, whose honourable favours, next to her sacred majesty's, I
“seek with great earnestness.” He then mentions, that he took the earl's vouchsafing to bestow his niece upon his own son, as an assur'd token of his lordship's noble affection, and a step to his highest contentment; desiring mr. BACON's opinion and direction to his brother and his servant RIVELY, who perfectly knowing his estate and what he might conveniently do, could inform him of his whole desire; and for his own part he would not fail to perform what should be fit for him.

The earl of Essex having written to sir THOMAS CHALONER, mr. BACON inclos'd his lordship's letter in one from himself of the 16th of April^r, in return for those of sir THOMAS to him; informing him, that the earl of Tyrone had of late receiv'd a good sum of Spanish money and munition by two ships arriv'd in Ireland, so well our sea-coasts were guarded: that the cardinal archduke had likewise receiv'd much treasure of late ventur'd by sea from Spain to Calais, and there safely arriv'd: that the French king had vowed a solemn royal siege of Amiens, either to recover it, or to leave his bones before it: that sir WILLIAM BOWES was lately dispatch'd into Scotland, where the king seem'd to make himself better obey'd every day by all sorts of his subjects: that the lord BURGH was upon the point of departing for Ireland: that dr. BANCROFT was made bishop of London, and bishop BILSON of Worcester translated to Winchester: that it was certainly thought, that the lord HUNSDON would be lord chamberlain, and the earl of Suffex, the lord MONTJOY, the lord THOMAS HOWARD, and the lord HUNSDON honour'd with the garter.

Mr. BACON wrote the same day to dr. HAWKYNs^t most of the same occurrences, adding only, that lord BURGH with *his cold complexion was likely to quench*

^r Vol. XV. fol. 100.

^s Vol. XV. fol. 68.

^t Vol. XV. fol. 83.

the Irish flame; and that BABINGTON *, bishop of Exeter, was to be remov'd to Worcester.

Mr. ANTHONY ROLSTON, who had been employ'd as an intelligencer in Spain, being now arrived from that kingdom in London, on the 18th of April 1597, mr. BACON inform'd the earl of it in a letter the same day †, desiring to receive his lordship's directions concerning him. But Mr. ROLSTON's reception in England was not what he came over in expectation of, being soon after committed prisoner to the tower, where he lay, when the earl wrote his *Apology* ‡. For tho' his pretence of returning to England was to make an overture of peace, and he brought letters to the queen, the earl, and mr. BACON, from father CRESWELL the jesuit, for that purpose; yet, upon his examination by his lordship and secretary CECIL, he confess'd, that his true errand, given him by some of the king of Spain's chief ministers, was to discover the state of the preparations in England, and to assure the papists there, that they might shortly expect their deliverance; to win some counsellors about her majesty, or noblemen in the kingdom, to favour their cause, and to offer the earl, from the king of Spain, what title, pension, or sum of money he would desire.

Monf. CASTOL, before his departure from Paris, wrote a letter to the earl on the 19th of April 1597, which he inclos'd in one to mr. BACON †, in which he inform'd him, that earl BOTHWELL, who liv'd in France in a state of banishment from Scotland, threatned publicly at Paris, that the king of Scots should not die by any other hand than his; and had strongly sollicitated the French protestant ministers there to write to their brethren in Scotland and the churches there, who were discontented with that king, that, as a proof of his piety and desire to serve the public interest, he might return to his own country, and be their chief.

Mr. HUDSON, who had left London in the beginning of this month of April, arriving at Edinburgh on the 18th, wrote from thence on the 22d to mr. BACON ‡, that there was but little matter of news worth sending except of the turbulent borderers, who never ceas'd from doing shameful injuries, oppressions, and murders to each other; and that the Scots upon the east march had committed violence upon the town of Kilame, and in the middle march Tindale had invaded Scotland, and receiv'd great hurt by BACLUGH; on account of which he wrote to Edinburgh, as the lord EURE did likewise to mr. BOWES, the English ambassador there; but their reports were very different.

Mr. HUDSON observes, that the occasion of his journey to Scotland was only to present to the king, from her majesty, some deer, which arriv'd on the 21st of April, only two being dead of thirty, which the king was much pleased with, and went the next day to see them at Leith.

* Dr. GERVASE BABINGTON, formerly fellow of Trinity college in Cambridge, consecrated bishop of Landaff in August 1591, translated to the see of Exeter in February 1594, and to that of Worcester in October 1597. He died May 17, 1610.

† Vol. XV. fol. 93.

‡ P. 23. 24. Edit. London 1729, 8vo.

‡ Vol. XV. fol. 80.

‡ Vol. XV. fol. 77.

‡ Vol. XV. fol. 93.

On the 21st the ministers gave in their supplications to the king and his council, acknowledging, that their vehement words had moved the people to disorder; but deeply protested, that they had no irreverent or undutiful thoughts in their hearts towards his majesty; and that nothing was done of set purpose, but by mere accident; declaring their sorrow for it, and desiring his majesty's pardon; and that they might be relax'd from the horn, upon good caution given to obey and satisfy his majesty in all his desires. The king finding them so humble, frankly of himself relax'd them from the horn without any sureties either taken or desir'd; so that now all things were likely to be peaceable *.

The Irish gentleman, the son of SURLEBOW, had been with the king, and kiss'd his hand; and then went and perform'd his duty to her majesty's embassador. He was of a very comely personage, and good behaviour; and so were all his train; and he lived gallantly and at great charges.

Mr. HUDSON wrote a more particular account of these affairs in another letter of the same date^y, in which he observ'd, that he was in those parts by the king his master's direction, to whom he had been graciously welcome; and that finding new occasions of border-troubles, he had thought proper to set down such an account of them, as he had receiv'd.

At his coming thro' Northumberland the restless Scots thieves had been in at a town call'd Kilame, and there broken open a house in the night, and were taking away the cattle: but the men waking with the noise rose to the fray, and recover'd their goods, and mortally wounded two of the Scots, and took the third, while the fourth escaped, who had not above four miles to their friends, the BURNES and YOUNGS, who presently collected a body of 80 horse to relieve them. In the mean time the men of Kilame went to one, who was appointed by mr. RALPH GREY as his deputy in his absence, for his advice and assistance, whom they found so unready and cold in all respects, that they return'd with the unhurt prisoner home. But they had been there but a short time, when they saw the Scots coming, whom they resisted, and took in that charge three more, and supported a second charge with great resolution, and made three more prisoners. But at last being attack'd by the whole body of the Scots, and not able to defeat it, tho' they vigorously sustain'd it, they were defeated, twelve or fourteen wounded, their town rifled, and their prisoners taken away. This was done at noon time of day, and the first part of the action in the night before. This was the report of the English, but different from that of the Scots, the accounts of sir ROBERT CARY and sir ROBERT KER being directly opposite to each other. The king of Scots seem'd resolv'd to write to queen ELIZABETH upon this as well as the other matter of the west border, in order that the truth might appear; and that when the fault was found, the punishment and disgrace might be justly applied. He intended likewise, after the rising of the commissioners, to visit the whole borders, and where the wardens fail'd in their duty, to see it amended: so that mr. HUDSON perceiv'd a great care in his

* SPOTSWOOD, p. 442, 443.

^y Vol. XV. fol. 78.

majesty to satisfy the queen in honour and right as well as out of love and duty. But his officers seeing themselves and their country unable to make redress for the spoils committed upon the English, seem'd inclin'd to spit out their venom to make a plain war, if they could. This ill disposition appear'd from the report of BACLUGH concerning the last accident on the other march; for he affirm'd, that the English of Tindale and the parts adjacent came into Scotland, and there burnt seven houses, and in them three children and two women, killing five men, and taking away about 900 sheep; being about 900 men, while himself was absent at a meeting of his friends and dependants. That after he had parted with them, who were above 100 horse, hearing of the ravage of the Tindale men, he sent to his friends to meet him, which they did in three hours after, and so they rode after the robbers into England sixteen miles, and found them dividing the booty, whom he attack'd, tho' with little success, on account of the straitness of the place, but having recover'd the goods, he sent them back into Scotland, and return'd thither. However the men of Tindale pursued his party by pricking at them, and shooting arrows at them, by which they wounded both men and horse, and alarm'd the country, so that he was oblig'd to make a direct charge upon them, and by force either win or lose all, or to make this unquiet retreat. This he did, and had the advantage of killing about 30 men, and compelling many to take the river, who were drown'd. Such was BACLUGH's report, which he stak'd his reputation upon; "how true," says mr. HUDSON, God knoweth. These are unseemly actions to fall out in the very time of the sitting of the commissioners, but are the works of the devil, who hath many servants, as thieves and murderers in these frontier poor barren marches."

He then gives an account of the four ministers being admitted, on the 19th of that month of April in the evening, into the king's presence in his chapel, where they satisfied his majesty in all respects; so that the matter was now at a point in effect, and rested only upon form; for the king would have all, that had pass'd between them to be in writing, as had hitherto been done; and it was probable, that it would be afterwards printed. They had humbled themselves, and granted, some of them, that after the first disorder some of their consciences were troubled with the matter. The king had seen their articles and submission in writing, and caus'd some things to be alter'd, as he saw expedient.

The treasurer, who had the hearty prayers of the church and the people, began now to recover every week. "Truly, adds mr. HUDSON, he is the best amongst them, and said to me plainly, that so long as wardens were counsellors and cubiculars of the king's chambers, so long would not the affairs of the borders go right."

Mr. GEORGE GILPIN, the English resident in Holland, in a letter to mr. BACON from the Hague of the 24th of April 1597^z, remark'd, that it was greatly long'd for there to know, what her majesty intended to take in hand; and that if the earl of Essex would undertake it, he was of opinion, that the states general would

do what they could to second it, tho' they should strain themselves far above their ability.

MONS. BUZANVAL was returned from the French king, but had not yet had any audience. It was thought, that he would make instance for money, provisions, and what else his master look'd for besides. What the states would grant, would be known within a while. It seemed the king was content, that Calais should be her majesty's, if she could get it; which the Dutch wished, and would be ready, as MR. GILPIN heard, to send towards the recovery of it those numbers, which they had promised the French king, when he should come with an army into Artois; with which, it was said, he would be contented, and it would be a good force of 4000 foot and 800 horse, old soldiers.

The appearance was good, that the taking of Calais might be effected in two or three months at the farthest; for the cardinal arch-duke, with all the forces that he could collect, was unable to raise both the sieges of Amiens and Calais, being once well encamped, and the country round about spoiled for eighteen or twenty miles, which was easy to be done, while the English camp might be abundantly provided from all sides. And there was no probability, that the cardinal would attempt a battle, because too much depended thereupon, since the receiving a sound blow would stick by him long, and set all the country, which he now govern'd, in an alarm and combustion. MR. GILPIN added, that by what he could judge from the discourses of officers, and what experience had taught him, the exploit would be of no great difficulty; and with regard to the apprehension of any diversion, which the king of Spain might seek to make, tho' the reports were great, the appearance was small, he having too many irons in the fire to perfect them all well. A few good ships well manned and commanded would make a foul stir on his coast, and upon the armada at Ferrol; and a fair occasion was offered, if it were taken in time, which was to be wished.

MR. WILLIAM LYLLE', who frequently corresponded with the earl of Essex, wrote to him from St. Valery on the same day, April 24^a, that being the day before at Dieppe, he saw there a letter written from one of the king's physicians to his companion mons. GEOFFROY, by which it appeared, that the king's mistress had lately escaped at the court some danger: that the king was infinitely troubled, as well with his nobility, as with his council, the one being divided into many factions, and the other in their opinions, and himself not able to police the former, nor content the latter; his own house standing upon so many pillars, and those divided in themselves; but the most united in the house of MONTMORENCI, which would be the ruin of all the rest, and the rather, for that those of the religion would also take part. The rest had more desire than strength, but would still continue to trouble the king, who would be at ease, if they and the accidents of the war did not disturb him against his will. The best of the nobility would likewise be quiet, but had their several designs, either upon his death, or the king of Spain's progress in the war. Some of the council advised the king to take the benefit of the time, and now upon the late

^a Vol. XV. fol. 118.

accidents to assure himself of the queen of England and states general, and condescend to her majesty somewhat, since thereby he should firmly possess them and all those of the reform'd religion in his own country, who at that time braul'd to help him, tho' they had no assurance of him for themselves. " save that, *says mr. LYLLE*, he " should give himself good time, seeing that he hath no hope of line in himself, " supposing somewhat that is supposed, his to be none of his; and let those blow the " coal, who have most need of fire. This includeth the other in a manner, who " persuade him to respect his honour altogether, not to respect the Hugonots; to " condescend to nothing to the queen of England; and not to embrace her amity, " nor that of the rebellious states, but to gain time, and come, if it be possible, to " some good peace with the king of Spain, and so avoid to possess himself in a con- " tinual war with others." The duke D'ESPERNON refused to come to assist at council, because this advice was not followed. There was no doubt, but that many others concurred in his opinion; and all hoped upon the king's death, or the king of Spain's good or ill fortune, to make their own. How much this variety of winds would trouble a solid body, his lordship might judge; but mr. LYLLE' was assur'd, that those, who had advised the king, that his safety depended most certainly upon the queen and states general and those of the religion, still possess'd him with that resolution, as best and safest; and that to that end mons. BUZANVAL was remanded to the states; and it was thought, that if her majesty would use liberal proceeding with him at that time, and withall demand Calais, he would condescend to it; and those of the religion would wonderfully assist in it, as the thing most profitable to the king, and a great assurance to themselves. If this was not rightly followed, and the king was forced by necessity to make truces with Spain, the Spaniard was already so proud, that he would not come to peace, since he hoped much upon the casualty of HENRY IV.'s life, and the dissensions of his house, to make his own profit; and, if in that truce he occupied Calais, and his adherents Bretagne, with other inland towns, he would undoubtedly have great means to practise upon other towns on the coast of France, and invade England.

In the letter, shewn to mr. LYLLE', there was also mention made, that the ambassador of Venice in Spain was hurt, and the shops of Venice shut for some days; but whether the one depended on the other, did not appear from that letter. It took notice likewise, that the duke of Savoy had made a truce with Geneva: that mons. LESDISQUIERES had a very great army for those parts: that the Swiss cantons were discontented with their colonels, as well those, who had served the Spaniard, as the French, and had sold their goods and lands at home, to pay the debts to their soldiers, who had not been paid by those colonels. That the duke of GUISE was made very rich by some shipwrecks on the coast of Provence.

The king had sent to all the gentlemen of Picardy, to assure them, that he would presently be at St. Valery, and summoned them all to be with him either on horseback or a foot; promising pikes to those, who had no horse. The enemy was enterprising every day upon la Rue and the little towns adjacent, of which if he should get but one, he would stifle all the rest of the country. There were enter'd 2000 horse into Amiens at times, as it was thought, and many foot in the habit of peasants. It was said, that the people of that town were divided; which was one
of

of the hopes in favour of France; but the greatest and surest was, that the fortification was bad, the curtains long, and the bulwarks too far distant.

Mr. LYLLE' added in his postscript, " In my simple opinion it were good my former letters were remembered for the fomenting the wars of Italy. I most of all desire to see your lordship taking also of towns in France. Otherwise it will either all become Spanish shortly, or failing thereof will become cantoned. It is said the enemy prepares also to come into the field, of whose force there is such divers opinions, as I dare not write them."

Mr. BACON the same day thought proper to write to secretary CECIL in favour of his half-brother mr. EDWARD BACON the following letter^b.

" Right honourable,
 " As the infallible best comfort and warrant of a good conscience, which, I thank my God, hath upheld in life and vigour my heart and spirits heavily oppressed with long and grievous bodily infirmities, together with a due respect I owe to nature and blood, doth move and embolden me to present these few lines unto your honour; so doubt I not, but that in the depth of your wisdom and judgment they shall not only free me from the censure of presumption, but obtain your favourable acceptance. In confidence whereof, under this my true and dutiful protestation, I am to recommend unto you the suit of an honest gentleman, my most kind and best-deserving half-brother, mr. EDWARD BACON, who having understood, that some courtier, servant to her majesty, either hath already, or doth intend to ask the reversion of his office, the clerkship of the alienations, very earnestly requested me to crave your honour's furtherance to procure his son to be joined in patent with him. The gentleman's honesty and reputation I must in modesty refer to your information by others, and will only assure and vow unto your honour, that if by your mediation, upon this my honourable suit, he may receive this grace at her majesty's hands, I shall esteem it a special favour, and be no less careful than ready to acknowledge and deserve the same by such thankful effects, as it shall either please you to command, or lie in me to render. And so, sir, beseeching you to vouchsafe the intimation of your pleasure herein, and craving pardon for my boldness, I humbly take leave.

" Your honour's,

" in all humble and entire affection,

" to dispose of,

" A. BACON."

The secretary return'd an answer on the 28th of April, in these terms^c.

" Cousin,
 " Altho' I am sorry to find, that your body's indisposition hinders us of that conversation, which nature would require, yet am I glad to find by your letter

^b Vol. XV. fol. 63.

^c Vol. XV. fol. 65.

“ a disposition to be beholden to me, who lack more means than will to do you
 “ pleasure.

“ The request of mr. EDWARD BACON contains two parts, the latter more easy
 “ than the other. For where he feareth, that some other shall procure a reversion
 “ over his head of his office, I do not distrust my poor credit so much, as not to
 “ be able by representation of the merit of his worthy father to her majesty, to hinder
 “ any such matter. For the second, which is to obtain it for his son, I dare not
 “ promise to effect it; for that is a direct suit, wherein I am neither fortunate nor
 “ forward: but I will give him breath, by laying the foundation of a negative to
 “ any other in her majesty's conceit, to bethink himself of some proper mover;
 “ and do assure you then to be a friendly and industrious furtherer, when her
 “ majesty shall be as well prepared to grant him his reasonable request, as I shall
 “ hope to make her, by my first arguments, resolved to deny any other's, thereby
 “ to discourage or disgrace a gentleman, that is able and ready to do her service.
 “ This, sir, is my meaning, which you desire to know; and with this shall my
 “ actions concur, as I shall find you to taste the answer, wherewith I now con-
 “ clude for the present, and wish your health, and all contentation, as he, that
 “ remaineth

“ Your loving kinsman and friend,

“ R. C E C I L.”

Mr. BACON had the same day, on which he wrote to the secretary, acquainted the earl of Essex^d with his application to him in favour of his half-brother EDWARD, the only kind one of all his three elder brothers, and well deserving on account of the brotherly offices, which he had often performed to his brother FRANCIS, “ which I esteem, *says he*, as done to myself. Whereupon considering the unseasonableness of the time, which giveth me cause to apprehend far greater storms, than any hope of long and safe calm both in her majesty's mind and state, and on the other side having received yesterday by sir GEORGE CAREW a fresh offer and serious assurance of mr. secretary's disposition and desire to make real demonstration of his kindness and respect towards me at the first occasion, that either I myself, or any friend of mine, should have to make proof thereof, I resolved, that I could not better bestow the first fruits of sir GEORGE CAREW's mediation and purchase to my behoof, than upon a brother in so just a suit; and therefore was bold to send this morning the original of the inclosed to mr. secretary, whose answer I have not yet received.” In the same letter he remark'd, that, it could import no man more than himself, to know what his lordship found her majesty resolved to do with mr. ROLSTON one way or other.”

After the receipt of the secretary's answer, mr. BACON wrote again to him^e, to return him thanks for his favourable acceptance of his request in behalf of his brother EDWARD, and to assure him, that they both were no less satisfied than obliged by his answer, the contents of which he had communicated to the earl of Essex the day before, who seemed to receive no small satisfaction in it, and declaring his own

readiness to concur in promoting the affair; “ and I doubt not, *says he*, but in
 “ his noble nature he will be ready to supply the defaults of my weakness, not in
 “ affection, but in ability; which if your honour vouchsafe in your wisdom out of
 “ an honourable kind love any way to strengthen and increase, give me leave, I
 “ beseech you, sir, in confidence of my honesty and entire meaning, where I owe
 “ and vow, to protest without presumption, once for all, that one of my principal
 “ cares and most gracious endeavours shall be to render you a proportionable
 “ comfort by real demonstrations of a serviceable devotion and true thankful-
 “ ness.”

The earl of Essex wrote the same day the following letter to the lord keeper EGERTON^f, to thank him for the manner, in which he had spoken of his friend the lord HENRY HOWARD, who had a cause depending before the lord keeper.

“ My very good lord,
 “ I understand by my lord HENRY HOWARD your lordship’s honourable and
 “ favourable speech of him the day, that his cause was heard, and am so sensible
 “ of it, as I cannot defer to give your lordship my best thanks. Both he and I do
 “ divide your lordship’s personal favours from your real. In the latter we acknow-
 “ ledge your justice, but in the first you have so tied him to you, as he and his
 “ friends must strive to deserve it at your lordship’s hands. I do assure your lord-
 “ ship, your favour is very worthily bestowed; for as my inward friendship with my
 “ lord HOWARD doth make me know his many virtues and worthy parts to move
 “ affection in others, so my little experience of the world hath not known in any
 “ a more sweet nature, a faster friendship, or a truer thankfulness, than I have
 “ observed in this my honourable cousin. I pray your lordship receive my very
 “ humble thanks, and accept me for a surety of his thorough endeavours to merit
 “ the favour you have done him. And so I rest

“ Your lordship’s humble poor friend,

“ over whom you have great authority,

“ E S S E X.”

MONS. CASTOL having made an excursion to Roan, in a letter from thence to MR. BACON on the 5th of May N. S. 1597^g remarked, that since his own departure from Paris, whither he was to return the day of the date of this letter, no other news was come to Roan than the confirmation of the marriage between the marquis DE PONS*, the duke of LORRAINE’s eldest son, and madame the king’s sister; and that the king’s council were in hopes to separate the house of LORRAINE from the alliance of Spain, and secure them to France, and even to increase the jealousy, which subsisted between the branch and the root, that is, the GUISES and the duke of LORRAINE, and consequently to depress the party of the former. “ But God,

^f Vol. XV. fol. 105.

^g Vol. XV. fol. 115.

* He came to St. Germain en Laye, where the king and his sister were on Thursday the 8th of

May, 1597, N. S. but their marriage was not solemnised till January 31, 1597^h N. S. L’ETOILE, journal du regne d’HENRY IV. Tom. II. p. 355 & 438.

“ *says mons.* CASTOL, who has hitherto turn’d all our counfels to a contrary event;
 “ will shew the issue of this in time. However that prove, there are many good
 “ men, who have an ill opinion of it, and that on account of some secret and
 “ powerful leagues forming under the name of the duke D’ESPERNON, who
 “ has for some time past entered into a strict amity with the duke of LOR-
 “ RAINE.”

Sir ANTHONY MILD MAY, embassador in France, in a letter to the earl of Essex from Paris of the 29th of April 1597^h, acquainted his lordship, that on the 19th of that month he had access to the king at St. Germain’s, where he still remained in his diet, and shewed him her majesty’s pleasure at large, and offered him the 4000 men, with such conditions, as he had been directed to. The king seemed nothing contented therewith, saying, that he had more need of money than men, who for money were easy to be had in all places. The embassador told him, that he had had both of them of her majesty oftentimes heretofore, wherewith he had served his turn in former extremities; and that the long continuance of such benefits, considered with her majesty’s present necessity to employ her treasure and people otherwise, would, he hoped, in reason satisfy the king thoroughly, tho’ his request at that time did not take place. The king confess’d willingly all her majesty’s former kindnesses, and said, that he was sorry, that, instead of requital, the necessity of his present affairs constrained him to be burdensome to her: “ but things are now, *said he*, come to
 “ that extremity, that if my good sister help me not, and that speedily, I cannot
 “ maintain myself any longer against so mighty an enemy, but must, rather than
 “ perish wilfully, having no means to do otherwise, seek a truce of the Spaniard,
 “ tho’ utterly against my liking.” The embassador observes upon this, that matters there indeed were now brought, by reason of divisions and ill government, to that extremity, that he saw not how, without a very large proportion of succours and expences, it could be redressed. How that might stand with the great scarcity of all things in England at that time, and with her majesty’s other occasions of more necessary charges, he would not take upon himself to judge, but leave it to the earl’s consideration, who knew the secrets of those affairs.

Mr. BACON, who was employed by the earl of Essex in the business of the projected marriage between the lord EURE’s son and the lord RICH’s daughter, having discoursed with mr. WILLIAM EURE, the lord EURE’s brother, and mr. RIVELY, his lordship’s servant, wrote the result of their conversation to the earl on the 30th of April, 1597ⁱ, in which he observ’d, that they had both earnestly requested him to believe and assure his lordship, that the principal view of the lord EURE was the earl’s alliance and friendship, the singular estimation and respect whereof he was resolved to demonstrate in this action, that so nearly imported him, by all means possible. For the particulars of his lordship’s estate RIVELY said, that he had not the account with him, but would send for it immediately: but that in the mean time he knew so much of the lord EURE’s mind, as that he would assure 100*l.* a year of jointure for every 1000*l.* which the lord RICH would give, tho’ an honourable person of Lincolnshire had accepted an hundred marks a year for every 1000*l.*

^h Vol. XV. fol. 121.

ⁱ Vol. XV. fol. 95.

which he should give with his daughter, and offered 4000*l.* ready down, and three years entertainment. That one of the lord EURE's principal houses should be assured in the jointure, and that whatever the lord RICH would give above 2000*l.* which he purposed to employ presently for his own use, should be improved to the benefit of the earl's niece and his own son; and that the lord EURE's revenue was certain and clear 2000*l.* a year and upwards, free from all incumbrances and debts. Thus far they proceeded at that time, and both desired mr. BACON to know the earl's pleasure as soon as possible, since the settling the young gentleman held the father's mind in deep suspense, and was one of his principal and most urgent cares.

Mr. JOSHUA SYLVESTRE, the same probably, who translated the works of the French poet DU BARTAS, and published several poetical performances of his own composition, being candidate at this time for the office of secretary to the merchant adventurers at Stode, of which company he was a member, the earl of Essex wrote two letters in his favour, dated from the court on the last of April 1597, a private one to mr. FERRERS, the deputy governor^k, recommending mr. SYLVESTRE as an able and honest man; and a general one to the company^l to the same purpose, in which he mentions, that he had received a very good report of his sufficiency and fitness for the post of secretary, being both well qualified with language, and many other good parts, and honest and of good conversation; two special motives of his lordship's request in his behalf.

During the month of April and the following one of May 1597, the earl and his rival, secretary CECIL, appear to have been upon better terms with each other than they had been formerly, the latter going in his lordship's coach on Monday the 18th of April to dine with him at his house, where they were met by sir WALTER RALEGH, the secretary's friend, and were all three private for two hours after dinner, and a treaty of peace between them confirm'd. And sir WALTER was to have the providing victuals for 6000 men for three months, and the secretary to have the chancellorship of the duchy of Lancaster^m, being for some days after in continual council with the earl, sir WALTER being likewise generally called in to their meetings. For preparations were now making for an expedition against the Spaniards; tho' his lordship had not received his commission as commander in chiefⁿ.

In the midst of the earl's schemes, which fully possess'd his mind, of conquering the enemy^{*}, he wrote this letter to the lord HENRY HOWARD, who had sent him some piece of his own composition[†].

“ Noble lord,
 “ Tho' your letter and present did find me more busied in great and tough
 “ busineses than I was this time twelve months, yet I have read your letter and

^k Vol. XV. fol. 128.

^l fol. 129.

^m Letters of the SIDNEY family, Vol. II. p.

42.

ⁿ Ibid. 44.

^{*} Ibid. 37.

[†] From a volume of mr. ANTHONY BACON's papers in my possession, fol. 17.

“ epistle,

“ epistle, and will take but short days for perusing the rest of your work. For the
 “ present I can only say, that all things, for which men choose friends, or prize
 “ friends, are so fully yielded me by your lordship, as mine own heart knows not
 “ what more to wish. My satisfaction and delight in your lordship’s kindest and
 “ sweetest conversation, my reputation and ornament by your lordship’s doing so
 “ much honour to my house and person, my profit and use by your lordship’s
 “ painful and fruitful labour, will speak one day as well in my just requitals
 “ towards your lordship, as you now speak to me, upbraiding how without paying
 “ so much as the interest, I am still more and more in bonds to you. Worthy
 “ lord, this is all, that these important occasions will suffer me now to write, which
 “ I pray your lordship receive with the most affectionate thanks of

“ Your lordship’s kindest cousin

“ Whitehall, this 6th of April.

“ and truest friend,

“ ESSEX.”

Mr. JAMES COLVIL in a letter to mr. BACON from Edinburgh of the 4th of May, 1597°, acknowledged the receipt of two of his from mr. DAVID FOULIS, and in the former a token of mr. BACON’s liberality, of which he had many times before had sufficient proof. He expresses likewise his concern for the ill behaviour of a person, whom he had recommended to mr. BACON, and to whom that gentleman had been very generous on that account. This person had a little time before his departure from Scotland ask’d mr. COLVIL’s advice, whether he should propose to mr. BACON, upon his going to London, a design, which he intended to execute in Spain, and which was, to become the servant of a Spaniard or some other man, whom he knew to be a meddler with English or Scottish affairs; and that having credit with him, he would then, as soon as he found the conveniency of a Flemish or Scots ship to transport him, carry away their letters and papers. And he mentioned to mr. COLVIL several persons, whom he might easily serve in this manner. One of them was don JUAN DE LAS, an Irishman, residing at Lisbon, who had once been his master, and was well esteemed in Spain, and pensioner to the king, and a great dealer in the affairs of Ireland. Another was capt. MEREDIZ, a considerable sea-officer, and captain of the Spanish bark, which came to the western isles in Scotland, when the king of Scots was in Denmark. A third, to whom he proposed to have done the same, was colonel SEMPIL; or any other, whom he thought fit for his purpose. Mr. COLVIL dissuaded him from the design, being apprehensive, that he made use of it but as a colour to disguise some other; and enjoin’d him not to mention it to mr. BACON, but only to give that gentleman intelligence of any thing, which he could learn of importance. “ But now I repent, *says he*, that I dissuaded him from a
 “ purpose, that might have procured unto himself some tragical end without the
 “ country, rather than to be grief to his friends at home. I know not, sir, how
 “ to behave myself in this case towards you in respect of my misfortune, unless I
 “ would do, (if I understand, that it would not offend you) as the servants of
 “ Denmark do with their masters, who, before they do them any service, receive

“ from their masters a sword and dagger after the fashion with silver belt and buttons. But how soon a misfortune falleth out in their service, their master spoileth them of all; otherwise if they do good service, they go free away with all. So now I think you may justly use me after this manner, for I must confess, you were the first, that ever wedded me with gifts; and, as God knows, for my own part, I think never to play the whore unto you with my honesty.” He concludes with desiring mr. BACON to esteem of him as one, who entertain’d friendship with him rather upon love than by putting his liberality for proof and trial, and thought himself as much honoured to receive his honest commands as his rewards.

Mr. BACON in a letter to dr. HAWKYNs of the 7th of May^p, after acquainting him, that sir GILLY MERICKE had that day assur’d him, that he should receive 100*l.* that evening time enough to be remitted to the doctor, referr’d him till the next week to know the earl’s resolution for his abode at Venice, and whether the queen was disposed to enter into farther terms of straiter correspondence with that state. He observed, that the lord BURGH was gone towards Ireland as lord deputy: that dr. BANCROFT was bishop of London: that the lord HUNSDON, lord chamberlain, and knight of the garter, flaunted it gallantly: and that a resolution of action was taken in the disjunctive, either for the recovery of Calais, or another sea voyage southward; and whichsoever of them took effect, the earl was like to be chief commander. “ God send him, *adds he*, no worse success than he had last, but better conduct for the general, and consequently for the particular.”

In a letter to the earl of the 13th of that month^q, mr. BACON acquainted his lordship, that mr. WILLIAM EURE, brother of the lord EURE, had, in a special confidence towards himself and devotion to his lordship, brought him one mr. SMITH, “ whom, tho’ never seen and known before by me, *says mr. BACON*, he had so prepared, as that at the very first, according to the French proverb, *il me monstra le fonds de son sac* both of his knowledge and experience, and of his most secret purposes; whereof I find one not unworthy first your lordship’s knowledge, and then your censure or furtherance, according as your lordship’s wisdom shall judge meet: which consisting of many particulars too tedious, and not meet to trouble your lordship withall by letter, I wish rather to deliver by mouth to mr. REYNOLDES, whensoever it shall please your lordship to spare him. This only upon conference and mr. SMITH’s propositions I think meet to signify unto your lordship, that if of his promises he can make a happy conclusion *in modo & figurâ* by the help of a good *medium*, his endeavours and service will be very meritorious, and no less available by subtraction than addition.”

He wrote again on the 15th to the earl^r, informing him, that mr. HUDSON was returned the day before out of Scotland, and had brought him a letter from mr. FOULIS, containing in cypher the advertisements, which mr. BACON now sent inclosed to his lordship; adding, that mr. HUDSON had likewise imparted to him in special confidence an overture propounded to him by a principal counsellor for BACLUGH’s

^p Vol. XV. fol. 119.^q Vol. XV. fol. 126.^r Vol. XV. fol. 125.

delivery and ward, for her majesty's satisfaction and the quiet of both the kingdoms; which he said with mr. BACON's good liking and allowance he would write himself to the earl, whose approbation or censure should either give motion or stop farther proceeding.

Towards the end of this month of May the earl of Essex was appointed chief commander of the fleet design'd against the Spaniard, consisting of 120 English and Dutch ships, viz. seventeen large, forty-three of a lesser kind, and the rest store-ships; and divided into three squadrons, the first commanded by the earl, the second by the lord THOMAS HOWARD, and the third by sir WALTER RALEGH. On board of this fleet were 5000 new raised soldiers, besides a thousand veterans sent for from the united provinces under sir FRANCIS VERE^f, who in his *Commentaries*[†] differs from the above-mentioned account of CAMDEN, computing the fleet to be 140 ships, and the army of landmen 8000. The principal officers of it under the earl were CHARLES BLOUNT lord Montjoy lieutenant general, sir FRANCIS VERE lord marshal, sir GEORGE CAREW master of the ordnance, sir CHRISTOPHER BLUNT, the earl's father-in-law, first colonel, sir FERDINANDO GORGE, serjeant-major, and sir OLIVER LAMBARD, quarter-master: the earls of Rutland and Southampton, and the lords GREY, CROMWELL, and RICH, with a great number of knights and gentlemen of distinction, were volunteers.

The design of this expedition was not originally of the earl's concerting, who in his *Apology*[‡] affirms, that it was well known, that the queen had arm'd and victual'd ten of her best ships, and caused the states of the Low Countries to prepare the like number, before ever he was spoken of to go to sea. And when the lord THOMAS HOWARD and sir WALTER RALEGH, who should have been sent out with this force, thought the hopes of doing any great service weak and uncertain, and the news of the Adelantado's preparation at Ferrol and the Groyne was daily confirmed, a new council was called, in which the majority resolv'd, that this force prepared was too great for a discovery, and too little for an attempt: that a fleet inferior to that, which the Adelantado commanded, might light upon some merchants, or take fishermen to learn some news, but would never be in any possibility to take any of the king of Spain's treasure, or safely land on the coast of Spain or Portugal, being able to command no port, nor daring to fight with the enemy's fleet, when it should come out: and lastly, that a fleet without an army to land might fail from cape to cape, and return, when their victuals were almost eaten, without doing any other service. For the Adelantado would not come forth, if he liked not his match, and the West-Indian fleet might be stay'd at the islands, or by advices alter their course so that they should hardly be intercepted. Then a new consultation was had, what might be done with a sufficient force by sea and land, and it was resolv'd, that not only Ferrol, where the Adelantado lay, but any part of Spain might be entered, and the forces of the king, which should be found in it, destroyed, or any port or island of the enemy taken and fortified: besides the commanding of any fleet of war or treasure, that should be met with at sea, if six ships of her majesty's and five thousand land-soldiers with vessels to transport them, were

^f CAMPDEN ELIZAB. p. 684.

[†] P. 45.

[‡] P. 13. edit. London, 1729, 8vo.

added to the former proportion. All which conditions being agreed to, and the lord admiral HOWARD excusing himself from undertaking the expedition on account of the indisposition of his body, the earl of Effex had warning to take the charge.

Upon his lordship's undertaking this expedition, mr. FRANCIS BACON, who always dissuaded him from seeking greatness by a military or a popular dependance, as that, which bred in the queen jealousy, in himself presumption, and in the state perturbation, seeing, that every spring put forth such actions of charge and provocation, thought it his duty to expostulate with his lordship in these words; "My lord, when I first came to you, I took you for a physician, who desired to cure the diseases of the state. But now I doubt you will be like to those physicians, who can be content to keep their patients long, because they would always be in request." This plainness the earl took very well, as he had an excellent ear, and was extremely patient of the truth; but observ'd; that the case of the realm requir'd that course. However this speech of mr. FRANCIS BACON, and the like renewed afterwards, were, in his opinion, the occasion of his lordship's writing his *Apology* addressed to mr. ANTHONY BACON *.

His lordship went to Chatham on Wednesday, the 1st of June, 1597^w, probably to forward the fitting out of the ships there; and in his absence, but with his approbation and furtherance, sir WALTER RALEGH, who had been in disgrace with the queen for about five years †, on account of having debauch'd mrs. ELIZABETH THROCKMORTON, one of her maids of honour, whom he afterwards married, was brought by secretary CECIL to her majesty, who received him very graciously, and gave him full authority to execute his post of captain of her guard; and in the evening he rode abroad and had private conference with her, and now came boldly to the privy chamber, as he used to do. On the Sunday preceding the lord COBHAM, whose suit for the wardenship of the cinque ports, held by his deceased father, had been strongly opposed by the earl, who supported that of sir ROBERT SIDNEY, was at court, and was assured by the queen, who had long speech with him, that he should have that post *, that lord having the weight of secretary's interest, who had married his sister.

The forces from the Low Countries granted by the states general for the expedition arrived in England about the middle or latter end of June, under the conduct of sir FRANCIS VERE, who found the earl of Effex at Sandwich, and his fleet anchored in the Downs. It being early in the morning, his lordship was in bed when sir FRANCIS was brought to him, and was welcomed by him with much demonstration of favour, and with many circumstances of words. The earl told him, that the lord MONTJOY was to go his lieutenant-general, not of his own choice, but thrust on him by the queen; but tho' that lord was before sir FRANCIS in place, yet the latter should retain his former office of a lord marshal, which, as it had been ever

* FRANCIS BACON's letter to the earl of Devonshire, *Scrinia Ceciliana*, p. 90, 91.

† Life of sir WALTER RALEGH, p. xxvi and lxxxviii. prefix'd to his works political, commercial, and philosophical, Vol. I.

^w Letters of the SIDNEY family, Vol. II. fol.

* SIDNEY letters, p. 54.

in English armies next the general in authority, so he would wholly lay the execution of it upon sir FRANCIS. As for the lieutenant-general, as he had a title without an office, so the honour must fall in effect on them, who did the service. His lordship used much more speech to the same purpose, tending to persuade sir FRANCIS, that it was not by his own working, and to remove the discouragement, which sir FRANCIS might conceive of it. The latter answer'd, that as he had partly understood before his coming out of the Low Countries, that the lord MONTJOY was to be lieutenant-general, he had forethought and resolv'd what to do. That tho' he was not sensible of any cause in himself of this reculement and disgrace, yet his affections having been always subject to the rules of obedience, since that lord was placed with her majesty's consent, his sincerity would not give him leave to absent himself, and colour his stay from that action with any feigned excuse, but counsell'd him to come over, both to obey the lord MONTJOY, and respect him as his place requir'd, much more the earl, who was general to them both; tho' he was not so ignorant of his lordship's power, as to doubt, that lord MONTJOY or any subject in England could be thrust on him without his procurement. As he had good cause therefore to judge, that his lordship had withdrawn much of his favour from him, so he humbly desired, that as by a retrenchment of the condition, which he was to hold in the expedition, he esteemed it rather a resignation to his lordship again of the honour, which the earl had given him the last year, so far as concern'd his particular respect to his lordship, unfought for by him, than a service to his lordship; so hereafter his lordship would be pleas'd not to use him at all in any action, wherein himself was to go chief. The earl seem'd to take these speeches of sir FRANCIS as proceeding rather of a passionate discontentment than of a resolution fram'd in cold blood, and that it would in time be digested; and so, without any sharpness on his part, the matter rested.

While the earl was preparing for his voyage, mr. FRANCIS BACON having an intention to pay his addreses to a rich widow, communicated it to his lordship, and desired his interest for the supporting his pretensions. The lady was ELIZABETH, daughter of sir THOMAS CECIL, eldest son of the lord treasurer, and afterwards earl of Exeter, and had been before married to sir WILLIAM HATTON. Mr. FRANCIS BACON began his letter to his lordship * upon this occasion with remarking, that the earl's so honourable minding his poor fortune the last year in the *very entrance into his great action*, (which is a time of less leisure) and in so liberal an allowance of his care, as to write three letters to stir up that gentleman's friends in his lordship's absence, “ did, after a sort, *says he*, warrant me not to object to myself your
“ present quantity of affairs, whereby to silence myself from petition of the like
“ favour. I brake with your lordship myself at the Tower, and I take it, my
“ brother hath since renewed the same motion, touching a fortune I was in thought
“ to attempt *in genere oeconomico*. *In genere politico* certain cross winds have blown
“ contrary. My suit to your lordship is for your several letters to be left with
“ me dormant to the gentlewoman and either of her parents; wherein I do not
“ doubt, but as the beams of your favour have often dissolved the coldness of my
“ fortune, so in this argument your lordship will do the like with your pen.” He

† VERE's commentaries, p. 46, 47, 48.

* See his works, Vol. II. p. 431, edit. 1753.

then desires his lordship to write a general letter in his favour to the lord keeper, that he might continue recommended to the latter from the earl, both in the course of his practice, and in that of his employment for her majesty's service; "wherein," *adds he*, if your lordship shall in any *antithesis* or relation affirm, that his lordship shall have no less fruit of me than of any other, whom he may cherish, I hope your lordship shall engage yourself for no impossibility." He said, he knew not, whether he should attain to see the earl before his *noble journey*, for ceremonies were things infinitely inferior to his love and his zeal; but desired his lordship's permission to say this to him with his pen, that it was true, that in his well-meaning advices, out of love to his lordship, and perhaps out of the state of his own mind, he had sometimes persuaded a course differing: *at tibi pro tutis insignia facta placebant*: "be it so," *says he*, yet remember, that the signing of your name is nothing, unless it be some good patent or charter, whereby your country may be endowed with good and benefit. Which I speak both to move you to preserve your person for farther merit and service both of her majesty and your country, and likewise to refer this action to the same end." The earl immediately gratified him in his first request, by writing from Sandwich two letters, one of which was addressed to sir THOMAS CECIL ^z.

"Sir,

"I write this letter from the sea-side, ready to go aboard, and leave it with my secretary to be by him delivered to you, whensoever he shall know, that my dear and worthy friend mr. FRANCIS BACON is a suitor to my lady HATTON your daughter. What his virtues and excellent parts are, you are not ignorant. What advantages you may give both to yourself and to your house by having a son-in-law so qualified, and so likely to rise in his profession, you may easily judge. Therefore to warrant my moving of you to incline favourably to his suit, I will only add this, that if she were my sister or daughter, I protest I would as confidently resolve myself to farther it, as now I persuade you. And tho' my love to him be exceedingly great, yet is my judgment nothing partial; for he, that knows him so well as I do, cannot but be so affected. In this farewell of mine I pray you receive the kindest wishes of

"Your most affectionate

"Sandwich, this 24th of June,

"and assured friend,

"E S S E X."

His lordship's other letter was to the lady of sir THOMAS CECIL ^a, one of the daughters and co-heirs of JOHN NEVIL, lord Latimer.

"Madam,

"The end in my writing to your ladyship now is to do that office to my worthy and dear friend, which, if I had stayed in England, I would have done by speech; and that is to solicit your ladyship to favour his suit to my lady HATTON, your

^z Vol. XV. fol. 131.

^a Vol. XV. fol. 131.

“ daughter; which I do in the behalf of mr. FRANCIS BACON, whose virtues I
 “ know so much, as I must hold him worthy of very good fortune. If my judg-
 “ ment be any thing, I do assure your ladyship, I think you shall very happily
 “ bestow your daughter. And if my truth be any thing, I protest, if I had one as
 “ near me, as she is to you, I had rather match her with him than with men of
 “ far greater titles. And if my words do carry credit with your ladyship, you shall
 “ make me very much bound to you, and shall tie me to be

“ at your ladyship’s commandment,

“ Sandwich, the 24th of June,

“ 1597.

“ ESSEX.”

But mr. FRANCIS BACON did not succeed in his application to the lady HATTON,^b who afterwards married the attorney-general COKE.

The land-forces appointed to rendezvous at Weymouth being arrived there some time before, sir CHRISTOPHER BLUNT in a letter from thence on the 26th of June^b acquainted the earl with it, and that the money delivered to him as impress’d for them, was issued, as appeared from his account. The deputy-lieutenants were very careful to see the soldiers maintain’d till his lordship’s arrival, upon the credit of his letters directed to them. Yet the dearth was universally such, that sir CHRISTOPHER perceived, that if the people had not in a short space satisfaction, their guests would grow exceedingly troublesome to them. And therefore if the earl did not afford the favour of his eyes to the viewing of those troops, before he meant they should be embarked, sir CHRISTOPHER wished, that the shipping for them might be hasten’d to Weymouth, in order that the country might be relieved, and the soldiers put into such readiness, that his lordship’s speed to a farther course might not be hindered by their embarking; which would ask one day’s travel (after the warning to march) at the least. The seven companies lodg’d in Dorchester and near about that town under the captains DAVIS, BOUSTRELL, SALISBURY, MORGAN, WILLIAMS, PEYTON, and PYNNER, had been daily trained since sir CHRISTOPHER’S arrival, and made most of them better soldiers than some of the captains would, he fear’d, prove commanders. “ But of that, *says he*, when your honour
 “ arriveth, you shall hear my opinion. In the mean while I humbly pray, that of
 “ those people, who already know my voice, my regiment may consist; and that
 “ capt. BOUSTRELL, who by means of my taking his soldiers into my charge, and
 “ having alter’d the same into persons fitting a camp-master’s company, be not
 “ left to seek, who for his ability and diligence in service must not be forgotten,
 “ if my credit may prevail with the earl my general, whom I faithfully honour,
 “ and will ever truly serve till I be dead.”

The earl of Essex having recommended his old servant mr. REYNOLDES to the queen for preferment, mr. BACON, who was retired for his health to Twickenham, wrote from thence to secretary CECIL on the 5th of July^c, in favour of that gentleman, beginning with assuring the secretary, that he was neither able nor

^b Letters to ROBERT earl of Essex, collected by JOHN CASTLE.

^c Vol. XV.

meant, to undertake to exprefs in words the exceeding inward contentment, which he had received by his kind letter; but that it was his refolution, and fhould be one of his daily chief cares, to acknowledge by the beft demonstrations a dutiful honeft mind, defiring a difpenfation for his body; not doubting but that God, the author and fautor of all good thoughts, would affift him, and blefs his intire meaning and earneft defire with fome means and ability to render an acceptable proof of his fincerity. He crav'd leave with an humble refpectful freeness to fignify, that in confidence of this he fhould make no difficulty to have recourfe to the fecretary's favour and furtherance in fuch occasions and matters, “ as I hope, *fays he*, your
 “ wifdom and judgment fhall allow; and confequently difpofe your kind affection
 “ to make your poor kinfman beholding unto you, either for himfelf or his friends;
 “ in the number of whom mr. REYNOLDES, a moft honeft confident worthy fervant of fo noble a lord, holding a principal place by the merit of his devotion,
 “ fufficiency, and indefatigable diligence, whereof I have been a continual witnefs,
 “ will be bold to recommend unto your honour's beft favour and furtherance the
 “ fuit, which his dear lord (whom God guide and defend) hath already begun to
 “ her majesty, and, as his lordfhip told me himfelf, obtain'd her royal gracious
 “ affent; the particulars whereof referring to the gentleman's own relation to your
 “ honour, I will only offer and conftitute myfelf as a pledge of his lord and mafter's
 “ moft grateful acceptance and acknowledgment of your favourable mediation, and
 “ of the gentleman's own due thankfulness to the uttermoft of his poor ability.

The fecretary having receiv'd mr. REYNOLDES with great civility, mr. BACON wrote again to him on the 11th of July^d, to thank him for his favourable uſage of his friend, “ who now, ſays he, in the abſence of his lord, by his lordſhip's own
 “ direction and affurance, hath caſt the anchor of his hope and good hap only
 “ upon your honour, to whoſe kindneſs and judgment ſeeing I cannot preſent any
 “ other arguments of remonſtrance or perſuaſion to accompliſh ſo honourable and
 “ fruitful a work, than ſuch as I have already mention'd, I am only to inſiſt upon
 “ an humble and earneſt entreaty of your honour's beſt and timely furtherance in
 “ this his ſuit; albeit, I wiſhed and adviſed him the other day to exchange it with
 “ one of another kind, to wit, the two reverſions into one place of poſſeſſion, that
 “ I underſtand to be very lately fallen void; I mean the clerkſhip of the parlia-
 “ ment, whereunto the honeſt gentleman answer'd me dutifully and diſcreetly, that
 “ tho' it was a place more fitting his deſire than many others of thrice greater pro-
 “ fit, yet durſt he not, nor would not bend his thoughts that way, much leſs pro-
 “ pound the ſame, without your honour's privy, leave, and good liking firſt ob-
 “ tain'd by me. Whereupon I am to beſeech your honour to ſignify unto me your
 “ pleaſure, as alſo to vouchſafe to conſider, how juſt cauſe I have to wiſh and tender
 “ mr. REYNOLDES his good, ſeeing him to rely intirely upon your honour's
 “ creance with her majesty, and affection towards his lord and maſter, and with-
 “ all that he contents himſelf with my ſole ſimple recommendation and ſollici-
 “ tation to your honour.”

The ſecretary return'd this letter with the following answer :

^d Volume of mr. BACON's papers in my poſſeſſion, fol. 49.

“ Cousin,

“ I have spoken with mr. KILLIGREW of mr. REYNOLDES’s cause, and he will,
 “ as soon as he returns, let no opportunity pass to bring me into the matter pro-
 “ perly. For this matter of the parliament, mr. SMITH, the clerk of the council,
 “ is engaged in it. But in these things, I beseech you, let not mr. REYNOLDES be
 “ nice in any thing, when occasion serveth; for he may, by such dependency,
 “ omit the opportunity, which here governs much.

“ Your loving kinsman

“ RO. CECYLL.”

In another letter * the secretary mention’d his having receiv’d, in mr. BACON’s, one from mr. REYNOLDES; “ and if you observe, *says he*, my writing yesternight,
 “ you may perceive, that I had something to speak to him in particular, which was
 “ to let him know both of MADDOX’s suit and of ONSLOW’s, and what I had done
 “ to impedit both of them. The first I directly denied; the second pretends great
 “ promises and great friends about the queen, and urges a circumstance to induce
 “ the queen’s favour, in respect of a lease she hath taken from his father, and given
 “ unto mr. NICOLAS DARCY. His principal means, on whom he relieth, is sir
 “ THOMAS GORGE and my lady Marchioness†. Of this much you may take
 “ knowledge to him, and require him to take some occasion to come unto me.”
 He then desir’d mr. BACON, among his directions to his friend, (probably dr. HAWKYNs, since it appears from other letters, that mr. BACON communicated intelligence from Italy to the secretary,) to require him particularly to hearken after the marriage of the king of Spain’s daughter with cardinal ALBERT, when it should be, which way she was to come, and what would be the conditions. The former part of this letter was in the hand-writing of one of the secretary’s clerks; to which he added in his own, “ Sir, you are wise, and can consider, that it is somewhat
 “ tender (how much soever alienation be removed from between the earl and me)
 “ for me to become the suitor for his servant. I shall do him more good by
 “ seconding it, by keeping a negative to others, and shall best discharge the earl’s
 “ own directions; for I will not be any first-mover for him. But as I know the
 “ queen is like to speak with me before she pass it, so I will improve it to his own
 “ best liking, I doubt not; neither do I think it fit, if such a man as he have
 “ either, but that they be joined. This you must reserve to yourself.”

The earl departed from the court, for the expedition, upon very good terms with secretary CECIL, as appears from the following letter of his lordship’s uncle, sir WILLIAM KNOLLYS, comptroller of the household‡,

“ My very good lord,

“ Her majesty hath commanded her officers of the household to attend from day
 “ to day ever since your lordship’s departure, which was the cause, that I have

* Ibid. fol 44.

† Of Winchester.

‡ Letters to ROBERT earl of Essex, collected by JOHN CASTLE.

“ not

“ not attended you before your lordship’s going ; and yesterday desiring leave, I
 “ was denied, alledging, I should lose my labour. Not content therewith, being
 “ myself a prisoner to her majesty’s will, I have sent this bearer to bring me word
 “ of your lordship’s health, and how you are pleased with your ships and company.
 “ I would to God the wind would as well fort with your liking, as all things else,
 “ I hope, will. The queen taketh mr. secretary’s going to you exceedingly kindly,
 “ and faith she will love him the better whilst she knoweth him ; which argueth her
 “ great love and favour to yourself. And if we lived not in a cunning world, I
 “ should assure myself, that mr. secretary were wholly yours, as seeming to rejoice
 “ at every thing, that may succeed well with you, and to be grieved at the con-
 “ trary ; and doth, as I hear, all good offices he may for you to the queen. I
 “ pray God it have a good foundation ; and then is he very worthy to be em-
 “ braced. I will hope the best, yet will I observe him as narrowly as I can. But
 “ your lordship knows best the humour both of the time and the person ; and so
 “ I leave him to your better judgment. If I may receive my directions from your
 “ lordship hither in this or any thing else, I will faithfully effect what my power
 “ can reach to. And as I will be a watchful centinel to discern the difference of
 “ your friends and enemies at home, if you have any ; so will I most heartily pray
 “ for your increase of honour and prosperous success abroad. And thus wishing
 “ your lordship a happy and speedy return with victory, I commend the same to
 “ God’s good patience, and shall ever remain

“ Your lordship’s ever to command

“ W. KNOLLYS.

“ Her majesty was not yesterday very well ; but you must by no means know so
 “ much, fearing, lest by posting hither, you might lose time.

“ If it may please your lordship to impart to me your purpose this journey, I
 “ should be much satisfied, and will keep it to myself.”

Sir WILLIAM KNOLLYS wrote another letter to the earl in these terms^a :

“ My very good lord,
 “ Her majesty’s care of you, and her prayers for your good success, continue
 “ very constant ; and I am glad to believe, that she imputeth the goodness of this
 “ wind, contrary to the season of the year, only to your prayers ; which I hope will
 “ increase her love thereof. She is much troubled with the leak of your ship ; but
 “ therein your lordship knoweth best what you have to do. My lord admiral and
 “ my lord treasurer take their pleasure in the country ; and whereas I hear, that
 “ your lordship is not so well furnished of mariners, as I could wish, I have heard
 “ my lord admiral say, that you had discharged many mariners, seeming to marvel
 “ at it ; and that divers of them were such, as he knew to be very able and skilful
 “ men. He is out of countenance, and I think ashamed, he hath been so careless of
 “ his duty that way. Mr. secretary remaineth in all shew firm to your lordship,

^a Ibid.

“ and no doubt will, so long as the queen is so well pleased with you. And there-
 “ fore I pray God from my heart so to bless you in this action, as her majesty
 “ being honoured by your victories, she may have cause to continue her loving
 “ care of you. Myself will ever attend your lordship with my best and devouteſt
 “ prayers for your happy ſucceſs and ſafe return. And thus wiſhing your lordſhip
 “ your heart’s deſire, I will ever remain

“ Your lordſhip’s moſt aſſured to command

W. KNOLLYS.

“ The news of Blavet is confirmed, that upon a ſaint’s day don JUAN going on
 “ proceſſion, two companies of Italian Albanefe horſemen watching their time ſet
 “ upon the Spaniard; and having taken 200 and don JUAN priſoner, they poſſeſſ-
 “ ed themſelves of the place, which is ſtored with 40 battering pieces, and great
 “ ſtore of munition and victual; and have deputed one to go and treat with the
 “ French king.”

Upon the earl’s arrival at Weymouth he reconcil’d ſir FRANCIS VERE and ſir WALTER RALEGH, whom he imagin’d to retain ſome memory of their quarrel the laſt year; both of them ſhaking hands the more willingly, as nothing had paſt between them before, which might blemiſh their reputation¹. From thence the fleet ſail’d to Plymouth, and on the 9th of July for the coaſt of Spain; and two days after every ſhip receiv’d their ſealed inſtructions relating to the courſe, which they were to ſteer¹. The earl’s firſt deſign was upon Ferrol, both by the queen’s command and his own choice, for when he had taken that fort, he might go afterwards whither he pleas’d, and do almoſt what he thought proper, upon any places upon the ſea-coaſt. And he had little reaſon to doubt of doing what he would upon the fleet and army at Ferrol, if he had met with a favourable paſſage and a ſeaſon to land his troops, and enter the port, the Spaniſh preparations to reſiſt being all known, and little moving any diſtruſt of the poſſibility or facility of this kind of enterpriſe. The advantages, which would have ariſen from the ſucceſs of this deſign, were manifeſt: her majesty’s dominions had been ſecured for a long time from any Spaniſh invaſion; the king of Spain’s Eaſt and Weſt-India fleets both going out and coming home utterly unguarded; the taking of all the Spaniſh and Portugueſe iſlands made eaſy; and the voyage of the Weſt-Indies warranted from two of the greateſt dangers, an encounter by ſea, and an invaſion by land, whiſt the queen’s forces were abſent. In ſhort, her majesty had been made ſuch an abſolute queen, and the enemy ſo diſarmed by ſea, that ſhe might either force him to any conditions of peace, or make war to her infinite advantage and his utter ruin. His lordſhip had alſo thought upon ſome places, that might have been holden for diverſion of the wars: and if ever the taking of the Indian fleets was likely, he knew, that he ſhould have been in a fair way for it; tho’ theſe hopes were but by-chances, his firſt and main deſign being to attack the Adelantado in Ferrol, which was the rendezvous, which he gave, and to which he ſhap’d his courſe, in order to deſtroy the enemy’s fleet there, which

¹ VERE’s Commentaries, p. 48.

¹ CAMDENI ELIZ. p. 684.

had lain there a whole year threatening England, and to drive their army into the hills, or else to sacrifice himself. The causes, which frustrated these designs, were first the violent long tempests, which took the English ships in the height of 46 degrees, scattering them, and disabling and almost drowning most of the principal of them; and driving them back to the coast of England: next, the unseasonable stormy weather, which kept them a month after they had put back, from attempting to sail again: and lastly their wants, which oblig'd the earl to discharge the whole land army, except a thousand men^m. While the fleet lay thus wind-bound at Plymouth, the earl went post to court on Monday the 1st of August, accompanied with sir WALTER RALEGHⁿ, and made an offer of service to the queen, if she would permit him to go but with half of the fleet and less than half of the army to such a place, as himself and the council of war had chosen. And when this was rejected by the queen, he propos'd to her the attempting of the fleet in Ferrol, if she would give him leave to hazard the thousand old foldiers, with some number of fly-boats and merchant-ships, and the St. Matthew and St. Andrew for himself, and another commander, to go in as a guard to the rest, and as fit ships to board the greatest of the galleons; leaving all the queen's ships with the other principal commanders without in the bay, till the others had tried their fortune. The answer, which he receiv'd, was to hazard none but these, and that with some limitations^o; which appear to have been an absolute bar to the risking any of the other ships, and as absolute restraint of the earl himself from going into the harbour to put the project in execution; for which sir WALTER RALEGH was appointed^p, and the charge of firing the enemy's fleet undertaken by him^q.

Upon the news of the earl's arrival at court from Plymouth, mr. BACON, then at Twickenham, wrote to his lordship on the 3d of August^r, to congratulate him upon his miraculous delivery from so imminent a danger, as he had escap'd. And the same day he receiv'd the following letter from secretary CECIL^s.

“ Cousin,

“ I have heard the bearer at large, and find zeal and experience in him, which
 “ is all the account, that yet I can yield you. I will digest it a while, which he
 “ hath given me, and then bethink me of some course for her majesty to be ac-
 “ quainted with it. For your desire or purpose to visit me, I beseech you think,
 “ that those ceremonies are needless to me, that ground my love upon the other
 “ obligations between you and me; and it may discommode you to attend it, in
 “ regard of your indisposition; whereas I can catch an opportunity hereafter to see
 “ you, where you are; for I assure you, if I would appoint you the time with
 “ certainty to find me, I should break it a thousand to one, such are the distrac-
 “ tions, which my service in that kind affords me. And so with many thanks,

^m Apology of the earl of Essex, p. 14, 15, 16.

ⁿ Letters of the SIDNEY family, vol. II. p. 59.

^o Apology, p. 16, 17.

^p Sir ARTHUR GORGES's relation of the voyage to the Azores, PURCHAS, vol. IV. fol. 1935.

^q VERE's Comment. fol. 50.

^r Vol. XV. fol. 162.

^s MS. volume of mr. BACON's papers in my possession, fol. 51.

“ desiring you in no wise to make me think you will use me with compliments, I
 “ commit you to God.

“ Your loving kinsman and assured friend

“ From the court, this 3d
 “ of August 97.

“ R O. C E C Y L L.”

Mr. NICHOLAS TROTT, of Gray's-inn, whose whole fortune had been engag'd for the service of mr. FRANCIS BACON, being now very uneasy at the treatment, which he had receiv'd from that gentleman, in a long letter from Thistleworth, on the 7th of August 1597^t, represented to mr. ANTHONY BACON his case, desiring him to forget a while that himself was a party, and to give his counsel to him, who had great need of it. In order to have a proper notion of mr. FRANCIS BACON's conduct towards mr. TROTT, it will be necessary to state the affairs between them at large from this letter. When mr. TROTT's mother found, that her weakness grew fast upon her, she resolved to give over her trade, wherein she had continued twelve years after his father's death, and put her stock into the hands of certain of her friends to merchandize, and to commit the care and authority of it to him upon his covenant and bond of 5000*l.* to her nephew GAMAGE, to pay her, during her life, yearly 300*l.* and if she out-liv'd her son, to procure her own to be repaid her. And persuading herself much of mr. FRANCIS BACON's honesty, and knowing the reverence, which her son bore him, she requir'd, that he might be of council therein; for her meaning was, as she then and often afterwards said, to have recourse to him, if her son should wrong her. The book corrected with mr. FRANCIS BACON's own hand was still extant. Within a short time after he wrote to mr. TROTT to borrow of him 200*l.* for a month, to make up a payment to the lady PAULET; which mr. TROTT, drawing from his brother TUDNAM, lent him without any other consideration or assurance than his letter of request, and his conscioufness of the receipt of it. It was three quarters of a year before mr. TROTT heard any more of the money; and then mr. FRANCIS BACON, being with him at mr. MILD MAY's house, requir'd mr. TROTT to deal for Redburne, and so pay himself; which, he said, he must then sell to make over provision for his brother ANTHONY, whose book of conveyance he gave to mr. TROTT to consider. But the latter being unsatisfied with it refused to deal in it, tho' mr. FRANCIS BACON offer'd the estate for little more than 1200*l.* and for security propos'd a conditional assurance of his marshes. He then affirming himself to be prest desir'd mr. TROTT to lend him 200*l.* more; for which, and the other money, he should have mr. HENRY NEVILLE's bond, and mr. EDWARD BACON's, if mr. TROTT desired it; but vow'd, that if that gentleman would take his own bond, he should be paid all on the May-day following, tho' he should sell the best land, which he had. Upon this mr. TROTT took his bond of 800*l.* for payment of 400*l.* on the 3d of May. The truth was, mr. FRANCIS BACON gave mr. TROTT a new year's gift, as much fatten as made the latter a doublet, who thought, that he intended it as an acknowledgment of his accommodating mr. FRANCIS with the money; for other consideration thereof mr. TROTT never had nor requir'd; nor receiv'd any thing of him for a year after at least; and then he was engag'd in that unhappy northern bargain*, his treatment with regard to which he took little

^t Vol. XV. fol. 170. * Probably the pro-council in the north, about which he was still curing a joint patent of the place of clerk of the treating in May 1595. Vol. V. fol. 80, 81.

pleasure to recount. But mr. FRANCIS BACON was dealt with by mr. JONES to get certain lands to be pass'd; whereupon there were *redditus resoluti*, a thing of profit, and then usual, as mr. TROTT was inform'd; tho' in fact not direct nor just. That land was not obtain'd, but mr. TROTT greatly injur'd by the bargain, and yet mr. FRANCIS BACON would needs charge him with a sum promis'd him by mr. JONES, and indeed agreed to be paid by mr. TROTT out of the profit, which he had been made to believe would arise out of the purchase. In the carriage of this matter his eyes were open'd to see his error, and he grew very earnest to have his 400 l. repaid, having been then due and the bond forfeited a year and half, and requir'd of the forfeiture so much, as he had been injur'd, and paid over to his mother since the last renewing of it. But before he could get it, mr. ANTHONY BACON return'd to England, and mr. TROTT was content, upon intreaty, to make it up 600 l. upon condition, that the former would join bond for the payment of it. What pass'd concerning the loan to mr. ANTHONY BACON, because it was not in question, mr. TROTT omitted. But when that gentleman should have paid the 600 l. he sent for mr. TROTT to Gorhambury, and told him the forwardness, which his brother was in to be attorney-general; and that the lord treasurer, to disgrace the latter, had said to him at a dinner openly, that his father would have been angry, if he should have understood of the selling of his best land in Essex. To which mr. FRANCIS BACON answer'd, that he had borrowed a little money upon it, and would presently redeem it. Mr. ANTHONY BACON remark'd upon this, that his lordship did not speak to his brother FRANCIS in that manner out of care of his lands, but only to discredit him: and therefore mr. TROTT was desir'd by mr. ANTHONY BACON to help his brother to redeem them. He alledg'd many reasons, why he should not deal with mr. FRANCIS BACON, which he left to mr. ANTHONY's remembrance; and urg'd with respect to himself, what was the truth, that he had used the credit of his friends to borrow 500 l. of what he had lent mr. ANTHONY, and could not repay it without taking so much from them, to whom his mother had committed it; which would displease them both. Besides, he was then to accommodate himself, and to use his means to get some office, &c. Mr. ANTHONY BACON offer'd to join with him in this for the 600 l. if mr. TROTT would lend 1400 l. more, assuring him, that he had not only authority to deal with him at large for it, but precisely in the point agreed upon on Easterday-morning, and desir'd him to trust him in it without more covenanting, till his brother was placed, which, mr. ANTHONY assur'd him, could not be long. The latter prevail'd upon him to lend this 2000 l. upon Marks, without agreeing for any other consideration, as appear'd from an indenture acknowledg'd before dr. HOANE. But when the six months after acknowledgment approach'd, mr. FRANCIS BACON wrote mr. TROTT a letter, obtesting him by their friendship, to forbear the inrolment, and to let him mortgage that land again to mr. HARVEY, and that he should have immediately made over to him his quilllets in Essex, the leases of Twickenham and Redburne for assurance, and such present performance of other promises, as he desir'd. Mr. TROTT was content to satisfy him, and venture such a sum upon his honesty. But how he was used for that assurance, mr. FRANCIS BACON could not forget, but immediately after open'd himself to him, and told him, that mr. MAYNARD offer'd him, from sir. ANTHONY ASHLEY, above 3000 l. for his office. Mr. TROTT confesses, that he was not the best pleas'd with this dealing, and told mr. ANTHONY

BACON of it. But his answer to mr. FRANCIS was, that he was glad of it, and desir'd him, that he would then restore to him his means. Mr. FRANCIS replied, that he knew well what mr. TROTT had paid over, and that he should not lose a penny by him; desiring him to set down the account, which mr. TROTT did, and mr. FRANCIS abated almost 40%. of it; but promis'd him, that he should be paid by mr. QUARLES 1000 l. which he would himself never handle, and the rest in three months after. Mr. TROTT almost forgot to remember the 50 l. which mr. ANTHONY paid mr. FRANCIS, and 100 l. which the former procur'd mr. TROTT to enter into bond for; when in the heat of mr. FRANCIS's suit he sent his jewel, so well known, to be mortgag'd for 100 l. to the goldsmith, which mr. ANTHONY said would be to his brother's great discredit; which 100 l. mr. TROTT likewise paid. Since that mr. FRANCIS's promises to assure to mr. TROTT Presbury, his so often covenants and bonds, and all, that might make a man trusted, being broken, would, in a thing importing the whole estate and credit of the latter, justly, as he took it, move him to seek his own at last. "But your brother, *says he*, "using me ill otherwise, by his letters telleth me, he will pay no usury, and by mr. "BING required abatements. I never bargained with your brother for usury, "neither would I, as God knoweth, ever have lent him such a sum thereupon, as, "I think, you will testify, when you are brought to it: and by divers of your "brother's letters it appeareth, that it was not money, nor usury, which he or I intended should be paid for his leave. And yet I am not ignorant with what "trouble of his, and circuit of his friends, he hath and doth take up money. "And, sir, myself, to serve him, have paid in usury about 300 l. beside that, "which I have paid my mother: the persons, to whom I have paid all but one " (for 200 l. a year) and they, whose credit I have used, and the brokers employed, "live now: and yourself live, whose conscience I must appeal to for that, which I "alledge of your knowledge, and some other particulars. And how would you require me to defer this matter any longer with this so great danger, and to pay myself "interest for one, that would undo me by defrauding me of that I pay for him, beside "the hazard of the principal, and the using of most of my friends, and alienating the "rest? I speak nothing of mr. FLEETWOOD'S * * *, which I think few men "would offer to a poor friend, nor of my mother's displeasure. But I end. I require you, that I be not intreated to betray myself by deferring these matters till "my proofs fail, and still borrow to pay out for him. I will be sworn and make "it appear, I am not worth, of mine own, 500 l. and I have been forced, for your "brother's default, to pay for him above 600 l. for interest to my mother and "others, which is more by 100 l. than I am worth. If your brother doubt or "deny any thing hereof, that lieth for me to prove, I can make due proof of it "now. If he agree the truth of the case, let us before suit refer it to my lord "keeper to determine as arbitrator, or to any person, to whom such a thing is fit "to be committed. I refuse none, and I think there is no conscience will allow "him to get another man's money in such sort, to keep it to serve his own turn "per force. But if there be, I would be content to redeem my quiet with less, "so I might ease my mind, that can bear this burden no longer."

Mr. BACON having, in his answer to this letter, endeavour'd by earnestness of intreaty and promises to over-rule all mr. TROTT's reasons and even regard of peril, the

the latter in his reply^v, desir'd him to let his own words reflect upon himself, “ and
 “ warm your honesty, *says he*, to perform them, as they work me to give you con-
 “ tentment; which I will summon you to before God and the world.” He then
 proposes the manner, in which he expected to be repaid his debt.

The earl of Essex, after a few days stay at the court, returning to the fleet, wrote
 from thence, on the 13th of August, the following letter to his secretary^w:

“ REYNOLDES,

“ I pray you let LINDLEY know, that I have receiv'd his packet, wherein was
 “ the counter-part of the lease of my sweet wines *, and it is delivered to OLDIS-
 “ WORTH, signed and sealed, to be brought you. I do only stay OLDISWORTH till
 “ I have a wind to carry me hence, or till my cousin sir ANTHONY SHERLEY's re-
 “ turn. Such contrariety of winds, and such extreme weather at this time a year,
 “ hath not been seen. But it is the will of God, who, I know, doth all for the
 “ best. I spoke to mr. ANTHONY BACON, at my taking leave of him, to make it
 “ known abroad, how violently these winds and storms both drave me back, and now
 “ keep me in, tho' I did strive against them to the uttermost, so far that I beat it up
 “ in all the storms after most of the officers of the army, as the rear-admiral, the
 “ marshal, the master of the ordnance, and the serjeant-major, and half the queen's
 “ ships were return'd. I beat it up till my ship was falling asunder, having a leak,
 “ that we pumped eight tuns of water a day out of her; her main and fore-masts
 “ cracked, and most of her beams broken and reft, besides the opening of all her
 “ seams. Now I have been almost as long time at sea, as I was first victualled for,
 “ and the supply of a month's victual is not come to me. But I will, by God's
 “ grace, yet live at sea, till I see winter come in, if my month's victual come to
 “ me; and we will fare hardly but we will offer to dispute the cause with the Ade-
 “ lantado, if he mean to look abroad this year. I have had some sickness in the
 “ new levied companies, but no mortality; for to prevent it I have divers half
 “ and some whole companies. Perform in my absence such com-
 “ pliments, as you shall think good to my friends, and excuse me to them; for I
 “ have my heart, my head, and my hands full. Farewel, good REYNOLDES, and
 “ know me to be

“ Your very loving master and friend

“ From aboard the Dare this

“ 13th of August 1597.

“ E S S E X.”

Sir ROBERT KER, laird of Cesford, having, about this time, made an offer to
 the lord EURE of extraordinary service to the queen, and that lord having written
 to mr. BACON to communicate the affair to secretary CRECIL, mr. BACON in his
 answer to his lordship on the 13th of August 1597^x observ'd, that as this offer,
 if it were rightly taken, could not be but very agreeable to the queen; so yet know-
 ing by some little experience, that in occurrences of that nature the circumstance of
 priority of time was very available, he thought good first to understand from his

^v Vol. XV. fol. 169.

^w Vol. XV. fol. 164.

* Granted by the queen to the earl.

^x Vol. XV. fol. 163.

lordship, whether the laird of Cesford had not made his way by the English ambassador in Scotland, or sir WILLIAM BOWES at least, or some other, in England, before he, mr. BACON, imparted it to secretary CECIL from his lordship. “ For if, *says he*, your lordship’s entremise should not be first, sole and principal, but should serve only for a confirmation of that, which others had before propounded, I could wish your lordship to let him proceed with others, without being a second. In the mean time, till I hear from your lordship touching this point, I will not fail to prepare and dispose mr. secretary, not only to an honourable indifference, which is due to your lordship’s quality and merit, but to so favourable an inclination, in ought, that shall concern your lordship, as the respect of kindred, and pawn of my best thankfulness for any good office by him done to your lordship, can obtain and effectuate at his honour’s hand.”

The earl of Essex being ready to set sail with the fleet the second time, which he did on the 17th of August, wrote the following letter to her majesty^y:

“ Most dear lady,
 “ Now I am leaving the shore, and thinking of all I leave behind me, next yourself none are so dear as they, that with most care and zeal do serve you; of which number I beseech your majesty to remember that truly honest earl^z, that waits in my place. Your majesty is in debt to him and to yourself, till you do for him. Him only of his coat yourself thinks yourself behind hand with. Therefore, dear lady, for your justice sake, and for your poor absent servant’s sake, take some time to shew your favour to him. You shall never repose trust in a safer place. Pardon this freedom of spirit

“ from your majesty’s humblest vassal

“ E S S E X.”

After his lordship’s departure from Plymouth with the fleet, mr. BACON expected the first opportunity of writing to him the state of affairs at home; but being disabled by the gout in both his hands, requested the lord HENRY HOWARD to supply his place, which that lord did in a long letter of the 14th of September 1597^a. He tells the earl, that mr. BACON had desir’d him to recommend his affectionate and humble service to his lordship, which had no date but his life’s ending. “ The world, *says he*, is quick, and pens are nimble in reporting wrongs; in respect whereof rather doubting, lest some of your pretended friends, in respect of his alliance with a certain person, might out of humour, without any ground, lend him a charity, than you to continue in retaining a firm impression of his devoted faith; he hath required me as a constant witness of his love to you, by way of caution to put in a bar to any wrongful plot, that might be preferred to his prejudice. He knows your noble disposition, and hath often had experiment of your facility in acquitting persons guilty, as he cannot fear your hard conceit against him, that ever will be innocent, believing your most noble favour to be

^y Vol. XV. fol. 165.

^z EDWARD earl of Worcester, appointed master

of the horse to queen ELIZABETH in 1600.

^a Vol. XV. fol. 156.

“ grounded

“ grounded upon principles of antient experience, too strong to be shaken with any
 “ blast of emulation. His brother, as the world doth know, is dear to him ; and
 “ yet I dare be sworn, that he would rather with him under ground, than he should
 “ live to your prejudice.” He observes, that mr. BACON’s faith was very strong
 in his lordship ; “ and yet, *says he*, this world is strange ; whereof, if other wit-
 “ nesses should want, I will take oath, as one emboldened by private smart to justi-
 “ fy the faith of such a worthy friend, as fears to taste of that unfriendly cup, by
 “ which heretofore I myself have been poisoned ; I ambitious only of the reputation
 “ of loving you more than it is possible for any man alive ; and yet mr. BACON the
 “ only man, to whom I give leave to be my competitor.” He recommends to the
 earl the bearer of this letter, mr. BACON’s nephew, and mr. REYNOLDES for the
 clerkship of the small stores fallen since his lordship’s departure in his office of the
 ordnance. For tho’ it was not of that value, as to be an equivalent to the merit of
 one of the most loving, faithful, secret, and sufficient servants, whom lord HENRY
 had known in the service of any nobleman in the earl’s place ; yet mr. REYNOLDES
 would be glad to carry in the world’s eye for his credit that mark of his lordship’s
 favour, till the earl should have occasion and means to consider of him otherwise.

The lord HENRY wrote at the same time another letter to the earl^b in his own
 name, to thank his lordship for his noble speech of his nephew, probably lord THO.
 HOWARD, at the earl’s being at court, both to the queen and the secretary. “ For
 “ this bearer, *says he*, I have let him understand how much he owes to you, and
 “ do assure myself, that if occasion serve, the hazard and adventure of his life to
 “ do you service will answer it. It shall content me very much to see this happy
 “ branch spring out of a blasted stock, tho’ my own condition be desperate, My
 “ life is now already so far past the line, and so far worn with care, as it is time for
 “ me to renounce the world, that affordeth me nothing in regard of any desert but
 “ contempt, oblivion and secret nips, rather to look forward to another part, than
 “ backward with the wife of Lot to replunge on fire.” With regard to the cause
 of his grief contain’d in his last letter, he observes, that he was not willing to write
 any more, unless he were at liberty to touch a ground, which he was persuaded
 from his knowledge of the earl’s noble disposition, and the last words of his lord-
 ship’s letter, to be false ; but yet so finely contriv’d with likelihood of highest
 proof, that he would crave no other judge than his lordship himself to distinguish
 between hasty apprehensions and doubts of that kind, “ which, *says he*, as the
 “ lawyers have limited, *cadunt in* , and are only withall. It may
 “ be, that in time your lordship will find a reasonable difference between my spirit,
 “ that complaineth, but believeth not, and CAREW REYNOLDES, that believes, but
 “ utters not the severeness of true affection, feels smart with every scratch, that
 “ cannot pierce a tougher hide, tho’ it go not so deep as to cause *solutio continui*.
 “ I am best able to judge of my self, whose faith can never sink without some
 “ earthquake to remove the foundation. It is ascribed, and not without just cause, to
 “ GALEN the physician, that so often, as he felt any * * distemper, he could readily
 “ resort to the next cause. I dare not make comparison with such choice wits ;
 “ but yet if ever I find change, where I desire most to establish permanency, the

^b Vol. XV. fol. 157.

“ last words, that my tongue shall utter, I shall conclude with that brief sentence
 “ of PHILOTAS,

“ *O simplex & singularis amor!*

“ *O nimium sincera fides!*

“ *O veri consilii periculosa libertas!*

“ *Vos me perdidistis.*”

The fleet under the earl of Essex, after its departure from Plymouth on the 17th of August 1597, was overtaken with a violent tempest in the bay of Biscay, by which the St. Matthew was so much shatter'd, that sir GEORGE CAREW, the captain of it, was oblig'd to carry it back to England, and the St. Andrew was separated, as was likewise sir WALTER RALEGH, the vice-admiral, by a mischance, that befel his ship, with thirty sail, amongst which were many companies of the soldiers. The earl therefore wanting all the means, that were allow'd for his attempt on Ferrol, hover'd up and down in those heights, where he had directed such, as should lose company, to seek him, and sent out pinnaces every way, till sir WALTER sent advice, when his lordship was in the height of 40, that the Adelantado was sail'd towards the Tercera islands, to conduct home the Indian fleet. Upon this the earl having call'd a council resolv'd to go thither to seek the Adelantado, of whom tho' he fail'd, because the latter never offer'd to come forth till a long time after, yet he miss'd very narrowly and unfortunately of taking the West-Indian fleet. If he had met with them before they had gotten into Tercera, there could none of them have escap'd; and he had met with them, if a false intelligence had not made him stand over night a contrary way. After sir WALTER RALEGH had rejoin'd the English fleet, the enterprise against the islands was thus laid out in a council of war, that the earl and sir WALTER should attack Fayal; the lord THOMAS HOWARD and sir FRANCIS VERE secure Graciosa; the lord MONTJOY and sir CHRISTOPHER BLUNT attempt St. Michael's, and the Netherland squadron be station'd at the Pike. But sir WALTER outsailing the earl, or losing his lordship's company, and arriving first at Fayal, attack'd and took the town; which expos'd him to the resentment of the earl, who arriv'd the next morning, September 21, and was highly offended, that he should land without his lordship's orders, which had been forbidden upon pain of death. But the earl was soon pacified, and when one of his followers urg'd him, that he would at least bring sir WALTER before a court martial, his lordship answer'd with great generosity, *That I would do, if he were my friend*. Soon after this the islands of Graciosa and Flores surrender'd to the earl, who also made himself master of Villa Franca. After the taking of several prizes, it was thought proper to set sail for England on the 9th of October, but meeting with a storm the fleet was dispers'd, and every ship made the best haste home that it could, which might have been of dangerous consequence if, the same tempest had not scatter'd the Spanish armada, under the Adelantado, design'd for the invasion of England.

^a Apology of the earl of Essex, p. 18.

^d VERE's Commentaries, p. 51. CAMDEN, p. 687, and OLDYS's life of sir WALTER RALEGH,

p. 120, 121.

^e Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 180.

The earl landed at Plymouth about the end of October, whence he sent letters to court, which were brought thither on the 28th of October, of his safe arrival; and that he had unfortunately miss'd the king of Spain's own ships with the West-Indian treasure, but had fallen upon the merchants fleet, of which he had taken and brought home four, and sunk many more^f. The earl coming to court soon after, found the queen incens'd against him, because the expedition had not been more successful^g, and himself; and he had likewise the mortification to find, that secretary CECIL, who had been the year before advanc'd to that post by her majesty against his lordship's inclination, was now made chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, during his absence^h, on the 8th of Octoberⁱ. Another cause of his discontent was, that the lord admiral had been created earl of Nottingham on the 23d of that month^k, the patent expressing, that it was on account of his services in the year 1588 against the Spanish fleet, and since in the taking of Cadiz in conjunction with the earl of Essex, who thought himself injured, that any share in the latter action should be ascribed to the admiral, and by the precedence, which the new earl would gain over him by his title, in conjunction with his office of admiral^l. The earl of Essex therefore after his return to London kept himself retired; and it was apprehended, that the reconciliation made between him and the secretary before he enter'd on the voyage, would soon break out into open enmity^m. His lordship went afterwards in great discontentment to his house at Wansted, where sir FRANCIS VERE, upon his return to London, gave him notice of his arrival, but that he should forbear to attend his lordship till himself had been at court, which he then hoped would have been sooner than it fell out, being confined by sickness to his lodgings for three weeks after. Sir FRANCIS supposed, that at his coming to court, the queen would, after her usual manner, question him about the late expedition: and tho' she always gave credit to his reports, which he had never blemish'd with falshood for any respect whatsoever, yet he thought, that his forbearing to see the earl would make his speech work more effectually. As soon as sir FRANCIS was able to go abroad, he went to the court then at Whitehall, and as he would use no body's help to give him access to the queen, and desired to be heard publickly, he resolved to shew himself to her majesty, when she came into the garden; where as soon as she cast her eye upon him, she called him to her, and asked him concerning the expedition, seeming greatly exasperated against the earl of Essex, laying the whole blame of the ill success of it on his lordship, both for not burning and spoiling the fleet at Ferrol, and for missing the Indian fleet. In these points sir FRANCIS justified the earl with so much earnestness, as well as truth, that his voice growing shrill, the standers-by, who were many, might hear him laying the blame upon those, who deserved it. And some then present being called to confront him, were forced to confess the contrary of what they had delivered to the queen; so that sir FRANCIS having answer'd all objections against the earl, her majesty was appeas'd and satisfied, and sitting down in the end of the walk, and calling sir FRANCIS to her, fell into

^f Letters of the SIDNEY family, *Vol. II.* p. 72.

^g VERE's Commentaries, p. 66, 67, and SIDNEY letters, *Vol. II.* p. 74.

^h CAMDEN, p. 692.

ⁱ SIDNEY letters, *Vol. II.* p. 64.

^k Ibid. p. 70.

^l CAMDEN, *ubi supra*.

^m SIDNEY letters, p. 74, 75.

more particular discourse of his lordship's humours and ambition; all which she construed so graciously, that, before sir FRANCIS left her, she fell into much commendation of his lordship, who shortly after came to court. This office sir FRANCIS performed to the earl, to the grieving and bitterly incensing of the opposite party against himself, tho' he had discover'd his lordship's coldness of affection to him, and had plainly told him his resolution not to follow his lordship any more in the wars, in which he still persisted. Yet to make as good a return as he could for the favour, which the world supposed the earl to bear towards him, he fear'd more to incur the opinion of ingratitude, than the malice of any enemies, how great soever, which the delivery of truth could procure himⁿ.

The earl, soon after his return from Plymouth, having written to the countess of Leicester, his mother, then at her house at Drayton-Basset in Staffordshire, she returned him this answer^o: “ You can hardly imagine, my dear sweet son, how joyful
 “ these lines of your hand hath made me: for altho' my hope gave me ever well of
 “ your happy and victorious fortunes; yet my love in a womanish heart could
 “ not be without some fear and doubts of you and my best friend^p, while you
 “ were in danger of winds and enemies, which God be praised for delivering you
 “ safe from, and blessing you with some happy success, tho' not so good, as you
 “ were near and did deserve. But God will not you should break the proud Spaniards backs at one blow. He reserves somewhat for another time, knowing
 “ your invincible mind must be working, which will be their scourge, I hope.
 “ You thank me for my best friend, who, I am glad, if he hath done you service.
 “ You may see what power you have over me, that have not stuck to displeasure
 “ myself to please you; for nothing could get him from me, yourself excepted,
 “ which I hope now hereafter you will consider of, especially if we may not be
 “ encouraged with some better favour than heretofore. But my friends there make
 “ me believe, that her majesty is very well prepared to hearken to terms of pacification; and it carries only your coming and solicitations: which if you find, then
 “ may both my friend and myself with double comfort make a winter's journey,
 “ and we will come presently up, if so you think it good, that it be to any
 “ purpose or likelihood to obtain that favour, without which I live there, as you
 “ know, with the greater disgrace, and put ourselves to more charge, than is for
 “ our ease, be it not to do you service, or ourselves good, which let rest in your
 “ will to command and consider of.” She then complains, that the sheriff had done her husband wrong and disgrace in preferring his son DUDLEY to the first place of knight of the shire, to which the whole county had elected sir CHRISTOPHER BLOUNTE: but that he and sir EDWARD LYTTELTON hop'd, that the sheriff's purse should pay for it; and that they would remember both him and the lord DUDLEY, who was a special actor in the affair, notwithstanding he knew of the earl's letter in favour of sir CHRISTOPHER.

Her ladyship wrote another letter in December to her son in these terms^q.

ⁿ VERE's commentaries, p. 66, 67.

^o Original letters to ROBERT earl of Essex, collected by JOHN CASTLE.

^p Sir CHRISTOPHER BLOUNTE, her husband.

^q CASTLE's collection.

“ You

“ You gave us an alarm, sweet ROBIN, to make us believe we should see you.
 “ But I hope your stay is to your better contentment: otherwise you had made the
 “ company of Drayton proud with your presence. I shall exceedingly long to hear
 “ of your good satisfaction, which I wish might somewhat fit with your desires and
 “ heart’s desire, as my trust is it will for all the cross-working of your subtle enemies.
 “ My friend is now to come up very shortly to the term about some business; and
 “ were it not for the unseasonable time and foul travelling, I should accompany
 “ him to see you; especially if matters stood so well, as you might hope to obtain
 “ some favour for us, then I would come also presently up: otherwise a country-life
 “ is fittest for disgraced persons. But if you found reason to wish my coming,
 “ then must you presently send some coach-horses to fetch me, for my own will
 “ never be able to draw me out of the mire. I pray you ask my sister of War-
 “ wick’s counsel, and my sister LAYTON’s in this case; and let me hear accordingly
 “ from you by this bearer. So wishing you as to my own heart, my dear son, I
 “ ever rest

“ Your mother

“ infinitely loving you,

“ L. LEICESTER.”

While the earl was absent from court, his friend, the lord HENRY HOWARD,
 was not wanting in observing the motions and intrigues of it, and giving him
 intelligence of them. For which purpose he wrote to his lordship * on the 17th
 of November, 1597, the anniversary of the queen’s accession to the crown.

“ The cause of my not coming to your lordship this morning, my most dear
 “ lord, is want of satisfaction hitherto in a certain hot scent concerning you, which
 “ I have ever pursued painfully, after I saw you last, and will not desist, till either
 “ my forces fail me, or my beagles be at a loss, or my best helps abandon me. For
 “ when I see you not, yet I think of you, and with the most divine philosophers
 “ will ever settle my beatitude in contemplation of that shining object, unto which
 “ hypocrisy or flattery can add no grace, because the rare worth of itself hath made
 “ it very truly and singularly super-excellent.

“ Yesterday revealed somewhat tending to the matter, but not fully to the point
 “ of my pursuit. This day, I trust, will open somewhat more; and in the mean
 “ time *nullum momentum sine lineâ*. Your lordship’s worthy hand shall only strain
 “ the sponge of diligent attraction, when it is full, which, you know, requires some
 “ space, because *porosa corpora nec implentur nisi per successionem temporis*, especially
 “ where the spring is weak, and often subject to obstructions of jealousy. If by the
 “ course, which I have set with the little wit I have, I can, in well bestowing this
 “ whole day’s endeavour, find out the root, from whence the mischief grows, assure
 “ yourself, it shall not be long after, before I put on the wings of the morning, and
 “ fly to my fixed mark. If not, yet that, which is already ripe for the understand-

* Vol. XIV. fol. 73.

“ ing, will give some light, if not any life to your labour. Some friend of mine
 “ means this day before night to merit my devotion and uttermost gratitude by
 “ seeking to do good to you; the success whereof my prayers in the mean time
 “ shall recommend to that best gale of wind, that may favour it. Your lordship
 “ by your last purchase hath almost enraged the dromedary, that would have won
 “ the queen of Sheba’s favour by bringing pearls. If you could once be as fortunate in
 “ dragging old leviathan†, and his cub‡, *tortuosum colubrum*, as the prophet termeth
 “ them, out of this den of mischievous device, the better part of the world would
 “ prefer your virtue before that of HERCULES.

“ I long exceedingly to speak with you, which, by the grace of God, shall be
 “ to-morrow, howsoever things fall. In the mean time howsoever planets seem
 “ to smile by weariness of working wrongs, stand soberly upon yourself. You shall
 “ know the cause, when I wait on you. ’Till then I will end, and most affection-
 “ ately kiss the honourable hand of that inestimable lord, whom whosoever loves
 “ not more than any counsellor, that sits at that board, *caret sensu*; whosoever
 “ labours not to serve above any subject of the land, *caret motu*; and they,
 “ that neither love nor serve, according to the grounds * * * no less than
 “ of art, may be holden and accounted *verè & manifestè apoplectici*. In haste
 “ the feast of St. ELIZABETH, whom, if I were pope, I would no longer set forth in
 “ red letters in the calendar of saints, than she graced my dear lord in golden cha-
 “ racters with the influence of his benignity: but the best is, the power is now
 “ wholly in herself to canonise herself, because she will not stand to the pope’s
 “ courtesy.”

Towards the end of this month of November, 1597, there was a strong expectation of the earl’s being restored to favour, and obtaining the staff of earl marshal. This appears from a letter of mr. BACON to dr. HAWKYNs on the 26th of that month||; in which he observed, that as his intermission of writing during the last week was for want of acceptable matter or particulars worthy the sending so far as Venice; “ so was I, *adds he*, resolved to have continued my silence so long as my
 “ lord continued his absence from court: and had so done, if I were not more than
 “ in-hope, that this day shall be the last of the eclipse; and that the beams of his
 “ lordship’s virtue, fame, and merit can be no longer shadowed by malice and
 “ envy, which, you know, reign in courts; not doubting but that ere twenty-four
 “ hours pass, he shall be lord marshal of England, and have a royal reward of his
 “ peerless prowess and deserts.” He then mentions the arrival of mons. DE HUR-
 RAULT sieur de Maisse, ambassador from France, very honourably accompanied,
 to impart to the queen, how far the king his master had proceeded in the overtures
 of peace betwixt him and Spain, and to receive her majesty’s advice; being to have
 an audience the next day. With regard to the doctor’s return to England, the earl
 did not give any definite answer some days before, when mr. BACON ask’d his lord-
 ship’s pleasure about it; but that gentleman thought, that the soonest the doctor
 could conveniently depart from Venice would be in March following; before which

† Lord treasurer.
 ‡ Secretary CECIL.

|| From the original in the Harleian library,
 L. xxxvii. B. v. fol. 264.

time he desired that mr. LAWSON, who lived with dr. HAWKYNs, and brother of capt. LAWSON, might have leave to see Florence, Sienna, Ferrara, Genoa, and such other places, as that interval would allow him to make an excursion to, but without going to Rome or Naples. He mentions likewise his obtaining the 200*l.* which the doctor had written for to his uncle, mr. serjeant YELVERTON, then speaker of the house of commons in the parliament, which met at Westminster Oct. 24, 1597, and ended the 9th of February following.

In December, 1597, the earl of Essex began to appear more publicly than he had done some time before, and proposed to have the earl of Nottingham's patent for the earldom altered, insisting to have right done him, either by a commission to examine it, or by combat against the earl of Nottingham himself, or any of his sons, or of his name, who would defend it; or that her majesty would take the consideration of the affair into her own hands; and then he would submit to whatever she should please to determine. This contest gave great disturbance to the court, and interruption to all other business. Sir WALTER RALEGH was therefore employed by the queen to reconcile the two earls; but the earl of Essex seemed resolved not to agree to less than an alteration of Nottingham's patent, which could not be done without the consent of the latter^a. However on the 18th of December the earl of Essex received satisfaction, being created earl marshal of England by her majesty's letters patents^b; which office, that had continued vacant ever since the death of GEORGE earl of Shrewsbury in 1590, gave Essex the precedence of Nottingham, who on the 20th of December resign'd his staff of lord steward, and the next day went to his house at Chelsea, pretending sickness^c.

A few days after the earl of Essex was possess'd of the post of earl marshal, his friend, the lord HENRY HOWARD, wrote to him, on the 30th of December, the following letter*.

“ Your gracious commandments, my most worthy lord, are with me so strong
 “ obligations, that the delight, which I take in all studies, that tend to your
 “ service, is so great, as tho' I never had more apt occasion than at this instant, to
 “ attend your lordship about some points of moment, that may give you light, to
 “ look with comfort into certain circumstances of your own present state; yet
 “ cannot I dispense with any portion of time, tho' not mispent, considering the
 “ stock is put out to your use. Yet as the case stands now, withdrawn from the
 “ task, which, out of my affection and duty to your lordship, I have lately under-
 “ taken, for, since my last being with you, I laboured above my strength, not only
 “ in rifling all corners of my dusty cabinet about notes belonging to an honour, that
 “ doth now concern yourself, but besides in sweeping down the cobwebs every other
 “ where, that I may rightly judge, and you may truly understand, what is due to
 “ your authority. In the mean time notwithstanding, I cannot omit to congratulate
 “ the late addition to your honour, if I may so term a kind of satisfaction, no less

^a SIDNEY letters, Vol. II. p. 77.

^b HEYWOOD TOWNSHEND's historical collections, p. 90.

^c SIDNEY letters, *ubi supra*.

* Harleian library, L. xxxvii. b. v. fol. 268.

“ short of the just measure of your own desert, than the robe, which PAUSANIAS
 “ bestowed at Lacedemon on MINERVA was of her majesty. The manner of con-
 “ ferring, as I hear, was not in all degrees so gracious, as might be thought to suit
 “ with due proportion a servant of your proof: but somewhat must be dispensating
 “ allowed to a sparing humour, that bestows no grace without restraint; somewhat
 “ civilly to the peevish cavilling and partial expostulation of a toothless
 “ dog, that will bark till death, rather than the world shall be able out of evidence
 “ to charge either his will with error, his act with corruption, his profession with
 “ ignorance, or his spleen with the first occasion and notice of your . But
 “ when all allowances are made, all subductions acknowledged, the remain, that
 “ emulation itself must set down at the foot of your account, will be sufficient to
 “ make the world discern, that these beams of approved worth and virtue carried
 “ no ordinary strength, that were able to break out of so thick a cloud with so
 “ bright a glory. It is the fault of our bad painters in this age, by giving too
 “ much shadow, to mar fine workmanship. Your merit is above those clouds;
 “ and therefore, for mine own part, I make more account of honour forced out of
 “ justice, than either conferred out of humour, or extorted by importunity.”

“ The first is truly no man’s case more than yours; the other his, that being
 “ blinded by appearances and glimmering of weak conceit, cares not, so as his
 “ comical inscription may be limned in golden letters, tho’ the subject, whereon
 “ it is set, be but an image, which all gofpellers are prohibited to worship by the
 “ queen’s injunctions. Tho’ ZEPHORA was drawn to circumcise her son, tho’ she
 “ did it in a rage, and rather out of respective ends to satisfy, than religious desire
 “ to sanctify; yet since the troubles ceased, and the plague was stinted, upon the
 “ ceremony, the Holy Ghost doth rather justify the fact, than praise the form:
 “ and St. PAUL says, that *sive per invidiam, sive per iram, modo prædicetur Christus*.
 “ Some excess may be borne more easily, for the respect, that gives to losers words,
 “ gives to queens a kind of carping and excepting liberty, though
 “ lords that cared and honourable minds do not easily dispense with
 “ it. The same devotion of mine, that daily recommends the safe protection of
 “ your lordship’s noble person, and your state, to the goodness of God, shall hence-
 “ forth add to general consideration this one particular demand, that the honour
 “ may be as prosperous and happy to your honourable house, as it was ever to any
 “ till this age; that the tipstaff like the rod of iron, may bloom in your worthy
 “ hand: that whatsoever crosses have at any time accompanied that honourable
 “ charge made to yourself, be turned into endless joys; and as the daughter of
 “ ASDRUBAL said in her love to MASINISSA, *ipsi te penates meliore, precor, omine*
 “ *excipiant, quam SIPHACEM hinc miserunt*. Tho’ my lord of Shrewsbury, that last
 “ was, could make no other use of the staff, than by measuring the breadth of his
 “ fat oxen between the horns; yet if, against the judgment of the philosopher,
 “ there be a kind *cornutorum animantium*, that have *dentes in superiore mandibulo*,
 “ they shall meet, I doubt not, with a marshal, that can rule the staff, and knows
 “ how to marshal men of very good conditions in that latitude. Thus wishing
 “ in the latter end, as I did in the beginning, all good fortunes both in this and
 “ all other charges, that you shall undertake, to my worthy lord, and that your
 “ honour

“honour may increafe with your deferts, I humbly take my leave this Friday morning.”

The furrender of Amiens to the French king on the 25th of September, 1597, N. S. * had renewed the negotiations of peace between HENRY IV. and PHILIP II. whose declining age, and the difficulties of carrying on a war againft England and the Low Countries, as well as France, difpofed him to an agreement with the laft: and Vervins on the confines between Picardy and Artois was fixed upon for the place of thefe negotiations by the fecretary VILLEROY on the part of the French king, and the prefident RICHARDOT for the cardinal arch-duke, in an interview between them on thofe confines. Mr. NAUNTON, who was at Paris watching all the motions of that court, was particularly attentive to thofe in favour of the peace, which he wrote an account of in feveral letters to the earl of Effex already publifhed^s, to which I fhall here add the fubftance of two others, which are all, that I know of, now extant.

Mr. NAUNTON's letter to the earl from Paris of the 30th of November, 1597[†], relates chiefly to himfelf, in purfuance of one, which he had written upon his lordfhip's entrance upon the ifland-voyage, when he was himfelf about to leave Paris, and to go to Orleans in his way to Italy, feeing himfelf only like to lofe his time at Paris during the earl's abfence and the diftractions of ANTONIO PEREZ, as he had written in his letter of July 30, in answer to his lordfhip's of the 4th of that month. But having received the earl's orders to continue his former correſpondence during his abfence, upon mr. REYNOLDES's warrant ſent him in his lordfhip's name for the ſecrecy of his letters, he had performed that duty with the ſame openneſs and confidence, which his zeal would always direct him to in all his ſervices to his lordfhip. “Now, *adds he*, if ſome have not kept ſuch touch for their concealing
“of my imperfections, as mr. REYNOLDES and I were borne in hand they would,
“but that they have been communicated to ſuch mens hands, as, tho' I cannot
“doubt of their good will towards myſelf, yet I may of their like affection towards
“PEREZ; and if they out of my follies have traced out a way to work him preju-
“dice; this, my lord, this, I ſay, muſt needs touch me ſo near, as tho' PEREZ
“ſhould never know it, or tho' he ſhould know it, and forgive my ſimplicity, yet
“ſhall I never forgive myſelf ſo deadly a ſin againſt him, as I cannot commit any
“other alike heinous againſt myſelf. I have always held ſins againſt loyalty and
“good nature to be a branch of that irremiſſible ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt. Am
“I then made a JUDAS to that nature of his, which if I ſhould not love, I muſt
“hate my own? Tho' I may plead not guilty for my meaning, yet muſt I damn
“myſelf as guilty for having been abuſed to be ſuch a means. I have laid down
“the whole particularly in my yeſterday's letter[‡]. All I have to add thereunto
“is this, that I am now aſhamed within myſelf to look him in the face any longer.
“I deſire now to be diſſolved hence before the ſtrength of his apprehenſion ſhall

* L'ETOILE, Journal du Regne d'HENRY IV. Tom. II. p. 379. METEREN, L. xix. fol. 400. verſo. & THUANUS, L. cxviii. cap. xiv. p. 685.

^s Historical view of the negotiations, &c. p. 59, & ſeqq.

[†] In the volume of mr. ANTHONY BACON's

papers in my poſſeſſion.

‡ See Historical view, p. 64, where it appears, that ANTONIO PEREZ had been charged by monſ. D'INCARVILLE with *miſdemeaning himſelf in writing into England, that peace between France and Spain was concluded, or as good.*

“ work upon him and myself. If my departure shall render me the more con-
 “ demned with him by reason of such suggestions, as may be insinuated against
 “ me thereupon, I must accept such prejudice for an unjust part of my just penance,
 “ that I may make him some amends for the wrong I have done him, by receiving
 “ this wrong construction from him. And since such sins cannot be expiated but
 “ only by a working repentance, it is the only course I have left to verify and perfect
 “ my repentance, by never offending against him and myself, (I should first have
 “ said against your lordship) any more in the like transgression.” He then repeats
 his desire of departing, but whither he could not presume to say without the earl’s
 approbation. He had now, he said, but one year left of his three to spend in the
 rest of France, and in Italy and Germany. This was all the free years of his life
 to come, that he could expect to dispose of at his own discretion with his father’s
 blessing; and he should desire to husband it the best he could, if he knew how,
 so as at his return he might most satisfy the earl and his father; for other satisfaction
 of his own apart he could have none, he could expect none, he could affect none. His
 own greatest inclination was to enlarge himself a little after this mewing up, and to
 inform himself what he could in so short a time in the knowledge of the languages
 and the principal places of France and Italy; and then to return homewards
 through Germany, if the passage should be free for Englishmen. The earl’s former
 directions had so inur’d him, as he could not now promise himself in any sort to
 improve his travels without his lordship’s prescription and allowance of his course. He
 desir’d no more commendations to the great men in France, which, he saw, did
 but breed suspicions and jealousies. He desired much less the countenance and
 opinion of an employed man. He only requested his lordship’s attestation, as it
 were, by way of a recommendation for a safe-conduct, to grace himself with the
 reputation of an honest poor man, in case he should fall into any question in Italy
 or Germany, where he was told that such commendations were of most use, and
 likewise expected of course. Whatever gleanings he might gather in this scatter’d
 harvest, was already consecrated to his lordship’s altar: and if he might in his way
 perform any acceptable service to his lordship, he should take it for one of the
 principal blessings, that could befall him, and for a like principal encouragement to
 be commanded by his lordship.

It was too late for him now to protest, how much he was ashamed of himself, to
 think how far he strayed from the first intent and drift of his travel, which was only
 to have prepared and qualified himself so, as he might have done his lordship service
 at his return. He thought then to have play’d the Pythagorean for the three years
 of his stay abroad, to have heard and seen what he could, and said nothing. But
 it pleased his lordship to vouchsafe him such commendations and favours at his
 first coming out, “ as my devotions, *says he*, grew impatient to coop themselves
 “ up for so long a time, as my sufficiency would ask to breed in. This *ὑπερον*
 “ *πρότερον* is allowed for a figure poetical, but not practical, where too forward
 “ zeals out-flying ability may prove the highway to a break-neck precipitation.
 “ I must now labour to temper these zeals so, as they may be more *secundum scien-*
 “ *tiam*. Increase of knowledge and experience cannot diminish them, but may
 “ perfect them. Having found already how little I can *scribendo proficere*, I must
 “ now turn over a new leaf, that I may learn another day *proficiendo scribere*, an non
 “ *scribere?*”

“*scribere?*” His earnest desire to clear all scruples the best he could, for the delivery of these and of all his former letters into his lordship’s own hands, had made him send the bearer, JOHN CONSTANCE, this third time, since his lordship’s first going to sea. All the letters indeed, which he had or could write, were not worth the employing of one messenger over on purpose. But he heard how all the posts, that went from France, were search’d; and he could be no less curious in respect of his duty to satisfy ANTONIO PEREZ; for which purpose he sent the earl a particular note of the dates of all the letters sent by himself during the time of his lordship’s absence, whom he desired to call them in: “Not, *adds he*, that I can imagine your lordship’s leisure will be to peruse them all over, or they worthy of your lordship’s leisure; but only that I might so secure him and myself, by preventing (if the time be not already past to prevent that mischief) by preventing, I say, that they may not come to be read here. This my most officious and most necessary curiosity I most humbly beseech your lordship to forgive me, the rather for that I could never have wrought myself into such confidences with PEREZ without your lordship’s especial favour of my recommendation; the credit and correspondence due unto the which I must in all devotion ever be curious and zealous to maintain the best I may.”

Mr. NAUNTON’s letter of the 16th of February, 1597, O. S. begins with observing, that since his last sending over CONSTANCE, he could never address himself to write any more to his lordship, without much discourse of preface within himself, how he might excuse his still continuing of this boldness, of which he had profess’d in that dispatch how much he found himself ashamed. That this had inclined him to the silence, which he had lately used, and that so much the rather, because he saw, that his lordship had now less need of his advertisements, as well in respect of other perfecter supplies, as of the imperfections of his own essays and of his archetype, from whence he used to draw them. And yet again fearing, on the other side, lest too deep a taciturnity might offend in a worse degree by seeming to favour of neglect, or discontent, or obstinacy, he had this once more resolved to write to his lordship.

The earl’s so long delay in answering ANTONIO PEREZ had made the latter so much the more intent to lay hold of the best conditions, that he could obtain in France. And Mr. NAUNTON found him now sharper set to solicit and urge the constable’s utmost aid to invest him in the late offers mention’d in a letter inclosed. He had likewise intreated the duke DE MAYENNE’s consent, that he might with that duke’s good liking accept and enjoy a part of the late possessions of his kinsman; and he had obtained the duke’s favour to help him to recover his youngest son out of Spain, to become the inheritor of this his new fortune; and this by the exchange of certain Spanish prisoners under the duke’s power and disposal. This child was born since ANTONIO’s first imprisonment, and so by pretence of nursing exempted from the confinement, under which his brethren were continued. “This operation, *says Mr. NAUNTON*, hath your lordship’s silence taken in him. In me, partly it, and partly some by-conference, that I have lately had with Sir HENRY DAVERS of your lordship’s accepting of his former, sent by my lord of Rutland, have bred this apprehension, that his last letters sent by CONSTANCE might con-

“tain some such importunities, as your lordship may have no list to reply directly
 “to them; and of consequence, that I can much less expect any answer from him
 “to his own particular presumptions intimated by the same dispatch. It is now
 “a good while since I first misdoubted, that CONSTANCE might have so demeaned
 “himself, as your lordship might resolve to commit his letters, rather to some of
 “the attendants of this expected embassador, than to himself. But being now
 “grown into some doubt, whether upon the present supposed forwardness of accord
 “between the king and the king of Spain, and upon the king’s descent towards
 “Bretagne; whether, I say, that embassador having been detain’d all this while,
 “it be now like to hold on at all or not, especially having myself seen a secret letter
 “of sir ROBERT CECIL’s, wherein he giveth earnest instructions, that all means
 “may be practised to stay the king in Paris, or otherwise that himself shall have
 “small list to entertain such a dull employment (as he terms it) wherein he shall
 “neither come to sight of the king, nor court, nor of Paris, &c. this latter doubt
 “doth quite and clean *tollere subiectum questionis præcedentis*, and hath advised me
 “to look for no new directions at all from your lordship, neither by one address
 “nor other, but rather to conceive, that by withdrawing myself out of the way,
 “I may do your lordship better service, in so taking this trespass upon myself by
 “thus absenting myself, which scape of mine may yield a double diversion, as if
 “either your lordship had written unto him within some other packet directed to
 “me, or as if you would not venture your letters into other hands, after you had
 “understood I was gone hence.” To this intent mr. NAUNTON had half taken
 his leave of ANTONIO already, and acquainted him farther, that he had signified to
 his lordship this his purpose of departure from Paris, alledging as a reason of it the
 short time, which he had to bestow in Italy, &c. and yet in case any address should
 come to Paris from his lordship after his departure, he would leave his man there
 behind him for one month, to receive whatever letters should come, and convey
 them to him at Orleans or Lyons, as he should have proceeded in his journey. So
 that if any thing should happen to come after for ANTONIO, he might expect that
 way to receive knowledge of it sooner or later, at the farthest within six months,
 which was now the longest time left mr. NAUNTON to spend out of France. “I
 “have not, *says he*, resolved of this new course of any forgetfulness of that, which
 “in my former I have professed, viz. that I could not promise myself any *
 “or improvement out of my travel if I should go hence without your lordship’s
 “direction and approbation. For first, I must protest again, that my conscience
 “of mine own unworthiness forbids me utterly to expect any such improvement:
 “and secondly, I must needs presume, that if your lordship had all available to
 “your lordship’s service, I should have received some little inkling thereof or other
 “before this time: whereas otherwise to wear and linger out all my time here, and
 “that to no purpose at all, to no satisfaction, neither of your lordship nor my own,
 “it is not any of those ends, for which I made suit to come over. And, lastly, I
 “must once again protest for my devotions, that I could never yet outwardly
 “protest so much zeal unto your lordship, as I feel interiorly. Therefore if I err in
 “this my purposed departure hence, it is in judgment that I err; which is harder
 “for me not to do, wanting directions, than to do, and not of want of zeal and
 “respect to your lordship’s service. When I take account of my time spent here,
 “I find it so little availing, or rather so nothing at all, except it have been only
 “for

“ for the discovering of what offices may be expected from PEREZ hence, and
 “ those under what conditions, as I should utterly discourage myself, were it not
 “ that I still draw my breath out of the strength of those honourable encourage-
 “ ments, which it hath pleased your lordship to vouchsafe me heretofore. I would
 “ be loth that my feeling respect, which I have shewed toward the preservation of his
 “ credit, should diminish mine own with your lordship. Had I not held a course
 “ to persuade him, that I adored his perfections more than I did all England, I
 “ could not have been admitted to the knowledge of much, that I was. Yet
 “ when I saw him not walk with a right foot, as well in that late affectation of the
 “ king’s mistress’s correspondence making with your lordship*, as in some few
 “ other former particulars, howsoever I forbear PAUL’s zeal to withstand PETER
 “ to his face, yet I hope, that no inward integrity hath been wanting in me to
 “ give the honestest advertisements underhand, as far as my poor discretion could
 “ advise me. And so after my most humble supplication for your lordship’s favour-
 “ ble construction and pardon of all mine imperfections, boldnesses, and oversights,
 “ I take leave.”

From the end of the year 1597 there are few letters to the earl of Essex to be found among the collections of mr. BACON, which till that period had been so copious and extensive. It is not easy to assign any other cause of this defect of that gentleman’s later correspondences, than his having destroyed them, when his great friend fell into his misfortunes; tho’ it does not appear, but that he was absolutely innocent of the occasions of those misfortunes. And I must acknowledge, that I now entertain a much more favourable opinion of his fidelity to the earl, than when I repeated from sir HENRY WOTTON†, in my *preface* to the *Historical view*‡, a story of his having twice extorted considerable sums of money from his lordship, by threatening to betray his secrets, especially those of his intelligence with the king of Scots, to the CECILS. For sir HENRY’s veracity, which I have seen good reason to question in other cases, is justly to be suspected in this, since he appears to have conceived some disgust against mr. BACON, while he was one of the earl’s secretaries, that gentleman frequently complaining of his behaviour towards him, and charging him with having suppressed the letters, which he had been ordered by his lordship to write in favour of dr. HAWKYNs, and yet affirming, that he had sent them. Nor does he seem to be well founded in his assertion, that mr. BACON was of a *provident nature, contrary to the temper of his brother FRANCIS*, since the reverse of that character is evident from mr. BACON’s own papers; who could not have so frequently been distressed in his circumstances, if he had been an œconomist, or supplied by the earl, as sir HENRY farther adds, with a *noble entertainment in his house, and at least one thousand pounds of annual pension*. And indeed of this pretended pension there is not the least trace in all mr. BACON’s papers; nor is there any appearance, that he was *entertained* at Essex-house at the earl’s charge; but it is, on the contrary, evident from a letter of that gentleman to his mother, dated October 2, 1596†, that he enjoyed no other advantage in that house than of his lodgings, his other expences being defray’d by himself, his lordship seldom coming thither except to visit him, or to give enter-

* See *Historical view*, p. 93 & seqq.

† *Reliq. WOTTON*, p. 168, 169.

‡ p. xxi, xxii.

† Vol. XIII. fol. 142.

tainments occasionally to persons of distinction. In the passage, upon which I ground this remark, mr BACON acknowledged, that his expence for coals for four summer months might justly seem over great, unless these circumstances were considered, first his sickness, then the extraordinary moistness of the season of that year 1596, the situation of his lodgings, and the honourable helps, which he had had to spend them since the earl's return from Cadiz; "which I know, *says he*, your ladyship " would not have had me refuse for ten times as much, so long as not only it is " known to the highest of this house, but thankfully taken."

The earl of Essex and secretary CECIL were upon good terms before the latter went ambassador, attended with two commissioners, to France, to endeavour to divert HENRY IV. from a separate peace with Spain, then negotiating at Vervins; most of the letters of which commissioners have been published elsewhere^a. But as I have now before me a MS account of that negotiation, drawn up by the secretary himself, I shall add here some few particulars mention'd in it, and especially his last letter, which I was not master of, when I wrote my former book.

When mons. DE MAISSE was sent by the French king to queen ELIZABETH, to acquaint her of the offer of peace from Spain to himself, and to know whether she was inclined to hearken to it likewise, or to continue the war, her majesty promised to send to that king some servants of hers of good quality to confer with his ministers, both to be truly inform'd of the state of his affairs, and to understand how he was affected to the general treaty of peace offered by the cardinal arch-duke in behalf of the king of Spain of the one part, and the French king, the queen of England, and the states of the united provinces of the other. However it was not thoroughly known, whom her majesty intended to employ in that service till the beginning or near the midst of January, 1597, when secretary CECIL, mr. JOHN HERBERT, master of the requests, and sir THOMAS WILKES, were nominated, and had instructions sign'd by the queen, dated on the last of that month, appointing the secretary ambassador to the French king, and the two others commissioners for his better assistance in his negotiation. Letters of credence were likewise written by the queen to the French king, madame his sister, the constable, and the duke DE BOUILLON; and a privy seal granted for the commissioners diet, whereby the secretary was allowed 4*l.* a day, and the other two 2*l.* 10*s.* each.

Tho' their instructions were soon perfected, yet some protraction was used before the dispatch was presented to the queen for signature, and likewise afterwards, on purpose, as it seem'd, that the deputies of the states, JUSTINIAN NASSAU and JOHN OLDEN BARNEVELT, might be passed by in the narrow seas towards France, before her majesty's commissioners set out. But at length, it being well perceived, that the states used extraordinary delays, discovering their unwillingness to enter into conference, especially seeing, that it tended to pacification, it was then resolved no longer to attend their coming; and the rather because the French king (whose presence in Bretagne was necessarily required) grew impatient, that the conference was so long deferred. The dispatch therefore being ready, all provisions shipt and

gone, and mr. HERBERT and sir THOMAS WILKES with most of the company gone to Dover, the secretary himself followed on the 10th of February, being accompanied with the earl of Southampton, the lord THOMAS HOWARD, the lord COBHAM, sir WALTER RALEGH, and divers others. On the 17th in the afternoon at five they embarked, and arrived the next day at four in the afternoon at Dieppe, where monf. DE LA BODERIE, *maître d'hôtel* of the king, attended the secretary's coming, and deliver'd him a letter from the king, dated at Paris on the 27th of January. On the 19th the secretary sent mr. TOMPKINS, a gentleman of the earl of Essex, earl-marshal, to England with a letter to the queen, and a joint letter from him and the commissioners, to the lord treasurer, the earl of Essex, and the lord admiral; and on the 20th they wrote another letter. The day following they went to Roan, dining with the duke DE MONTPENSIER on the 23d, on which day sir HENRY DAVERS and mr. EDMONDES arrived at Roan from Paris. On the 24th the commissioners sent a dispatch to the lords; the next day mr. EDMONDES returned to Paris, and sir THOMAS WILKES fell sick of a fever, having been indisposed since his arrival at Dover, but seemingly recovered after his landing at Dieppe; tho' he died at Roan on the 2d of March. His sickness confining him there, the secretary and mr. HERBERT set out towards Paris on the 27th, and lodged at Maigny, and the next day at Pontoise in the archbishop's house, where a messenger arrived from the king to the secretary, dated at Pont de Ce on the 6th of March, N. S. They arrived at Paris on the 1st of that month, O. S. being met between Paris and St. Dennis by mr. EDMONDES, who conducted the secretary to his lodging, being a fair spacious house of the duke DE MONTPENSIER's in the Rue de Coque. On the 3d the secretary and commissioner wrote to the lords a letter, acquainting them, that France having endured a war of that perpetuity both needed and affected a peace universally: that any man of mean judgment might well distinguish the French king's art from nature: that at Paris there was nothing but robbing and cutting of throats practised every hour in the night: that ANTONIO PEREZ had been with the secretary, and gratefully acknowledged all the queen's favours to him, and his obligations, being in all his words very respectful to the secretary, and very freely and kindly discovering his mind; shewing a good knowledge of the manners and humours of the French court, of which the secretary observed that he might make some use, and that ANTONIO deserved courteous usage and thanks of him: that the French could not deny the great advantage to France resulting from the diversion, which the queen had made by invading Spain, and particularly the last keeping from the king of Spain his treasure so long; monf. DE MAISSE himself confessing to the secretary, when the latter reckon'd that in the number of her majesty's other helps to the king, that RICHARDOT talking freely with monf. DE SILLERY, who urged him to deal plainly with him, whether the king of Spain meant good faith, if England would treat, used these words; "Blame not my master to be tractable, if there
 " be good meaning; for she most galls him and his, by keeping his treasure long
 " from him, and he spends it half in fetching it home. Wherein tho' she take it not,
 " yet it fareth with him, that hath so many mouths to stop, and people to relieve,
 " and cannot, as it doth with a physician, that findeth his patient in a fever, burn-
 " ing for drought, and sends him a week after good store of drink to cool him." Upon the finishing this letter mr. CORBET arrived with the account of sir THOMAS WILKES's death.

They

They wrote on the 8th of March a dispatch to the lords, and the same day left Paris, and lodg'd at Chastre; on the 9th din'd at Estampes, and lodg'd at Artenoy; and on the 10th at Orleans; taking boat on the Loire on the 13th, and lodging at Blois; arriving at Tours on the 14th, and at Saumur on the 15th, whence, the next day, they sent mr. EDMONDES to the king, and on the 17th arriv'd at Angers, whither the king came on the 19th, of whom they had their first audience on the 21st, their second on the 22d, and their third on the 23d. On the 24th the deputies of the states arriv'd, as two days after mr. MOLE did with letters from the queen, dated the 17th, concerning the intercepted packet of the cardinal archduke. The secretary and commissioner had another audience on the 28th of the king, who departed on the 31st to Nantes, being followed by them on the 3d of April, who arriv'd there on the 4th, and on the 6th the secretary had an audience of him, being introduced by monf. LE GRAND; and when he was return'd to his lodging, monf. DE VILLEROY came to him, and had conference with him. On the 10th the secretary and commissioner wrote the following letter to the lords:

“ May it please your lordships,

“ Having had audience, the next day saving one after our coming to Nantes, in the king's cabinet, we think it our part to advertise your lordships of such particulars, as passed each of us, distributing our portions to speak, as should be cause.

“ First, I the secretary told him, that as at my first coming I declar'd unto him, that the queen my sovereign had employed me to him, to discover her mind, and to understand his, and to resolve with him about this great affair; so I desired him to believe, that she had still the same meaning; and that he would not suffer himself to be transported by those, who would persuade him, that she desires only to amuse him, thereby to make him lose his opportunities. That it was now time to shew the effects of that faith, which he had sworn to her, whose merits had neither been small nor unknown: and to the intent he might see, that she would leave him no ground of jealousy, I desired him to resolve me clearly whether he did desire war or peace; which he should do no sooner, than I would open to him her majesty's purpose to either way.

“ Hereupon he replied, that he was sorry to find himself in this extremity, that either he must ruin himself, or offend the queen. But he must plainly tell us, that his necessities were such, as he could not stand out; for he should get by the hazard of war no more than he should have with assurance by peace. And if he once were able to stand of himself, he then might be a stay to the queen and his friends.

“ I told him, that this was strange, that his necessities were such, or that he must be forced on a sudden to compound with the common enemy, and to do it to the prejudice of the confederates. There was difference between his estate now and before, for he could then recover his kingdom with the help of his friends: and now he could not defend a part of it, but must out of greediness of

“ of sudden quiet make such a peace, as must prejudice his confederates. And so
 “ we fell into the arguments, that his necessities could not be so great; and that it
 “ was but his servants disorder, who made it great, of purpose to engage him, as
 “ they had done.

“ He answer'd, it might be true, and it might be false; but what it was, he
 “ knew best; and that howsoever we might take upon us to understand or judge
 “ of others estate, that he knew it himself, and felt it: and that if Bretagne had
 “ not now come in, he had been ruined utterly; for the siege of Amiens had made
 “ him miserable.

“ We answered him, that if the duke MERCOEUR had not come in, we durst
 “ say the queen would not have denied to have helped him by sea, as soon as her
 “ ships had been fit, against the king of Spain's fleet; whom as she had beaten in
 “ other places by land and sea, and had helped to pull him out of * * by land;
 “ so now she would not have suffered him to have kept Blavet: but if he had
 “ brought a navy thither, she would have helped to have removed him thence.

“ Also he answered plainly, that the queen denied MAISSE directly any
 “ such succour. We answered him again, that when MAISSE was there, his only
 “ language was about peace: but at his parting he asked of her some ships, to further
 “ the siege of Blavet; and that answer was made, that her majesty's ships were
 “ new come home, and weather-beaten, and could not presently be made ready to
 “ go out in winter. But I, the secretary, should come to him with satisfaction for
 “ all things.

“ Well, faith he, it is now past; and I am like a man clothed in velvet, that
 “ hath not meat to put in his mouth. Your coming hath been welcome; but your
 “ long stay after MAISSE, and the estates lingering have drawn on the time so far,
 “ as I am in extremity. I hope the queen will not look I should undo myself; for
 “ that would be no pleasure to her.

“ We answered, that his majesty might use the words of ruin as often as he
 “ would; but the word could never justify his arguments; neither could his ma-
 “ jesty save breach of the treaty without being content to sustain difficulty, or pre-
 “ judice for the queen's sake, as well as she had done for him.

“ He said, that for the world's satisfaction he cared not; his conscience was wit-
 “ ness, and whensoever the world should calumniate him, he would justify him-
 “ self. For the queen, she had done very favourably for him; and yet her succours
 “ might have been better employed than they were; for he never had them in
 “ time, nor half the number.

“ We desired him to excuse us; for altho' there was never yet by him one penny
 “ paid, nor one promise kept, yet had he them still continued, and had them
 “ sooner than the time appointed, and at Roan before he was ready, where he had
 “ the bravest troops, that ever were sent to a king.

“ He

“ He said, they were brave troops indeed, and his necessities only made him
“ break all promises.

“ We told him also, that where he said the number were decayed, it was not the
“ queen’s fault: she paid them. If any captain deceived, it was a common dis-
“ ease. But they, that commanded them, would say, that they were never ac-
“ commodated, but put to all extremities, and abandoned, even in this province
“ especially, to their destruction, it being the first defeat, that ever any English
“ troops in our mistress’s pay received.

“ He said, in that he could not remedy it; for he lost his own, and a prince of
“ the blood was one taken prisoner.

“ We told him, that we would fain know in what matter to deal with him. For
“ altho’ we had no power presently to offer him satisfaction in particular, if he
“ would leave the treaty, seeing the states could not be comprised; yet we could
“ assure him, that the queen would aid them; and therefore desired him to speak
“ plainly what numbers he would ask, and to what end; for if the design were
“ fit and good for all parties, as we knew the states would aid him, so when her
“ majesty should understand it, we were sure, that the queen would also strain her-
“ self upon any reasonable probability to accommodate him.

“ He answered, that he knew the queen did much affect Calais; for to every body,
“ that spake with her, she shewed great passion for it, and so did all her council too.
“ But, it was in vain to think of it now; for he might lose an army before it; and
“ when he had it, he should have no more than he should have by peace.

“ When we heard him say so, after we had so disputed with him in that con-
“ ceipt of the matter of Calais, we told him it was in vain, as now we saw things,
“ to dispute of any thing but his peace; for as both his enemies had written, that
“ conditions were agreed on, so we saw it now by his majesty’s own conversation in
“ 14 days: for he, that spake nothing but of particular affection to war, when we
“ came, now would hearken to nothing but peace. We would therefore proceed
“ with him in that point.

“ He said, it was the best.

“ Then we askt him how he would dispense with leaving out the states either in
“ honour or safety.

“ He said, he had told them his mind, for that necessity had no law: they might
“ defend themselves a while well enough till their friends reposed. But, faith he,
“ you set a shew, that you come to satisfy. What can ye do in the peace
“ now power is come; and I have engaged mine honour, in that I kept the legate
“ so long? What will you treat? or can you, or have you any commission? It
“ hath been otherwise a strange legation, and must confirm that, which the world
“ says,

“ says, that the queen means no peace herself, but to keep me in war. And with
 “ that speech he turned himself to me, JOHN HERBERT, who answer’d him, we
 “ came over with such commission, as the queen thought fit; and that we had
 “ power to do no more, than we saw in duty we ought to extend: for the queen, who
 “ entered so lately into a confederacy more strict than before with such a state as
 “ the Low-countries, and at his only intreaty, did not dream, that his majesty
 “ would so suddenly have left them. And therefore, altho’ we know sufficiently
 “ her majesty’s meaning for all particulars of the treaty of peace, yet were we not
 “ warranted to say more without farther knowing her majesty’s pleasure for that
 “ main point concerning the states comprehension; which are the third party. Be-
 “ sides I told him, that if the states would have joined, yet we in our instructions
 “ would be well advised, without knowing her majesty’s pleasure, to yield, that
 “ any treaty should be kept so far from England; and that we would know more
 “ certainly of the power; assuring him, that the D. of Parma did by letter, be-
 “ fore her majesty’s commissioners came over, write, that he had *una commissione*
 “ *testantissima*; so as he must not find our delay strange, especially seeing the place
 “ of assembly at Roan was changed, so as we could not hear from England once
 “ in thirty days.

“ He asked us, whether ever did any man think, that an enemy’s commissioners
 “ would shew their power to treat, before they be assured, that the other side will
 “ treat; or that it shall be shewed but upon the place? My commissioners, saith
 “ he, were sent thither, and with my power; and so both were shew’d: and so
 “ dare I say, that yours shall see one, if the queen do send any hither: for, saith
 “ he, both TAXIS and RICHARDOT do say now to my servants, that it is come,
 “ and in the same form, that the other is for me. And for that point, it is but in
 “ vain to stand on it, for it is to me a scorn, and not to the queen, if the power
 “ were not sufficient. And besides I know it, that they do desire a peace with all
 “ their hearts.

“ I, JOHN HERBERT, said, the queen must know thus much, and that he might
 “ in the mean time write to his deputies to get a sight of it, lest when her ma-
 “ jesty’s commissioners should shew a power to treat, there should be any more
 “ respect shewed to the king of Spain in the form, than he doth shew her majesty
 “ in his; and that his majesty had thus far opened himself, that no war must be
 “ made, and that he would leave the states; her majesty being informed of it,
 “ he should hear what she would answer.

“ He said then, O! but I cannot tarry it. With that, I the secretary, said,
 “ Sir, why then, I beseech you, let us have our passports, if that be the point; for
 “ if her majesty’s benefits past, and your honour, only tie you to respect yourself,
 “ the queen knows what to expect hereafter.

“ He was with that and many former contestations of ours much chafed, and
 “ said unto me, that he had not used me like an ordinary ambassador to dispute
 “ thus freely and particularly. I answered him, that I took myself to be sent from
 “ a prince, that ought to be extraordinarily respected; and if without arrogance
 “ VOL. II.

“ I might speak it, I might take myself, considering my place, for no common
 “ ordinary embassador.

“ He said it was true, and so flubbered up some speeches of kindness again.

“ From thence I told him of his letter last written, and how far it was short of
 “ his speech delivered to us both together.

“ He said, for that point, I was too curious : he would not be taught to write : he
 “ had said enough to us both of all that, and had good reason to write
 “ no more.

“ I answered him, that if any body had told him, that I desired to appoint the
 “ style, he had done me wrong ; for that I was not so ill bred to do it : and yet I
 “ had not kneeled at the foot of such a prince as my sovereign seven years, but I
 “ could guess what letters usually passed between princes, when they meant to give
 “ satisfaction, and what in other letters.

“ Well, said he, as much as I do mean to commit to a letter's peril, my letter
 “ carries. If the queen trust you not, why did she send you ?

“ We answer'd, that it became us to get as much satisfaction as we could from
 “ himself, finding, that her majesty had so much cause of doubt ; and that we must
 “ be content, since his majesty was so resolved : but if he would have me to ex-
 “ pound his letter more effectual than it was, I must crave pardon ; and that I did
 “ contest chiefly that with his ministers, that by his letter the king did disavow
 “ nothing but that he had not given them commandment to sign any thing ; whereas
 “ in speech he both disavowed the having given them warrant to promise it, as well
 “ as not to do it.

“ Well, said he, I have said enough for that matter ; and where you presume
 “ with benefits past, the world will say, that the queen did herself no harm in it,
 “ and shall find me her faithful and kind brother to the uttermost of my life.

“ I answered, that howsoever partial men might construe her majesty's help of
 “ him to be out of her own respect, sure I was, that if her majesty had had a pur-
 “ pose to have served herself of the time and his necessities, she might have served
 “ her turn upon France, when it was in so many cantons, with the same charge,
 “ which she had been at with him. And for my part I humbly did beseech him to
 “ pardon me, tho' I had for that speech no warrant, as embassador, to speak it from
 “ the queen ; yet seeing France did so partially regard itself, as whensoever by the
 “ help of others it was made able to recover good conditions of the enemy, they
 “ must presently be taken without other respect of his allies, or giving liberty to
 “ such a prince as mine was, to be informed, or to understand and advise what
 “ way to take for himself. That I would pray to God, that England might never
 “ have more need of France, tho' I would ever think reverently of his majesty ;
 “ hoping, that he would be more respectful than to lose so good a reputation, and

“ the

“ the hearts of so many, by doing so great an injury to her, who never had failed
 “ him ; who notwithstanding that she had shewed herself thus far to be contented,
 “ at his intreaty to hearken to an enemy, yet she would let the world see, that she
 “ disdained to seek peace by any man’s means in Europe : and that I durst avow
 “ it, she was resolved at this time, as much as ever, to maintain her honour against
 “ her enemy, howsoever her friends should use her.

“ Well, well, faith he, *Je combattray contre vous * * * querelle* : we will advise
 “ further, and I will appoint the best of my council, whereof VILLEROY shall be
 “ one, to speak farther with you ; and then we will grow to some farther resolution ;
 “ for I would be as loth to discontent my sister as any body.

“ Thus have we set down this day’s journal truly, as our memories serve, and
 “ with all its circumstances, here being nothing amongst them talked of, but that
 “ the queen may have a peace ; that the states are only self-lovers ; that they do well
 “ enough with under-hand assistance ; and that it is dishonourable and ungodly to
 “ refuse that, which will set public quiet in christendom. Not knowing therefore in
 “ what time we shall be dispatched, and finding this opportunity of writing, we
 “ have thought it not amiss to acquaint your lordships with so much as is past.

“ The council, that should meet with us, as we are informed, shall be the duke
 “ DE BOUILLON, ESPERNON, VILLEROY, SANCY and SCHOMBERG, who is a very
 “ wise man, with PLESSIS and MAISSE ; to whom we do resolve to speak plainly,
 “ to the intent these persons, whereof divers of them are free from greediness of
 “ peace, may know truly what her majesty’s intent hath been in this legation,
 “ which the king himself, being every day more than other transported with desire
 “ of ease, is content to calumniate under hand : and altho’ he be never so plainly
 “ spoken unto, yet the secretary flubbers it up together, and delivers but half to
 “ the rest, to the intent, that it may be thought, if he had been otherwise dealt
 “ withall, or had any good offer, that it would have stayed him from this course,
 “ which his nature and humour do draw him unto.

“ From Nantes the 10th of April 1598.”

On the 13th the commissioners and others din’d with the king, and in the afternoon had audience ; and at night mons. VILLEROY came to confer with the secretary, who the next day in the afternoon took leave of the king, mr. HERBERT and he having had audience in the king’s cabinet ; and after that the secretary had private audience in his innermost cabinet an hour together, and was presented by the duke DE BOUILLON with a fair jewel, in which was the king’s picture.

The secretary and mr. HERBERT left Nantes on the 15th, and arriv’d at Caen on the 24th, and on the 27th departed towards Stretam, a port five leagues thence, where they embark’d on board the Adventure, commanded by sir ALEXANDER CLIFFORD, and on Saturday morning the 29th reach’d Landham-castle in the Isle of Wight, and came to Portsmouth about four in the afternoon. They din’d the next day at Altham, and came to Staines about nine at night, where a coach of the

earl of Essex waited for the secretary, and brought him to the court at Whitehall between ten and eleven, where he went directly to the queen, not staying long with her, but returning to his house in the Strand.

Before the secretary's departure for France, he had procur'd the queen to sign a privy seal for the earl for 7000*l.* to be paid to him out of cochineal, as her majesty's free gift to his lordship; and they were very private together, and there seem'd to be great kindness between them. But the secretary had been extremely unwilling to undertake the employment in France, till the earl assur'd him, that nothing should be done in his absence, that might be disagreeable to him^a. His lordship about this time began to discover again his passion for mrs. BRIDGES^b, one of the queen's maids of honour; which his friends apprehended would unavoidably come to her majesty's ear, and ruin him in her favour: and his countess, who was then with child, was very uneasy upon the information or suspicion^c. His lordship, about the middle of February, had prepar'd to go to the sea-coast of Kent and Suffex, and had a commission hastily sign'd to raise and command forces to oppose the enemy, if need required; the lord chamberlain being likewise order'd to the Isle of Wight, the lord MONTJOY to Portsmouth, and sir WALTER RALEGH to Cornwall; and all the captains in London were assembled, attending the earl's pleasure and direction, but before night all these proceedings were stopt, the enemy having reach'd Calais, and being out of danger. His lordship was now very diligent in his attendance upon the queen, and in some sort took upon him the dispatching of all business, that concern'd her majesty's service, in the absence of the secretary, and shew'd himself very careful in it^d. He had long endeavour'd to reconcile the queen to his mother, who, with her husband sir CHRISTOPHER BLOUNTE, appear from her own letters cited above to be under the displeasure of her majesty. Many attempts were made to bring the countess of Leicester to the queen's presence, and it was often granted, and she introduced to the privy galleries; but her majesty found some occasion not to come. Particularly on Shrovetonday, the 27th of February 1597-8, the queen was prevail'd upon to go to the lodgings of sir WILLIAM KNOLLYS, the comptroller, and brother to the countess, at the Tilt-yard, where her ladyship was ready with a jewel of 300*l.* and a great dinner prepar'd by the lord CHANDOS. The queen's coach was also actually ready, and every body expecting her coming, when upon a sudden she resolv'd not to go, and sent word of it. Upon this the earl, who had kept his chamber the day before, in his night gown went up to her majesty the privy way; but could not persuade her to go^e. But the countess was the next day introduced to court, and kiss'd the queen's hand and breast, and embraced her, and her majesty kiss'd her ladyship^f, who was desirous of a second access to the queen, but refused, before her departure into the country, where her son follow'd on the 10th of March to Grafton^g.

^a SIDNEY letters, vol. II. p. 89.

^b This lady had been in April 1597 ill treated by the queen with words and blows, and with mrs. RUSSEL obliged to leave the court for three days. Ibid. p. 38.

^c Ibid. 90.

^d Ibid. p. 91, 92.

^e Ibid. p. 92, 93.

^f Ibid. 93.

^g Ibid. p. 95.

During secretary CECIL's absence in France, mr. FRANCIS BACON wrote a letter to the earl to urge him to take upon him the care of the affairs of Ireland^b, which had then no lord deputy, the lord BURGH, who had last fill'd that post, being dead on the 8th of October 1597.

The earl having projected a marriage between his cousin LETTICE KNOLLYS, daughter of sir WILLIAM KNOLLYS, and the eldest son of his friend the earl of Worcester, and having employ'd his father-in-law, sir CHRISTOPHER BLOUNTE, to speak to that earl on the affair, sir CHRISTOPHER sent his lordship the following answerⁱ:

“ My most noble lord,

“ I failed not, presently after I had receiv'd from my sister KNOLLYS her purpose toward her daughter, to perform the service enjoined me by your honour to the earl of Worcester. The encouragement I had to do any other good than to let his honourable lordship know, how careful you were to appoint all circumstances to satisfy his reasonable expectation in this intended alliance, your lordship may perceive by the copy of my sister's letter to me written, which I send here inclosed. Nevertheless I gave so great assurance unto the earl, upon my first arrival, of your honour's own particular labour in this business, besides your commandments so straitly injoining me to do my best endeavours to enlarge your aunt's natural nearness, that I found my lord of Worcester most willing to requite these favourable courtesies of your's, tho' by the loss of some thousands, which by other matches he hath been offered with his son, if he would have hearkened to them. Now he resteth in hope of this until his coming to London, where I doubt not but by your persuasions to my sister, and the reasons I shall use unto her, being made your minister, that she will be drawn to do that for her daughter, which will satisfy the earl, whom I find very willing to assure your friendship by this alliance, if he be not over-much crossed by her nearness, whom I hope I have so infected with ambition by my late letters to her written, that the same will quell all other passions in her, as doth your love absolutely command the service of

“ Your faithfullest

“ Drayton-Basset

“ April the 3d.

“ CHR. BLOUNTE.”

He wrote again to the earl from Ildington, on the 12th of May, upon the same affair^k, acquainting him, that the lady KNOLLYS, tho' *near in her own nature*, yet by his lordship's persuasions was become sufficiently bountiful to satisfy his expectation, and held herself infinitely bound to him for his great care in the advancement of her daughter, and would add to the portion, hoping, that his care would be no less for her daughter's means of living lady like, than his endeavour had been

^b Printed in his works, and in the Cabala.

JOHN CASTLE.

ⁱ Letters to the earl of Essex collected by

^k Ibid.

earnest to bestow on her a ladyship. But, after all, this intended marriage was never executed.

A few days before this the earl's brother-in-law, the earl of Northumberland, wrote to him the following letter from his seat in Suffex^k :

“ Worthy brother,
 “ Your trusty embassador made as much haste, as if the affair had imported the
 “ peace of England with Spain. My return hath been the slower, for that I knew
 “ he and his horse were both weary; wherein I did a deed of charity. Your lord-
 “ ship, tho' in a greater matter, must do the like in helping jades, that are tired
 “ in their courses, which willingly would lie in the ditch to be freed from farther
 “ spurring. I can gather, that this is necessary out of your sentence, *major pars*
 “ *vicit meliorem*, because they will follow great uncertain kings to lose true friends ;
 “ or else they will embrace their own wills to neglect argument and reasons, that
 “ were more forcible. If I conjecture amiss, pardon my error ; if rightly, it is no
 “ wonder, for it is apparent to very weak understandings. I do wish for the good
 “ of the state, that it be not hurt by their hopes in the one, and by malice and pri-
 “ vate respects in the other, and so put honest men to a greater plunge hereafter.
 “ You may expect nothing from this poor end of the world but the faithful love of
 “ a brother, and the service of a true friend to be recommended ; which is ever at
 “ your disposition.

“ Petworth this 8th of May.

“ NORTHUMBERLAND.”

The lord WILLOUGHBY of Eresby, who had by the earl's interest been appointed governor of Berwick in the latter end of February 1597-8^l, in the course of his correspondence with his lordship, wrote from thence on the 12th of June 1598^m, that the night before mr. ROGER ASTON had come to him, and, amongst other complements of his own, had certain points to acquaint him with, as he said, from the king of Scots: first delivering the king's general affection to the amity, and protestations of adhering to it, with his kind reception of CESFORD, who had deliver'd his pledges, and pretended all diligent duties. He seconded it with the king's desire, that there might be frequent meetings of the wardens, and clearing of debates by hearing and determining them. And that whereas it used to be the custom in doubtful causes and asseverations to proceed to combat, it might be abolish'd, as a thing in it self irreligious ; besides that at such meetings there happen'd occasions of farther mischief, and they left behind them but the root of feuds and heart-burnings on both parties for revenge. The lord WILLOUGHBY's answer was, that he had in charge from her majesty to join with the king's ministers and servants in doing all manner of justice ; and that he would be ready to do this, not only at the time appointed, but upon all other occasions, when he should be requir'd. And that with regard to duels, because it concern'd the life of subjects, he

^k Ibid.

^l SIDNEY letters, vol. II. p. 92.

^m MS. vol. of mr. ANTHONY BACON's papers in my possession, p. 36.

would,

would, for his own part, willingly consent to grant none without the allowance of their fovereigns first had; wherein he would labour to know the queen's good pleasure: "I am bold, *adds he*, to write my opinion, not that I presume to advise, but being where I am, I think it fit to inform what I know, since the distance may let perhaps some things to you above not to be so clearly discerned. Our meetings by the treaty have a certain form prescribed of public reading, and after transcribing our patents one to the other. It is to be doubted some of my opposites have no patents; and then that rule were unequal. But it were fit, that both were authoris'd, since the service is advantageous to both, and that they being demanded to do justice, might by such patents be reciprocally bound. An inconvenience hath long since and late risen by such meetings, by the reason the place and ground have neither been indifferent, nor the order of chusing it. To pass things past of sir FRANCIS RUSSEL, earl of Bedford, &c. Sir WILLIAM BOWES last remembers how he was carried away. They hold by antiquity, privilege, and no little pride, that we should come over to them. We think our precedency and their dependency of our state have as great reason to come to us. But at least methinks it should be *alternis vicibus* and by lot, and not we always bound, as we are, to go over to them, who bring often multitudes of horse, and refuse, for our guard, that we should carry over with us assurance of foot, where we are weaker in horse. In the handling of these matters I would your lordship would be pleas'd, as our earl marshal, to marshal such meetings, with such respects, as the nation's reputation requires. It will be a good time upon this occasion moved to take hold of it; and the commissioners on both sides having prepared, but not absolutely perfected their work, might have this with other things, which might seem farther good unto your lordship, also in charge."

The lord WILLOUGHBY presum'd, that mr. ROGER ASTON had written to secretary CECIL; and this induc'd his lordship to trouble the earl with the affair; that if instructions should be sent, his lordship might be put in mind, as well what was fit to be done, as what the king of Scots required, and that he, lord WILLOUGHBY, might be clear'd in the earl's opinion, and consequently in that of others, of not being forgetful of his duty. In the postscript he takes notice, that he had sent mr. BACON the news of those parts, to be communicated to the earl at his lordship's leisure; adding, that he had heard, that it had come to the king's ears, that his lordship had a conference with J. COLVIL at Gravesend; which gave his majesty jealousy of the latter.

The queen finding herself in a manner abandoned by the French king in the separate peace concluded with Spain at Vervins on the 2d of May, 1598, N. S. thought it necessary to concert measures with the states of the united provinces for their mutual security: for which purpose she dispatched sir FRANCIS VERE to Holland. In the mean while there was a great opposition of opinions in England, whether it was most for her interest to pursue the war, or procure a peace with Spain. The lord treasurer declared for the latter, as the earl of Essex did for the former; which occasion'd a warm contest between them, and provok'd lord BURGHLEY, after a long argumentation against the earl's reasons against peace

peace with the enemy, to hand to him the book of psalms, and silently point to a passage in psalm lv. 23. *blood-thirsty men shall not live out half their days*^a.

The earl's zeal against treating with Spain having likewise exposed him to the censures of many, as averse to peace from ambition and attachment to his own interest, he drew up an *Apology*, addressed to his friend mr. ANTHONY BACON, *against those, which jealousy and maliciously tax him to be the only hinderer of the peace and quiet of his country*; which is written with great force of sentiment and expression, and soon became public from the press. It was reprinted in 4to in 1603, soon after king JAMES I's. accession to the crown of England, and was never questioned to be the earl's own performance, till it was incorporated among the writings of lord BACON, in the edition of them of this present year 1753, with an addition to the title, that *it was written by him in the person of his lordship*. But there is not the least authority for this supposition, which is unsupported by the style and manner of writing very different from that of lord BACON, and contradicted by a letter of the earl himself to ANTONIO PEREZ on the 16th of September, 1596, cited above*, in which he mentions the apology as begun by him near the Groyne in his return from Cadiz.

The question concerning peace was soon followed by another about appointing a proper person for the administration of Ireland, the agitation of which produced a quarrel between the queen and the earl, attended with circumstances of resentment unusual between a sovereign and a subject, at which there were present only the lord admiral, secretary CECIL, and mr. (afterwards sir) THOMAS WINDEBANK, clerk of the signet, father of sir FRANCIS WINDEBANK, secretary of state to king CHARLES I. The queen was of opinion, that sir WILLIAM KNOLLYS, the earl's uncle, was the fittest person to be sent to Ireland; while his lordship declared obstinately for sir GEORGE CAREW, in order to remove him from the court; and finding that his advice in this point made no impression upon her majesty, he turn'd his back upon her in such a contemptuous manner, as exasperated her to so high a degree, that she gave him a box on the ear, and bid him go and be hang'd. Upon this he put his hand to his sword, and, when the admiral interposed, swore, that he neither could nor would bear such an indignity, nor would have taken it even from HENRY VIII. and so left the court^b. The lord keeper EGERTON wrote to him upon this occasion a letter, printed together with the earl's answer in the *Cabala*, but so incorrectly, that it is proper to insert here more exact copies of both.

The lord keeper's letter, dated the 15th of October, 1598, was as follows:

“ My very good lord,
 “ It is often seen, that he, that is a stander-by, seeth more than he, that playeth
 “ the game; and for the most part any man in his own cause standeth in his own
 “ light, and seeth not so clearly as he should. Your lordship hath dealt in other
 “ mens causes, and in great and weighty affairs, with great wisdom and judgment.
 “ Now your own is in hand, you are not to contemn and refuse the advice of any,

^a CAMDENI ELIZ. p. 711—717.

^{*} P. 143.

^b CAMDEN, p. 717, 718.

“ that

“ that love you, how simple soever. In this order I rank myself, among others,
 “ that love you; none more simple, and none, that loves you with more true and
 “ honest affection; which shall plead my excuse, if you shall either mistake or mis-
 “ construe my words or meaning: yet in your lordship’s honourable wisdom I nei-
 “ ther doubt nor suspect the one nor the other. I will not presume to advise you,
 “ but shoot my bolt as near the mark as I can, and tell you what I think.

“ The beginning and long continuance of this so unseasonable discontentment you
 “ have seen and proved, by which you may aim at the end. If you hold still your
 “ course, which hitherto you find worse and worse, (and the longer you tread this
 “ path, the farther you are still out of the way) there is little hope or likelihood,
 “ that the end will be better than the beginning. You are not so far gone, but
 “ you may well return. The return is safe, but the progress dangerous and despe-
 “ rate in this course you hold. If you have any enemies, you do that for them,
 “ which they could never do for themselves; whilst you leave your friends to open
 “ shame and contempt, forsake yourself, overthrow your fortunes, and ruinate your
 “ honour and reputation; giving that comfort to our foreign foes, as greater they
 “ cannot have. For what can be more welcome and pleasing news to them, than
 “ to hear, that her majesty and the realm are maimed of so worthy a member, who
 “ hath so often and so valiantly quailed and daunted them? You forsake your
 “ country, when it hath most need of your help and counsel: and, lastly, you fail
 “ in your indissoluble duty, which you owe to your most gracious sovereign; a
 “ duty not imposed upon you by nature and policy only, but by the religious and
 “ sacred bond, in which the divine majesty of God hath by the rule of christianity
 “ obliged and bound you.

“ For the four first, your constant resolution may perhaps move you to esteem
 “ them as light; but being well weighed, they are not lightly to be regarded:
 “ and for the two last, it may be your private conscience may strive to content
 “ yourself; but it is enough. These duties stand not alone in contemplation and
 “ inward meditation; their effects are external, and cannot be performed but by
 “ external actions; and where that faileth, the substance itself faileth.

“ Now this being your present state and condition, what is the best to be done
 “ herein? and what is the best remedy for the same? My good lord, I want wis-
 “ dom and lack judgment to advise you; but I will never want an honest and true
 “ heart to will and wish you well; nor, being warranted by a good conscience, forbear
 “ to speak what I think. I have begun plainly. I hope your lordship will not be
 “ offended, if I proceed still after the same fashion. *Benè cedit, qui temporì cedit.*
 “ And SENECA saith, *Lex si nocentem punit, cedendum est justitiæ; si innocentem,*
 “ *cedendum est fortunæ.* The best remedy is not to contend and strive, but humbly
 “ to submit. Have you given cause, and yet take scandal to yourself? Why,
 “ then all you can do is too little to make satisfaction? Is cause of scandal given to
 “ you? Yet policy, duty, and religion inforce you to sue, yield, and submit to
 “ your sovereign, between whom and you there can be no proportion of duty.
 “ And God himself requireth it as a principal bond of service to himself. When
 “ it is evident, that great good may ensue of it to your friends, your country, and
 “ sovereign,

“ fovereign, and extreme harm by the contrary, there can be no dishonour or hurt
 “ to yield; but in not doing it, is dishonour and impiety. The difficulty, my
 “ good lord, is to conquer yourself, which is the height of all true valour and
 “ fortitude, whereunto all your honourable actions have tended. Do it in this,
 “ and God will be pleased, her majesty well satisfied, your country will take good,
 “ and your friends comfort by it: yourself (I mention you last, for I know of all
 “ these you esteem yourself least) shall receive honour, and your enemies (if you
 “ have any) shall be disappointed of their bitter sweet hope.

“ Thus have I utter’d what I think, simply and truly, and leave you to determine.
 “ If I have erred, it is *error amoris*, and not *amor erroris*. Construe, I beseech you,
 “ and accept it, as I mean it, not as an advice, but as an opinion to be allowed
 “ or cancelled at your pleasure. If I might conveniently have conferred with you
 “ myself in person, I would not then have troubled you with so many idle blots.
 “ Yet whatsoever you shall judge of this mine opinion, be you well assured, my
 “ desire is to further all good means, that may tend to your good. And so wishing
 “ you all honourable happiness, I rest

“ Your lordship’s most ready and faithful

“ (altho’ of many most unable)

“ poor friend,

“ THO. EGERTON, C. S.”

The earl’s answer, dated the 18th of October, was in these terms:

“ My very good lord,
 “ Altho’ there is not that man this day living, whom I would sooner make a judge
 “ of any question, that did concern me, than yourself; yet must you give me leave
 “ to tell you, that in such a case I must appeal from all earthly judges; and if in
 “ any, then surely in this, where the highest judge on earth hath imposed upon me,
 “ without trial or hearing, the most heavy judgment, that ever hath been known:
 “ but since I must either answer your lordship’s arguments, or forsake my just
 “ defence, I will force mine aching head to do me some service for a small hour or
 “ two, altho’ against my will. I must first then deny my discontentment, which
 “ was forced, to be any humorous discontentment, and that it was unseasonable,
 “ or of too long continuance. Your lordship should rather condole with me than
 “ expostulate about the same: natural seasons are expected here below; but violent
 “ and unseasonable storms come from above. There is no tempest to the passionate
 “ indignation of a prince; nor yet at any time is it so unseasonable, as when it
 “ lighteth upon those, who might expect an harvest of their careful and painful
 “ labours. He, that is once wounded, must feel smart while his hurt be cured, or
 “ that the part be senseless; but no cure I expect, her majesty’s heart being obdurate
 “ against me; and to be without sense, I cannot, being made of flesh and blood.
 “ But, say you, I may aim at the end. I do more than aim, for I see an end of
 “ all my good fortunes, and have set an end to my desires. In this course do I
 “ any thing for mine enemies? When I was in the court, I found them absolute:
 “ and

“ and therefore I had rather they should triumph alone, than they should have me
 “ attendant on their chariots. Do I leave my friends? When I was a courtier, I
 “ could yield them no fruits of my love unto them. Now I am become an her-
 “ mit, they shall bear no envy for their love towards me. Do I forsake myself,
 “ because I do enjoy myself? or do I overthrow my fortune, for that I build not
 “ a fortune of paper-walls, which every puff of wind bloweth down? Do I ruin
 “ mine honour, because I leave following the pursuit, or wearing the false badge or
 “ mark of the shadow of honour? Do I give courage and comfort to the foreign
 “ foe, because I reserve myself to encounter with him? or because I keep my heart
 “ from baseness, altho’ I cannot keep my fortune from declining? No, my good
 “ lord, I give every of these considerations its due right, and the more I weigh
 “ them, the more I find myself justified from offending in any of them. As for
 “ the two last objections, that I forsake my country, when it hath most need of me,
 “ and fail in that indissoluble duty, which I owe unto my sovereign; I answer, that
 “ if my country had at this time any need of my public service, her majesty, that
 “ governs the same, would not have driven me into a private kind of life. I am
 “ tied unto my country by two bands: in public peace, to discharge carefully,
 “ faithfully, and industriously the trust, which is committed unto me; and the
 “ other private, to sacrifice for it my life and carcase, which hath been nourished
 “ in it. Of the first I am freed, being dismissed, discharged, and disabled by her
 “ majesty. Of the other nothing can free me but death, and therefore no occasion
 “ of my performance shall offer itself, but I will meet it half way. The indissoluble
 “ duty, which I owe to her majesty, is only the duty of allegiance, which I never
 “ will nor never can fail in. The duty of attendance is no indissoluble duty. I owe
 “ her majesty the duty of an earl and of lord marshal of England. I have been
 “ content to do her majesty the service of a clerk; but can never serve her as a
 “ villain or slave. But yet, you say, I must give way unto the time. So I do;
 “ for now I see the storm come, I put myself into the harbour. SENECA saith, we
 “ must give place unto fortune. I know, that fortune is both blind and strong,
 “ and therefore I go as far out of her way as I can. You say, the remedy is not
 “ to strive. I neither strive nor seek for remedy. But, say you, I must yield and
 “ submit. I can neither yield myself to be guilty, or this imputation laid upon me
 “ to be just. I owe so much to the author of all truth, as I can never yield falsehood
 “ to be truth, or truth to be falsehood. Have I given cause, ask you, and take
 “ scandal, when I have done? No; I give no cause to take so much as FIMBRIA’S
 “ complaint against me, for I did *totum telum corpore recipere*. I patiently bear
 “ all, and sensibly feel all, that I then received, when this scandal was given me.
 “ Nay more, when the vilest of all indignities are done unto me, doth religion
 “ enforce me to sue? or doth God require it? Is it impiety not to do it? What,
 “ cannot princes err? cannot subjects receive wrong? Is an earthly power or
 “ authority infinite? Pardon me, pardon me, my good lord, I can never subscribe
 “ to these principles. Let SOLOMON’S fool laugh, when he is stricken; let those,
 “ that mean to make their profit of princes, shew to have no sense of princes inju-
 “ ries; let them acknowledge an infinite absoluteness on earth, that do not believe
 “ in an absolute infiniteness in heaven. As for me, I have received wrong, and
 “ feel it. My cause is good, I know it; and whatsoever come, all the powers on
 “ earth can never shew more strength and constancy in oppressing, than I can shew

“ in suffering whatsoever can or shall be imposed upon me. Your lordship in the
 “ beginning maketh yourself a looker-on, and me a player of my own game; so
 “ you can see more than I can, yet must you give me leave to tell you in the end
 “ of my answer, that since you do but see, and I suffer, I must of necessity feel
 “ more than you do. I must crave your lordship’s patience to give him, that hath
 “ a crabbed fortune, licence to use a crabbed style; and yet whatsoever my style is,
 “ there is no heart more humble to his superiors, nor any more affected towards
 “ your lordship, than that of

“ Your honour’s poor friend,

“ E S S E X.”

This letter was afterwards objected to the earl, when he was called before the commissioners at York-house on the 5th of June, 1600, Mr. FRANCIS BACON, who was council for the queen against him, styling it *bold and presumptuous, and derogatory to her majesty*, and complaining, that it had been publish’d by his lordship’s own friends*.

Upon the first notice of his lordship’s retirement in discontent, the countess of Leicester, his mother, wrote to him some time in July the following letter^c.

“ Sweet ROBIN,

“ Yourself hath given me such a taste of some strange matter to be looked for, as
 “ I cannot be quiet, till I know the true cause of your absence and discontentment.
 “ If it be but for Ireland, I doubt not but you are wise and politic enough to
 “ countermine with your enemies, whose devilish practices can no way hurt you
 “ but one. Wherefore, my dear son, give me leave to be a little jealous over you
 “ for your good, and intreat you to have ever God and your own honour before
 “ your eyes; so shall you be sure, that he will dispose indeed all, as you say, for
 “ the best, in despite of all enemies. My friend and I cannot but be troubled
 “ with this news, and do wish ourselves with you, as we would soon be, if we
 “ thought our service needful, or that you would have it so; which let us know,
 “ and we will leave all other occasions whatsoever, and will presently be with you.
 “ Well, if it be but mens matters, I know you have courage enough: if womens,
 “ you have meetly well passed the pikes already, and therein should be skilful. So
 “ praying you not to be too secret from your best friends, I end, beseeching the
 “ Almighty to bless you ever in his highest favour, while I am

“ Your mother,

“ dearest loving you,

“ L. LEICESTER.”

Sir WILLIAM KNOLLYS, on whose account the quarrel arose between the queen and the earl, sent likewise a letter to his lordship^d, which must have been written

* FYNES MORYSON’S Itinerary, Part II. B. I. ch. ii. p. 71.

^c Letters to the earl of Essex, collected by JOHN CASTLE.

^d Ibid.

about the middle of July, 1598, since he mentions in it the audience, which the embassadors of the states general had of her majesty on the 13th of that month†.

“ My very good lord,

“ Between her majesty’s running into her princely power, and your lordship’s
 “ persisting in your settled resolution, I am so confounded, as I know not how nor
 “ what to persuade. I will therefore leave it to God’s work, to whom I heartily
 “ pray to settle your heart in a right course; your sovereign, your country, and
 “ God’s cause, never having more need of you than now; wishing you rather to
 “ depart from yourself, than not to be what you ought. I will only at this time
 “ let you know what I hear. This day her majesty was pleased WILL. KILLIGREW
 “ should have come to you as from himself, but instructed by her: yet jealous,
 “ that one of her chamber’s coming to you might be thought to be sent by her,
 “ she commanded him to stay. Besides she hath openly said, that some have told
 “ the states, that what offers soever they make, her majesty will treat with Spain;
 “ wherewith she seemeth to be greatly offended, and that they shall answer it before
 “ her council; and she hath privately said, you have spoken as much before herself.
 “ Moreover the queen told one, that she observed such, as followed her, and those,
 “ which accompanied such, as were in her displeasure, and that they should know
 “ as much before it be long. All these and such like speeches tend, as I think, to
 “ one end, which is to reduce you to a parley; and if in substance you may have
 “ a good peace, I beseech your lordship not to stand upon the form of treaty. I
 “ only wish well, but prescribe nothing.

“ This day there hath been great debate, whether VALENTINE THOMAS* should
 “ be arraigned or no. It was concluded he should; but I think it is at a
 “ stand, the king of Scots having desired, that some for him might be at his
 “ arraignment.

“ Yesterday my lord admiral had several letters, that the Adelantado was
 “ executed, and don DIEGO BURCHEIRO commander in his place. This is all
 “ the news here. If your lordship write me your mind, what you think of VALEN-
 “ TINE THOMAS’s cause, or any thing else, I will use it as you shall direct me. Thus
 “ wishing your lordship a full contentment, I will ever remain

“ Your lordship’s most assured

“ to command,

“ W. KNOLLYS.

“ The states have been with the queen, BARNEVELT, VANDERWERCKE, and
 “ CARON. She hath pressed them to open themselves, and hath told them, that
 “ this their offer will not content her. All the answer, I hear, they have given, is,
 “ that they will let the rest of their fellows know her pleasure.”

† METEREN, l. xx. fol. 429.

* He being in custody for theft, charg’d the

king of Scots with ill designs against queen ELIZABETH.

The death of the lord treasurer BURGHLEY on the 4th of August, 1598, occasion'd sir WILLIAM KNOLLYS to write on the same day another letter in these terms ^f.

“ My very good lord,
 “ Her majesty hath been this afternoon made privy by mr. chancellor ^g of my
 “ lord treasurer's death, which she seemeth to take very grievously, shedding of
 “ tears, and separating herself from all company. Yet doubt I not but she in her
 “ wisdom will cast this behind her, as she hath done many other before time of
 “ like nature. She hath sent my lord of BUCKHURST * and mr. chancellor for the
 “ seal, and such things, as may concern her majesty. My lord keeper had some
 “ speech with her, but not a word of you, or disposing of any thing. Your lord-
 “ ship's being from court at this time is, in my opinion, very unreasonable both
 “ for the common good, (many weighty causes now depending) and your lordship's
 “ own private; wishing, that there be no disposing of office or place without your
 “ lordship's allowance. My arguments to persuade your lordship's presence I leave
 “ to be weighed by your own judicial part; knowing how wisely you are able to
 “ advise another in so great a cause, praying you to lay down sound and sure positions
 “ of your resolution, the cause of religion, the good of your country, yourself and
 “ your friends depending thereon, and humbly desiring your lordship, that opinion
 “ do not so over-rule you, as in regard of your own will you will neglect those
 “ great causes formerly by me remembered. Remember, I beseech you, that there
 “ is no contesting between sovereignty and obedience; and I fear the longer your
 “ lordship doth persist in this careless humour of her majesty, the more her heart
 “ will be hardened: and I pray God your contending with her in this manner do
 “ not breed such a hatred in her, as will never be reclaimed. Which passion if she
 “ fall into, your lordship must needs be guilty thereof: and tho' by necessity she
 “ may be forced to use your service, yet shall you be sure, by not having her
 “ majesty's love, to be subject to their tongues, who will practise against you.
 “ Pardon, I beseech your lordship, if I pass my bounds, my love being the guide
 “ of my pen. Thus having advertised your lordship how this accident of my lord
 “ treasurer is taken, I leave your lordship to your best thoughts, and remain ever

“ Your lordship's to command,

“ W. KNOLLYS.”

But the earl was not brought to such terms of submission as the queen required in the month of September, when sir WILLIAM KNOLLYS wrote the following letter to him ^h.

“ My very good lord,
 “ I met WILL. KILLIGREW coming towards your lordship with a message from
 “ the queen, that she looketh for a better answer from you of submission; or else

^f Ibid.

^g Of the exchequer, sir JOHN FORTESCU.

* He succeeded the lord BURGHLEY in the post

of lord treasurer.

^h CASTLE's collection.

“ not to admit you to her prefence. I thought it not amifs to take him back with
 “ me again to the court, whereby he might let the queen know you had your fit
 “ yesternight; that it took you with a cold, and that you were not yet freed from
 “ it: fo as understanding in what ftate you were, he thought good to know her
 “ pleafure before he would deliver any unpleafing meffage. She blamed him for
 “ not going yesterday; to which he replied, that if your fit had followed, as it did,
 “ it would be imputed to her meffage; which fhe confefled, and concluded, that
 “ he might ftay, until fhe heard again from dr. BROWNE. And thus the cafe
 “ ftandeth now. Your lordship may ufe your difcretion: but if you have a meaning
 “ to come, do it as foon as you may, and with little fore-knowledge. Mr. KIL-
 “ LIGREW feemed to take his advertifements from dr. BROWNE’s mention of your
 “ fit; and therefore I would gladly fpeak with the doctor before he go up, becaufe
 “ mr. KILLIGREW and he muft agree in a tale. Her majesty is fo variable, fo
 “ diftracted in herfelf, as I know not what advice to give in this cafe. But I think
 “ by your lordship’s coming there will be a speedier end; but whether good or bad,
 “ I cannot divine. I wifh your lordship’s health above all things; and the upright-
 “ nefs of a good confcience will make way thro’ all difficulties. Thus praying
 “ heartily for your lordship’s health, I will ever remain to be commanded by your
 “ lordship

“ W. KNOLLYS.”

While the earl continued in retirement his brother-in-law, the earl of Northumberland, wrote to him this fhort letterⁱ.

“ Noble brother,
 “ I long to know, whether we fhall have you a countryman long, or a courtier
 “ fhortly. We, that are your friends, are impatient at the delays; all the fervice
 “ we can do you for the prefent. What fhall I fay, but that ftill I am at your
 “ devotion? Many words are idle, howfoever meant, fo long as there wants
 “ means in me to demonftrate them otherwife. Therefore wifhing you no worfe
 “ than to my own foul, I reft

“ Your faithful brother,

“ Petworth, this

“ 16th of Auguft [1598.]

“ in whom you have all power,

“ NORTHUMBERLAND.”

The countefs of Northumberland wrote probably about the fame time the following letter^k.

“ Dear brother,
 “ I long to know how you will difpofe of yourfelf in this froward world, which
 “ yields nothing but discontentments, and the more to them, that are apt to receive
 “ them; among which number I wifh I were not. But I will feek to put it from

ⁱ Ibid.

^k Ibid.

“ me as much as is possible, tho’ I never look but to have cause sufficient. I will
 “ no longer trouble you with my melancholy style, but end with wishing you all
 “ contentment.

“ Your most affectionate sister,

“ D. NORTHUMBERLAND.”

After his return to court upon his submission in September following, her ladyship sent him this letter¹.

“ Dear brother,

“ I cannot but desire to know how the court air and humours agree with you. If
 “ both sort with your health and contentment, none shall be more glad: if other-
 “ wise, I will hope, that your wisdom and patience, which have ever accompanied
 “ you, will be a remedy against all evils; to which companions I leave your worthy
 “ mind, remaining

“ Your most affectionate sister,

“ D. NORTHUMBERLAND.”

The reconciliation of the earl of Essex to the queen was mentioned to mr. EDMONDES, then agent at the court of France, by secretary CECIL in a letter of the 3d of October^m, wherein he observed, that such *small understanding*, as had been between her majesty and his lordship, *was now clearly removed, and all very well settled again.*

Mr. EDMONDES was now represented in several letters to mr. BACON in the months of September and October from monf. COMBESⁿ, who was sent to France for intelligence, as much more attached to the secretary than to the interests of the earl, because the former had the management of the purse. Monf. COMBES styles mr. EDMONDES a mere JUDAS^o, and more corrupt than any jesuit; and affirms, that he had said, that the earl would spoil every thing, and ruin himself, as being much more proper for throwing a court into disorder, than contributing to its order; and never was nor would be long without being involved in some troubles at court^p. Monf. COMBES had before remarked in a letter of the 6th of June, N. S.^q, that the lord BUCKHURST and lord chamberlain were not fit persons to be sent ambassadors to France, where they were not beloved; but the queen ought to send the earl of Essex, who was more esteemed than any other Englishman.

The lord WILLOUGHBY of Eresby, in a letter from Berwick of the 17th of September^{*}, congratulated the earl on his recovery, which he had not heard of till he

¹ Ibid.

^m MS. papers of sir THOMAS EDMONDES, in the possession of the honourable PHILIP YORKE, Vol. II. p. 91.

ⁿ MS. papers of mr. ANT. BACON, Vol. XVI. fol. 70 & 79.

^o Ibid. fol. 70.

^p Ibid. fol. 79.

^q Fol. 46.

^{*} MS. volume of mr. A. BACON in my possession, fol. 35.

was informed of his lordship's sickness, else his lordship should sooner have heard of him, or at least he would have sought some occasion to have heard sooner of his lordship. He was afraid, that he should be confined at Berwick for the winter, being commanded not to be farther from that town than in a day he might return; but that he was resolved to abide it, hoping before the next spring to obtain some leave for his own business: for unless he were a huckster or broker, that place afforded him nothing more than labour. In the postscript he adds, that since he had written his letter, he had received the inclosed little ticket, which he offered, not as occurrences, but to fulfil a compliment. "The queen, *says he*, hath said I "scorn to write to any of her council but you. I am sorry I have nothing worthy "of you, nor of my love to you; otherwise her majesty hath given the directions "of such matters to sir JOHN CAREY, who, I doubt not, will satisfy her tho- "roughly."

MONS. DE BOISSISE, the French ambassador, upon his arrival in England, wrote a letter to MR. BACON on the 27th of October, 1598^r, in which he told him, that the king his master could not have conferred his favours upon a more worthy person than he, or upon a gentleman of more merit, or more mindful of the courtesies, which he had received in France: that there was no better characteristic of a good mind than gratitude: that he deserved a thousand more courtesies than he had received, and might, when opportunity offered, certainly expect this from the king, as a prince, who had a greater affection and regard for her majesty than could be expressed, and consequently for the brave gentleman of England, whom he, the ambassador, was ready to serve, not only in that post, but in all other points, where his power should extend, and especially MR. BACON, whose virtues he was sensible of, and highly honoured.

This ambassador soon attached himself to the earl of Essex much more than to secretary CECIL, who, in a letter of the 19th of April, 1600, to sir HENRY NEVILLE, ambassador in France[†], observes of him, that he had a *piquant spirit, clad with external formality*. And MR. WINWOOD, in a letter from Paris of the 30th of August, 1602 §, written after mons. DE BOISSISE's return thither, remarks, that as his carriage during his embassy in England promised no great good, when he should leave it; so the little use, which was made of him in France, threatened no great harm, the king disliking his want of moderation, and mons. DE VILLEROY acknowledging him to have been an unfit minister to maintain the amity between the two crowns.

^r Ibid. fol. 2.

[†] WINWOOD's memorials, Vol. I. p. 174.

§ Ibid. p. 432.

B O O K XII.

THE ill state of Ireland making it necessary, that a lord deputy should be sent over thither, the lord MONTJOY was named about the beginning of November; but secretary CECIL, in a letter of the 6th of that month to mr. EDMONDES from the court at Richmond^f, inform'd him, not as secretary, but his friend, that he thought the earl of Essex would go over lieutenant of that kingdom, with a royal power to make an end of the war there. His lordship was indeed ambitious of that post himself; and when the distress of Ireland, where TYRONE had gain'd great advantages over the English, and the whole province of Munster was revolted, and the rest of the island was in the same disposition upon expectation of assistance from Spain and the pope, came under the consideration of the council, his lordship spoke at large upon what was to be done for the reduction of that country to its duty. He censur'd the conduct of the former deputies, who, he said, amused themselves with trifles, instead of acting directly against TYRONE, without giving him any respite: that by truces granted him from time to time he had restored his affairs, and the queen been put to needless expence, since her troops were as well paid during a truce as in a war. When the nomination of a deputy came in question, and her majesty and most of the council inclined to lord MONTJOY, the earl covertly insinuated his unfitness for that post, on account of his want of sufficient experience in war, having served only in a lower rank in the Low Countries and Bretagne; and not being considerable enough by his fortunes and alliances, and too much devoted to study and speculation; whereas the situation of Ireland required, that a governor should be sent thither of the first nobility, and eminent for power, honours, and riches, acceptable to the military men, and who had before commanded an army: by which description he seemed to point out himself. This determined the queen to confer on him the administration of Ireland, which he pretended to be unwilling to accept of, but when any other person was named for it, always objected to the choice.^g His demands were indeed such, that her majesty was averse to the complying with them, as appears from a letter to mr. EDMONDES of the 4th of December from secretary CECIL^h, wherein he observed, that the opinion of the earl's going to Ireland had some stop, by reason of his lordship's indisposition to it, except with some such conditions, as were disagreeable to her majesty's mind; "altho' the cup, *said the* " *secretary*, will hardly pass from him, in regard of his worth and fortune: but, if " it do, my lord MONTJOY is named." But at last all difficulties were overcome, and the earl accepted of the post of lord lieutenant of Ireland, his establishment being sign'd by the queen on the 24th of March, 1598^w. He had long, as FYNES MORYSON, afterwards secretary to the lord MONTJOY, observes^x, been a dear favourite:

^f MS. state papers of sir THO. EDMONDES, in the possession of the hon. P. YORKE, esq; Vol. II. p. 109.

^g CAMDENI ELIZ. p. 733.

^h MS. state papers of sir THO. EDMONDES; Vol.

II fol. 149.

^w Itinerary of FYNES MORYSON, Part. II. p. 27. b. 1. ch. i.

^x Ibid. p. 26.

of the queen, but had of late been so open to his enemies, as he had given them power to make his embracing of military courses, and his popular estimation, so much suspected of his sovereign, as his greatness was now judged to depend as much on her majesty's fear of him, as her love of him. And in this respect he might seem to the queen most unfit for that service. But the earl was persuaded, that his honour could not stand without undertaking it; and since he affected it, no man durst be his rival. His enemies likewise promoted his design, that they might have him at more advantage by his absence from court. The vulgar gave ominous acclamations to his enterprize; but wiser men rather wished than hoped happy effects either to his private or the public good, in regard of the powerful enemies, whom he left at court, (whence all seconds were to come to him) and of his own distracted ends, tho' inclined to the public good, yet perhaps in aiming at the speedy conclusion of the war, and some other particulars, not fitly concurring with the same.

Before the earl accepted of this great employment in Ireland, he thought proper to consult Mr. FRANCIS BACON, what determination he should make in that affair, tho' he had discontinued advising with that gentleman for about a year and half before. Mr. FRANCIS BACON not only dissuaded but protested against his lordship's going to Ireland, telling him with as much vehemence and asseveration as he could, that absence in that kind would exulcerate the queen's mind, whereby it would not be possible for him to carry himself so, as to give her sufficient contentment, nor for her to carry herself so, as to give him sufficient countenance, which would be ill for her, ill for him, and ill for the state. He insisted likewise upon the difficulty of the action, setting forth out of histories, that the Irish was such an enemy, as the antient Gauls, or Britons, or Germans were; and that it was well known, how the Romans, who had such discipline to govern their soldiers, and such donatives to encourage them, and the whole world in a manner to levy them, yet when they came to deal with enemies, which plac'd their felicities only in liberty and the sharpness of the sword, and had the natural and elemental advantages of woods and bogs and hardness of bodies, they ever found they had their hands full of them: thence he concluded, that going over with such expectation as the earl did, and the churlishness of the enterprize not likely to answer it, it would greatly diminish his reputation. But these and all the other arguments, which Mr. FRANCIS BACON could use, with more zeal than he had shewn upon any former occasion, could not divert his lordship from undertaking the post*: but before his nomination to it, and upon the first treaty with TYRONE, that gentleman wrote to the earl a letter of advice, as he did another immediately before his lordship went to Ireland; both printed in his works; in the latter of which letters he takes notice of the earl's having remark'd to him his silence upon his lordship's occasions; and he expresses a wish, that his lordship in the whole action looking forward would set down this position, that *merit is worthier than fame*; and looking backward remember this text, *that obedience is better than sacrifice*. “ For designing, *says he*, to fame and glory may make your lordship in the adventure of your person to be valiant, as a private soldier rather than as a general. It may make you in your commandments rather to be gracious than disciplinary. It

* FR. BACON's letter to the earl of Devonshire. *Scrinia Ceciliana*, p. 91.

“ may make you press action, in respect of the great expectation conceived, rather
 “ hastily than seasonably and safely. It may make you seek rather to achieve
 “ and war by force than by intermixture of practice. It may make you (if God
 “ shall send prosperous beginnings) rather seek the fruition of that honour, than
 “ the perfection of the work in hand. And for the other point, that is, the pro-
 “ ceeding like a good protestant, upon express warrant, and not upon good
 “ intention, your lordship knoweth in your wisdom, that as it is most fit for you
 “ to desire convenient liberty of instructions, so it is no less fit for you to observe
 “ the due limits of them; remembering, that the exceeding of them may not only
 “ procure, in case of adverse accident, a dangerous disavow, but also, in case of
 “ prosperous success, be subject to interpretation, as if all were not referred to the
 “ right end.”

The earl's patent of lord lieutenant granted him more ample authority than any other lords deputies had formerly granted them. For whereas others had power to pardon all treasons, felonies, and all offences, except such treasons, as touch'd her majesty's person, her heirs, &c. and the counterfeiting of money, this exception was by his lordship's importunity left out, the lawyers maintaining, that all treasons touch the prince's person. And whereas other lords deputies had power to bestow all offices except the chief reserv'd to the queen's gift, his lordship was impowered to bestow some of the chiefest, and to remove all officers not holding by patent, and to suspend such, as held by patent. He had likewise power in many things, which had never been given to any before; as to make martial laws, (he being earl marshal of England) and to punish the transgressors: to let the lands of TYRONE, and other rebels named, to any persons whatsoever, and to their heirs male, reserving due rents to her majesty: to command the ships already sent, and to be sent to Ireland, except the lord admiral were sent to sea, and commandment given to join the said ships to his fleet: and, lastly, to issue the treasure according to the two establishments, with liberty to alter that, which was signed by the lords in England, with the advice and consent of the council of Ireland, so as he exceeded not the sum of the establishments. He had an army assign'd him as great as himself requir'd, and such for number and strength, as Ireland had never seen ^a, containing 20,000 foot and 1300 horse, which were afterwards increased to 2000 ^b.

He departed from London for Ireland in the end of March, 1599, attended with the flower of nobility and the acclamations of the people, and arriving at Dublin after a stormy passage, in which the earl of Kildare and some other gallant gentlemen were cast away^c, appointed the earl of Southampton general of the horse, contrary to the express orders of the queen, who was angry with that earl for having married, without her majesty's consent, which used to be ask'd by men of quality, ELIZABETH, daughter of JOHN VERNON, by the earl of Essex's aunt^d.

He had left in England his secretary, mr. REYNOLDES, to solicit such businesses, as related to his charge in Ireland, which mr. REYNOLDES notified to the queen in

^a Ibid. p. 27.

^b CAMDEN, p. 734.

^c MORYSON, p. 30, 31.

^d CAMDEN, p. 735, 739.

a letter of the 17th of April, 1599^e, assuring her, that if his lordship had means answerable to the inward affection, which he carried to her majesty's service, there was no doubt but he would make a quick dispatch. "But it may please your majesty, *says* *mr.* REYNOLDES, to consider, that as his life without your favour will be bitter unto him; so, tho' he shall sacrifice the same for your service, it will be little available, unless your countenance shine clear as heretofore upon him, unless you strengthen him with your favours, which will be enough to double your army, and add such supplies from time to time, as may continue it in its present strength. Wherewith you may be well assured he will perform as much, as any mortal man whatsoever can do, either by counsel, courage, faith, and true and zealous affection to your majesty; whose watchfulness, cares, studies, and indefatigable endeavours, by the space of eleven whole years, I have seen, and can justly testify, having never spared the faculties of his body or mind, when question hath been of your service. Witness so many excellent projects and discourses, which he hath written upon all occasions presented. Witness his several successful and happy employments, prudently by your majesty invented, and valiantly by him executed, against that proud monarch, to your great glory and everlasting fame, and to the diverting of imminent dangers threatned to your state. If therefore your majesty, by proof of his travels past, by the experience of his faith and loyalty, wherein none in your kingdom can go before him, by the assurance of his just and honest heart, free from all manner of corruption, by the opinion of his industry and endeavours in the charge committed unto him, do conceive, that he may be a profitable instrument speedily to end these rebellions; then it may please your excellent majesty to remember, how necessary it is, that he be graced, cherished, encouraged, and strengthened; that your majesty repose a confident trust in him, so often tried, without jealousy, without disgrace; and that upon any suggestions you reserve an ear for him, whose ears, eyes, body, mind, state, and all whatsoever he is, or may be, are by allegiance, by obligation, by a sincere and true affection, wholly your majesty's. Which unless you do, the least frown or token of your dislike or displeasure towards him will more discomfort him, and give a greater blow to your service, than any attempt or design of the enemy." Mr. REYNOLDES concludes with desiring her majesty to pardon this presumption of his, and to reckon and interpret these lines, as the certain signs of his most humble and faithful duty to so gracious a sovereign, and of his honest and constant affection to so worthy a master.

The earl having demanded of the council an account of the present state of Ireland, it was accordingly drawn up, agreed to, and sign'd by them, and presented on the 17th of April, 1599, to his excellency^f, who in that month dispatched two letters to the lords of the council in England, advertising them by the first of the strength of the rebels, as it appeared in that account; and by the second, that TYRONE had in council resolved, first, to encourage and confirm his confederates, and strengthen them in their dependency on his protection; then to make two heads against the queen's forces, the one in Ulster of 6000 horse and foot, under his own command, and the other in Connaught of 4000 horse and foot, under O DONNEL's command. He farther advertised their lordships, that many in Munster had taken a solemn

^e Volume of MS. papers of mr. ANTHONY BACON in my possession, p. 34. ^f MORYSON, p. 31.

oath at a public cross in that province, to be stedfast in their rebellion; and that no traitor sought pardon, but used such insolent behaviour, as might well shew, that they had no such thought: that the minds of the very subjects were so alienated from the English, as well for religion as government, that some, who could bring 100 horse, and 300 foot into the field upon private revenge, would protest not to be able to serve the state with six horse or foot. That every active borderer had a solicitor with the rebels, and almost every one of the greatest in the state had some rebel or other to his client. He concluded, that small or no assistance could be promised from the Irish, so that, how great soever the queen's army was, yet he durst boldly say, that the plaister would do no more than cover the wound.

After a few days rest good part of the English forces being drawn together, the earl enter'd upon action, but did not attempt the head of the rebellion, according to his own advice in England, and the queen's express command; but was induced by some of the council, who aim'd at their private interest more than the public good, to lead his forces against some few rebels in Munster.

Having return'd to the camp on Monday the 21st of May in the afternoon attended by the same troop of horse, which had accompanied him to Kilkenny, he march'd the next morning towards Munster*, and lodg'd that night at a small village called Claynbrogha. The next day he removed to Glumell, a town seated on the shore, and there caused his army to rest both that day and the following, partly that they might refresh themselves after their toil and weariness, occasion'd as well by their daily marches, as also by the foulness of the weather, and partly because he expected the coming of the cannon and ammunition, which he had before ordered to be sent thither from Waterford. In the afternoon taking with him a troop of horse he went to meet the companies, which likewise came, according to his appointment, from Waterford, whose rendezvous he had assigned about two miles beneath the town near a castle called Darrylarye belonging to the lord of Cahir, but held by the rebels. Upon the arrival of these forces his lordship summoned the castle, which was seated on the Sure, and commanded the passage by boat from Clonmell to Waterford. The rebels at first stood upon conditions; but these being utterly rejected, they soon surrendered both themselves and the place to the earl's mercy, who disarmed and pardoned them. Upon view of the place finding it both defensible and of consequence, he left there a garrison of thirty soldiers, drawn out of the company of capt. CLARE.

The next day, May 25, intending to dislodge with the whole army, he ordered the van-guard and the battle to march on to a fair green within a mile of the town, and himself went to the key, and used all possible diligence for hastening the artillery, being one cannon and one culverin: but the bridges, where it was to pass, were weak, and all things necessary for the quick repairing of them wholly wanted. He was obliged therefore to leave it behind, with orders for the guarding and conduct-

* MS. journal of the occurrences of the camp under the earl of Essex, lord lieutenant of Ireland, from May 21st to July 2d, among the MSS. of sir JAMES WARE, now in the possession of the rev. JEREMIAH MILLES, D. D. præcentor of the cathedral of Exeter.

ing it by the rear-guard, with the help of some few horse, and that for want of draught horses it should be drawn by force of men's hands; which was the day following accordingly, May 26, perform'd. His lordship in the mean time overtook the van-guard and battle, and stop'd them an English mile short of the castle of Cahir, the chief house of THOMAS BUTLER lord of Cahir, a place of as much consequence as any in Munster, and of greater strength than any passage upon the river, a cover for the best part of the county of Tipperary, and a near neighbour to EDMUND FITZGIBBON's, the white knight's country, to the Burkes country, call'd Clanwilliam and Muskerry the principal fastness, which the rebels of Munster had, and therefore extremely proper both for offence and defence. It was likewise of strength by nature, as being seated on all sides on a main rock, and in an island, which the river makes by dividing itself at that place: and to this natural strength were added more helps than to any other fort in Ireland. From the southward it had a great banon compass'd with a large stone-wall, which besides those of the castle had two flankers in itself; and within that another strong wall, before the house was approach'd. On the north side were two great square towers, which flank'd one another, the curtain between all seated in the most inaccessible and highest part of the rock. On the west side ran a deep stream necessary to be pass'd before the castle was to be reach'd, and a faux mur at the foot of the rock; and withall the flanks of the castle, and one of the banon, which lay very commodiously to beat on any approaches that way. On the east side there lay behind the stream a main rock, as on all sides else; the flank of the banon and of the square towers of the castle within; another faux mur, which cover'd the part of the banon, a great round tower, that came out of the body of the castle into the banon as a bulwark, and a small low round tower at the foot of the rock and end of the faux mur, which flank'd both the castle and the banon, and stood almost in the manner of a little casemate.

This castle of the lord Cahir should have been surrender'd by him upon the first approach of the army, if either he had perform'd the contents of his submission under his hand, or kept his word and faith several times given to the lord lieutenant, who reproach'd him at Glumel, that he had not held himself to his promise, but had receiv'd strangers into his castle, who would make a party for the white knight and against the delivery of the place. Whereupon the lord lieutenant having sent to lord Cahir's brother, who was in it, to know the true state of it, an answer was return'd, that it held for his lordship, none being in it but lord Cahir's own kinsmen and followers, and that without fail it should be deliver'd up the next day. The lord lieutenant therefore sent that lord with sir HENRY DAVERS, who that day commanded the van-guard of the horse, to draw forth his brother and the ward, and to stand there ready to admit the garrison, which should be appointed to hold it for the queen. But sir HENRY return'd with assurance, that the castle would be obstinately defended; adding, that *Cahir* himself was insolently and disgracefully used by those, who came out to parley. This caus'd the lord lieutenant immediately to call to council the earl of Ormonde, the marshal sir GEORGE BOURCHIER, sir WARHAM St. LEGER, and the serjeant-major, to consider with them what means he had to force the place, and how he might support the army while he lay before it. And finding his means very scanty, partly for want of carriage, and partly thro' the negligence

negligence of some officers, who had left at Waterford many provisions necessary for a siege, he gave orders for munitions to be speedily sent for from Waterford, and for victuals to be daily supplied from the adjacent towns; and for beeves he dispatch'd letters to such lords of the countries near adjoining, as were able to furnish them. He likewise sent again for the lord Cahir, and in presence of his brother-in-law, the viscount MOUNTGARRET, laid before him the greatness of his fault in falsifying his word, in deluding her majesty's lieutenant, and in causing the army to spend time there, to the hindrance of more important service, assuring him, that howsoever he and his accomplices might hold the place invincible, yet himself was resolved not to depart thence till he had reduced it to her majesty's obedience: which if he did, he will'd him to consider, how small cause he had to hope for either the continuance of the honour of his house in his posterity, or any other favour at her majesty's hands. This made such an impression on the lord Cahir, that he immediately desir'd leave to parley once more with the castle, not doubting, as he said, to procure the delivery thereof. This was assented to, and because the cannon and rear-guard could not that night, May 27, come from Glumel, the lord lieutenant lodg'd the van-guard and battle in two small villages, where he made halt. He staid likewise there the next day till Cahir's negotiation prov'd fruitless, and the cannon was come; at which time he caused the van-guard of the army, with two pieces of artillery, to be drawn down within a musket shot of the castle. He then gave the limits of his quarter, and went from place to place to get as near a view of the castle as he could in the day time. The army of necessity was all lodg'd on the east side of the river, because, if it had been divided, the whole force of the rebels in the neighbourhood, esteem'd about 5000 men, might suddenly have fallen upon either part, which would have been no ways able to succour the other without going two miles about. Besides which the store of tools, in the lord lieutenant's army, to work and intrench themselves, was very small; nor was there any magazine at all, nor any other provision of victuals but such as the enemy might easily cut off from coming to those, who should lie on the west side of the shore.

The army being set down, and night came, the lord lieutenant went to view the castle and the ground by it, where his approaches were to be made, and ordnance to be planted; which when he had chosen, a trench was that night cast up within fifty paces of the castle, and a platform made for the cannon, and gabions set up and filled to cover the gunners. The culverin was plac'd somewhat farther off, where it might see more of the flanks of the castle, and so beat down their fights. The next day in the morning, as soon as the watch was discharg'd, the cannon and culverin began to play; but the carriage of the former broke at the second shot, and could not be repaired in a day and a half. The culverin was for some time clogg'd up with a bullet; but being clear'd, it shot that day some fifty shot, so that the rebels scarce durst keep in any tower, or fight on that side. At evening the lord lieutenant finding, that the rebels, by reason of his army's only lodging on one side, went in and out of the castle at their pleasure, which till he could prevent, the place would not easily be forced, he resolved to take in the orchard of the castle, being in the same island, in which the castle stood, and adjoining to the wall of the bawne on the South side. For this purpose he sent 300 men, appointing capt.

BRETT

BRETT and capt. CHAMBERLAIN, first to enter with two several troops, then sir THOMAS GATES to second them with the grofs, and the marshal to go along with them to direct them, and see them lodged and intrenched at that corner of the orchard, which join'd one of the towers, and flank'd the bridge: by which those, that pass'd betwixt the castle and the west side, where the enemy lodg'd, must necessarily come. All this was effected with small loss, capt. BRETT being the only person of rank kill'd. Yet the entry of this orchard was so difficult, and afforded the enemies such advantage, that, had they resolutely defended it, forty men might easily have held out against 4000; for it was surrounded by the river, which was deep and muddy, had an high bank on each side, which they had strongly plashed within, so that the lord lieutenant's men, tho' they found no resistance, could not pass over in two hours. When the orchard was possessed, his lordship gave order for shewing the way, by which victuals, munitions, &c. might pass without difficulty to his army thus lodg'd; and coming thither the next day, as soon as his indisposition suffered him, and finding, that, notwithstanding his trench, the rebels sent in a succour of 40 or 50 men, and drew out some, who were less serviceable, he determined the next night to take another piece of ground, an island near the farthest side of the water, upon which part of the bridge stood; which island being secur'd, it would be impossible for any one to enter or come out but by swimming.

The difficulties, which he found, were in passing his men thither, and relieving them there; for both which he provided two boats, by means of which he convey'd them to the main, an harquebus shot from the end of the bridge; where they had a direct way over a little short bridge to the place, where they should lodge: and then putting the same boats a little below the river, and carrying them on men's backs above the castle, and so putting them again down the stream charged afresh with victuals, he continuedly supplied them during their abode there. Again, to discover both the resistance they found at the first attempt, and to countenance them still where they were safely lodged, 150 horse were passed over at a ford a mile from the castle, who having march'd as far as the bridge stood in the plain betwixt it and the rebels all the night long; so that the men sent thither to lodge, being 40, securely settled themselves, and, as they were commanded, broke the bridge both betwixt them and the main, and betwixt them and the castle.

When the rebels in the castle were thus block'd up, and the carriage of the cannon repair'd, the lord lieutenant, on the 30th of May, caused the culverin to be drawn nearer, and the next morning both that and the cannon to play all the day, to beat down the great round tower, which flanked both the castle and the bawne; and to make another breach in the wall of the bawne on the same side, which took very good effect. For in both places before night there was made so great a chasm in the wall, that the rocks being once climb'd, the breach might well be enter'd. Immediately the lord lieutenant call'd to him all his engineers, and being that night resolv'd to make his way thorough both the breaches, and to lodge upon them, requir'd their care and diligence in getting ready ladders, scaffolds, &c. that the men after climbing up might safely be lodg'd and defended from stones and whatever might be cast down upon them. At the same time the chief petarder was order'd to make ready his petard to play upon the wall of the bawne on the orchard

side, where also it was directed that a sap should be made; and in case either attempt took effect, sir CHARLES PERCY, with four old companies, should presently advance, and at the other two breaches two colonels were appointed to go on as soon as the petard had play'd, and sir CHARLES had given the alarm. The project being thus order'd, if any other of the three had enter'd, the bawne had necessarily been won; and consequently, the next wall being without strength, might quickly have had the loop-hole stopp'd up with binders, and so an access made for using the sap. On the other side, if the breach upon the round tower had been enter'd, this labour had been saved, it joining within that wall, and close to the castle.

But in the beginning of the night, before any attempt could be made, the rebels being fallen from all hope of defending the place, which they saw was on all sides so far engaged, and in some places ruin'd; and finding likewise by all means, which they had used, that no composition, underhand treaty, or secret evasion would be yielded by the lord lieutenant, their last determination was to quit the place, and to attempt the saving of their lives by sally. They issued out therefore at the ordinary gate of the castle with their arms, and made an offer to have gone along by the water-side, and so to have passed the quarter of the besiegers, and taken the river. But their designs prov'd vain; for they had scarce gone ten paces over the bridge, before they were charg'd by a guard placed under a rock close by the river, and by them driven back again in such haste, that they threw away their arms, some leaping into the water, others offering to pass thro' the island, where sir CHRISTOPHER ST. LAURENCE commanded. And in all places they were so well receiv'd, that very few escap'd, and those only by swimming, being follow'd by shot within a pike's length.

The castle was no sooner abandon'd than it was enter'd by the lord lieutenant's men, and after one day's stay there spent in drawing the cannon and culverin into it, repairing the breaches, and making the army ready to march, the command thereof was given to capt. GEORGE CAREY, who the evening before, in viewing the places where the petard should play, and the sap be made, was shot thro' the face and the upper part of his body. There was assign'd to him for garrison one hundred foot, being his whole company.

The next morning, being the last of May, the army dislodg'd and incamp'd that night near the abbey of Athassel; where, being not able to pass the shore by reason of the great rain lately fallen, his lordship spent a day in making up the bridge at Colan, which for many years had lain broken; and there passed the whole army, which that night lodg'd a mile to the westward of Tipperary.

In marching to this quarter he receiv'd a letter from sir THOMAS NORREYS*, lord president of Munster, shewing, that in his march from Butman he had discover'd some rebels of the sept of the Bourks and their followers, whom he pursued, overtook, charg'd, and broke, killing about 50 of them, forcing the rest to fly to

* Brother of sir JOHN NORREYS, who dying in 1597, was succeeded in his post of lord president by sir THOMAS.

a bog, most of them for haste casting away their arms. In this skirmish the president was hurt in his head with a pike; no other loss nor harm being received. The lord lieutenant, the next morning, went to see sir THOMAS at the hospital seven miles from his own quarter, and the same night met with the army again at Cullen Agony, four miles from that place. On the 4th of June his lordship having brought the army within five miles of Limerick, went thither with his horse, whither also the next day the lord president came to him.

During their stay in Limerick his lordship was advertised of the distress of her majesty's castle of Askeyton, a place seated upon the river Shannon 14 miles from Limerick, antiently the chief house of the pretended earls of Desmond, and standing as fitly to do service, as any place in Munster, as lying in the midst of the rebels in Conelo, and not far distant from the mountain of Sleghlougher: he resolv'd therefore to take a journey in person for the re-victualling of it, and the rather, because that earl had publickly declar'd, that he was in the way with all his forces, and had solemnly vowed to prevent the passage of the lord lieutenant, who left Limerick on Friday the 8th of June. After he had dispatch'd from thence the governor of Connaught and the earl of Clanrickard to their charges, with directions how they should for the present dispose of such troops, as they had, for the prosecution of the wars in Connaught, he overtook his army, as it was newly risen, and march'd to Adare, a town in the possession of the earl of Kildare, seven miles from Limerick, standing upon the river of May, having on the south side of it a fair country call'd Coshmay, belonging likewise to that earl; and on the north and west sides woods and bogs and a great fastness.

At this town, and at the passage of the river, Desmond with all his countrymen and all his hirelings, which in the common language were term'd *Donaughts*, presented himself, shewing betwixt two and three thousand men with five or six ensigns flying, as tho' he meant to stop the lord lieutenant's army from proceeding farther. But that night their shew was far greater than their valour, for those, who were appointed by DESMOND to break the bridge, as soon as one of them was struck down with a bullet, presently left their works, and the lord lieutenant without any obstruction passed over seven companies of foot, and lodg'd them in an old abbey seated at the west end of the bridge, and on the same side of the river, on which the rebel forces were. The rest of the army was lodg'd on the east side of the river near the bridge, and strong guards placed on the bridge that night. The next morning the residue of the army being drawn over and advanced to the same place, where, over-night, the rebels had shew'd themselves, his lordship exactly inform'd himself, by his guides, of the right way, and accordingly order'd his march. His troops had scarce gone one English mile before they enter'd into a pass of the length of a quarter of a mile, which at the farther end had an easy descent and a ford, which was then plash'd, and on the right hand of it a main bog, and on the left a thick wood. As they drew towards this place thro' the thinnest pass of the wood, they saw the rebels coasting along with a design to meet them there; as appear'd immediately from what follow'd. For when the lord lieutenant, accompanied with the marshal and earl of Thomond, who that day led the forlorn hope, enter'd the mouth of the pass, the rebels discharg'd at him a volley of shot;

upon which he commanded some loose shot, seconded with a convenient number of short weapons, to enter the wood, whence the shot came; and withal gave order for making the pass, till his men had both dislodg'd the rebels, and lodg'd themselves on the right hand in the same grove, whence the attempt was made; and then with speed he advanced so many of his troops, as he thought requisite for the possessing of the place from the first entrance of it to the ford. There finding no resistance he commanded the marshal to clear the way of those bushes, which were laid in the ford, and to pass likewise some troops of horse into the plain beyond it; next to draw thro' all the carriages, leaving still the foot to make good the pass in such order, as his lordship lodg'd them. He return'd in the mean time himself to the rear-guard, where he found the rebels at that very instant come up close to them, passing the wings, and playing upon his men. Whereupon he drew out new wings to charge them; but his soldiers went so coldly on, that his lordship was oblig'd, by reproaching their baseness, to drive them into the wood, where again a shot was made at him, which wounded one of the gentlemen, who attended him. This eagerness of his exceedingly improv'd the dulness of the common soldiers, so that, to make amends for their faults, they made a fierce attack upon the rebels, and being still supplied and seconded beat them clear thro' the wood, where the rebels entertain'd them with a new skirmish; but partly by those, whom his lordship sent from the rear-guard to succour his men, and partly by those drawn down by the marshal from the van-guard, the rebels were forced to turn their backs on all sides, after the loss of near an hundred of their Connaught men, there being not above six of his lordship's kill'd, and twenty wounded.

Having thus pass'd this pass they march'd the rest of the day without resistance to a village call'd Oapaghe, two miles from Askeyton, and upon the river Dyle, which thence has its course from Dyskyton and forward to the sea. The next day, being Sunday, his lordship gave order for divine service and sermons in every quarter, and after dinner commanded his baggage to be loaded and his army to stand in arms; while himself, with two or three companies of horse, went to Askeyton to see both the place and the entering of the victuals, which by boat he had sent thither from Limerick. They were landed without any obstruction, because the enemy, who before had block'd up the river, dislodg'd upon notice of the approach of the lord lieutenant, who returning soon after to the camp pass'd the Dyle, and lodg'd three miles from thence at a place call'd Callough.

In this day's march he receiv'd advice, that the bastard, who pretended to be M^r ARTY MOORE and the lord FITZ MORRIS were come with all their forces to JAMES FITZ THOMAS, who lay within two miles of his lordship's quarters; and that they resolv'd the next day to fight his army. Upon this he call'd to him all his guides, and having found by them what way he was to pass, the next day, being the 11th of June, he so order'd his march, that the carriages went in great safety, and the van-guard and rear-guard in great strength. On the march the lord GREY, who commanded the van-guard of horse, discover'd the rebels, and advanced so far to take a view, that mr. BURKEHAM, one of the gentlemen about him, was shot thro' the cheek. The army having gone about two miles, the rebels out of a great wood, which lay on the right, began to entertain the van-guard with some skirmish,

mish, and to offer to beat in their wings with shot: which when the lord lieutenant saw, he thought best to entertain it in the right nature of an Irish skirmish; that is, coldly and uncertainly, in order that he might with security draw on his carriages, and dispatch them with the van-guard of horse and foot to a plain not far distant; and as the two battalions and wings of the van-guard were led away, so he brought up the like from the battle to take their places. The same was observ'd by the rebels, who withdrew their men, that had skirmish'd, relieving them with others; and now began more gallantly to come on, but were repulsed into the wood, where they had lodg'd their shot in covert, and in great numbers. This the lord lieutenant soon espied, and call'd off his men every one, and purpos'd to march away with a view to draw the rebels farther from their cover; which occasion'd them to take heart, as if what had proceeded from design, was done from necessity or fear, and with that conceit came on with a great cry faster and faster than any time before. Then his lordship chang'd his course, ordering his wings to charge home on all sides, and to attack as well the wings as ambascades of the rebels; for which purpose he made the marshal on the right hand, and sir HENRY DAVERS, lieutenant general of the horse, on the left, to charge along the skirt of the wood; and withal advanced one of his battalions into the midst of the close, which on their sides was environed with wood, and equally answer'd all his troops, that attack'd. This charge on all sides was so well perform'd, and the seconds so readily sent, that the rebels were instantly beaten into the woods, their ambascades driven home to their main body, many of their forwardest men kill'd, and the wood itself a good way possessed by the lord lieutenant's men, till they were order'd to retire. In this command sir HENRY DAVERS, as soon as he had receiv'd his command, and offer'd to go on, was shot, and the bone of his leg broken with the bullet; and capt. JENNINGS, who had the leading of a wing, shot through the body; but no man else of note was either slain or wounded; tho' divers of the colonels, captains, and gentlemen of quality engag'd themselves very far; and when sir HENRY DAVERS was hurt, the earl of Southampton led on the troop of horse, and the marshal attack'd not only with his troops, but likewise with the wings, and ventur'd himself as far and as long in the heat of the skirmish as any man in the army. The serjeant-major, sir THOMAS JERMYN, and sir ALEXANDER RADCLIFFE likewise led on some of the wings into the wood; and the lord lieutenant himself made good the place till sir HENRY DAVERS, capt. JENNINGS, and the rest of the wounded were dress'd and carried on towards the plain, and then drew home his wings, and march'd on without any disturbance, tho' the enemy still breath'd out great vaunts of what wonders they would perform, especially at another place of far more straitness and advantage to them, which was within a mile to be pass'd.

That night the army incamp'd by Rumme, a principal castle of the earl of Kildare, standing at Adare upon the May. The 11th of June the lord lieutenant left the army at the Brough, and went himself three miles farther to Kilmallough, taking with him the earl of Ormonde, the marshal, the master of the ordnance, and sir WARHAM ST. LEGER, and meeting there with the lord president of Munster, who was before left at Limerick with three companies of horse, and by them, after his resting there three days, convey'd back to Kilmallough, his lordship demanded of him and the other counsellors above-nam'd, what course they held fittest
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to be taken; how the army might be provided with victuals and munition; and lastly, when it would be fittest for him to divide his forces, and part with the president. The present difficulties of the army forced him to make these propositions; for he knew, that all the money, which had been in the vice-treasurer's hands, was already issued; that there was no magazine, nor any kind of victual of her majesty's stores; that those few cows, which were left, would be eaten in two days: and as for the town of Kilmallough, little or no help could thence be expected. With respect to the munition, that was hardly for above two or three days, tho' the army was every day entertain'd only with a light skirmish. To these points it was answered, that concerning his course in returning, his lordship might make choice of three ways, either from Kilmallough thro' the county of Tipperary, and so over the Sure at Colam bridge, lately repair'd by his lordship; or else thro' the white knight's country call'd Olangibbon, and thence to Oalyge and Clonmell; and thro' part of the lord Roch's country, or thro' part of the country of PATRICK COUDER, and so to Conneigh, the pretended earl of Desmond's castle, which he had strongly guarded, as being his chief mansion house, and in the strength thereof greatly depended; and thence to Leixmore, where his lordship might either over the mountains pass to Clonmell, or by Dungarvon go strait to Waterford. If the first, he was presently to divide his forces at Kilmallough: if the second, he must carry all thro' Olangibbon, and return the president by the fair champain way of Tipperary: if the third, the forces must be separated about Leixmore. The first was the shortest and easiest way for his lordship; but for the president far the worst, the whole forces of the rebels being likely to fall upon him; and if the lord lieutenant should carry away any munition with himself, there would be not enough to answer such service, as the Munster companies were in all probability to be put to, before they could be supplied; besides that the victuals fell every way short for both. The second was thought altogether fruitless; the White Knight holding no place in all his country, his chief castle of Ballyboy being broken down by himself upon the first report of the taking of Cahir. As for his followers, they were all driven into Dylo, a strong fastness, where the army so pester'd with carriages could not pursue them. The last seem'd longest and subject to greatest difficulties: for to pass thro' Conneigh without forcing it might be reputed dishonourable; and to attempt it with such small means would be no less dangerous; there being strong assurance, that the rebels forces would wait on the army all the way. But the lord lieutenant finding this course in some respects void of safety, and in all respects void of honour, he resolv'd on the last, and so much the rather, because the president confidently assur'd him, that he would procure out of the lord BARRY's country, and out of Muskerry and the * * * lands, beeves enough for the army. Besides that from Cork a convoy of munition might be easily sent to the broad water, to Fermoy, or to the Castle Lyons, which was not above three miles from Conneigh.

The lord lieutenant's opinion concurring herein, the rest agreed; and the army accordingly march'd the 13th of June to Armasbig, three miles from Kilmallough, at the foot of the mountain, which the next morning they pass'd, and lodg'd at Slamore, a town of the viscount Roch. The army being quarter'd, and order given for their next day's remove to Fermoy, the lord lieutenant taking with him an hundred horse went to Mallo, the lord president's house, whence he dispatch'd

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to Cork 30 horse, and 40 harquebusiers on horseback for a proportion of munition. The day following, June 15, his lordship met the army at Fermoy, having before his departure receiv'd the submission of JOHN DELLAHYDE, a gentleman of the English pale by birth, but then seated in Kerry, who for the safety of his goods had taken part with the rebels, but now implor'd mercy on his knees. The same morning also CORMOC MAC DERMOT attended his lordship, and brought to him an hundred cows, and withal an hundred kern, all arm'd with pikes and guns, except some few horsemen. His lordship directed CORMOC with his horse and cattle to repair to him at Fermoy. The lord BARRY met the army accompanied with threescore horse, whom the lord lieutenant commanded, first to send out his spies over the country, to learn, if any of the rebels did that way stir towards Cork; and then to go himself and his horse, for the securing the convoy, and upon notice of the rebels approach with any force, to dispose of it in some of his castles by the way.

The next day, June 16, the army dislodg'd, and in their march was lightly skirmish'd with in two passes; in the latter of which the rebels would have done more, if they had not been beaten thro' the wood by the wings, so that they never after came up to look upon the battalions. This day no man of note was wounded except sir HENRY DAVERS, who was shot in the face, but not dangerously. That night the lord lieutenant had a design to have lodg'd half a mile short of Conneigh, there to expect his convoy; but finding the place burnt and abandon'd by the rebels, and the quarter short of it not convenient, he lodg'd the army between Conneigh and Nougheily, a castle, which H. PYNE held of sir WALTER RALEGH.

On the morrow, June 17, being Sunday, a letter was deliver'd to his lordship from the lord BARRY, signifying, that he had brought the convoy safe to Castle Lyons, but desir'd to have some troops for the security of his passage thence to the army, because the rebels lay near the way with all their forces. Hereupon the lord lieutenant deferring the sermons till the afternoon, with one thousand foot and two hundred horse met the convoy, and brought it to the camp, whence the next day the army remov'd to Affayn, a place seated on the broad water. In their march they pass'd thro' a great pass by Lyffymen, where the rebels threatned to take their leaves of them by some vigorous attack. But not a man appear'd; and, if they had oppos'd themselves either at the ford by Lyffymen, or at the pass, they had found the army well prepar'd to receive them, and marching in more exact order and greater strength than at any time before. And in the night proceeding, in the dark, his lordship had drawn out of the main guard 400 chosen men, whom he secretly placed in the bawne and out-houses of Lyffymen, with an intent, that if the rebels had charg'd in front or flank, they should have been attack'd behind.

At Affayn the army was to pass a ford, where it ebbs and flows; neither was it possible to do it except within one hour before or after low water, and even then not without trouble, especially to an army so incumber'd with carriages. Here it happen'd, that one half only pass'd over that night, and encamp'd on the east side; the other half being lodg'd by the ford on the west, his lordship remaining with the one of them, and leaving the marshal and serjeant-major for the direction of the other.

other. On the 19th, at break of day, the rest of the army passed, and the whole march'd to a little village two miles short of Dungarvon, and five miles from Affayn. But by the way his lordship return'd the fifteen companies, which the president of Munster had brought him at their first meeting, and went to Youghall, taking the president himself along with him. That night upon the first sitting down of the camp, the whole council was assembled at the lord lieutenant's tent, where first his lordship demanded of the president what forces he thought sufficient for prosecuting the war in Munster. The president answer'd, that if he might have a company of 50 horse added to those, which he had already, and his foot increas'd with 800 more, he should think himself strong enough. His lordship therefore assign'd him his brother's company of horse and one hundred foot more than he had demanded, being all chosen companies, and commanded by very able and gallant officers. The next consideration was, where were the fittest places of garrisoning; for by garrisons only the heart of the Irish rebellions was to be broken. Several places were nam'd, out of which, with due regard of all circumstances, choice was made of some, and both the commanders and their companies proportionably sort'd for them. Upon the breaking up of this council his lordship drew up instructions for the lord president, which he deliver'd sign'd with his own hand. The substance of these instructions might be reduced to these three points; what head he should make; what place he should seek to make good, in case the foreign enemy should invade the province; and how he should carry himself to those, who from time to time might offer to come in and submit themselves. For the first, that he should burn and spoil all, except that, which either the owners themselves could defend, or which they should bring under the protection of the garrisons: for so both the province should be disabled to contribute for the maintaining such a number of hirelings and strangers, as it did, and the provincial rebels in time be starved. With regard to the second point, that in every wall'd town he should place some garrison, and especially in the ports; and that he should put himself, with the greatest part of his forces, into some one particular place, which the lord lieutenant, as esteeming it of most importance, had chosen to be the seat of the war. As to the last, that in receiving men to mercy he should carefully look into their former behaviour, and observe, whether it had been malicious and embrued with blood; and that whomsoever he receiv'd, he should command to deliver in their best pledges; and withal to register all their followers and servants, and to undertake for them, bringing also their substance under the command of some one of her majesty's garrisons.

With this force and these instructions the lord president left the lord lieutenant on the 20th of June in the morning, and departed directly from Youghall after his other fifteen companies, which were sent back the day before. And the lord lieutenant himself marched back that night to Ballaomy in the lord MOORE's country, having in the morning gone somewhat out of the way to view the port and castle of Dungarvon. The next day, June 21, the army was brought within three miles of Waterford, and his lordship with two companies of horse lodged in the city.

On the 22d the army was brought from Stony-bridge to the Passage, (a village
to

so named, because it is on the side of the passage or ferry from the county of Waterford to that of Wexford) whither the lord lieutenant commanded all the boats of Waterford, Rosse and Carrick to be gathered together the next morning by break of day. But the ferry being broad, the boats small, and the carriages of the army far greater than had ever heretofore in that country followed so few fighting men, his lordship coming from Waterford, when he had carefully review'd her majesty's magazines of victuals and munition, on the morrow after Midsummer-day found most of his horse not pass'd over; for which reason having lodged all his foot within half a mile of Ballyhacke, he went with two companies of horse to Tynterne, a house of sir THOMAS COCKLEY's, there expecting the passage of the rest of the horsemen, and leaving behind him the marshal to hasten them with all speed; which the next morning was performed. And in the morning by his lordship's directions they march'd forward three or four miles overagainst Tynterne, but more towards the heart of the country. His lordship in the mean time being desirous to view all the coast betwixt Waterford and Wexford, held his course by the sea-side, and lodg'd that night at Balmigarre, a house belonging to sir JAMES DEVEREUX, meeting the army the next day at Ballybrenan; where the day following, June 28, they march'd to a ford betwixt Enniscorthy and Fernes. His lordship employed the forenoon in viewing the feat and strength of Enniscorthy and of the troops there in garrison; and the afternoon in seeing the skirt of the Daffry, the chief fastness of DONNEL SPANIAGHE, who pretended to * * of the CAVANAGHS and MAC MOURRAGHS, which in the Irish account was no less than to be king of Leinster. The lord lieutenant went likewise to a ground lying betwixt Iniscorthy and this fastness, where the garrison not long before had skirmished with DONNEL SPANIAGHE, and upon the place examined the captains concerning all circumstances of that skirmish, and how they had behaved in it. Since the army's departure from Waterford till that day they saw not one rebel. But after they came to the Daffry side in the very edge of the wood, some of the rebels shewed themselves, tho' without giving any alarm to the troops, who lodged that night within a quarter of a mile of them, and on the same side of the ford.

At Enniscorthy and in this incampment his lordship conferr'd with the council a war, what course from thence he should take; and whether he should carry with him the garrison of Enniscorthy, or not. For the first, it was resolved to go to Fernes, and thence to Arclow, in regard that the ways thro' the Daffry were all plashed, and the forces in a manner of all the Leinster rebels were there assembled; against which his lordship could not oppose above 2200 foot, the wounded and sick being expected; whereas if the others had been alone, the difficulty had been much less. But they were clogg'd with at least thrice as many churls, and horseboys, and other like unserviceable people, which of necessity were to be guarded by the troops. Besides these considerations, it was remembered, that in all that course there lay no castle nor fort of importance to be taken, nor prey to be gotten, the cattle being all in PHELM MAC FEAGH's country; and consequently no end could probably be assign'd, which might either extraordinarily farther the queen's service, or counterpoise so many hazards, as must be incurr'd. But at Arclow it was thought more proper to leave the sick and part of the carriages, and with a light running

camp to attempt somewhat upon the rebels, if the troops were not attack'd at their passage.

On the 29th they march'd to a place call'd Cooleshell. In passing the lord lieutenant viewed the castle of Fernes, which he conceived to be a fitter place for a castle than Enniscorthy, were it not, that the want of a navigable river for transportation of victuals and munition countervail'd the nearness of it to the rebels fastness. The same day intelligence was brought both to Fernes and to the army's quarters, that the rebels intended the day following to attack them, the rather because they had two or three places, where with advantage they might fall on the van-guard or rear-guard of foot, and where the horse could not serve. The next morning, the 30th, the army therefore marched in the strongest order, in which they could, and to whet the enemies choler and courage, as they were to pass thro' a country called the Kinsoles, which yielded maintenance to many of the rebels hired men, his lordship all the day burn'd it both on his way and on each side. The first place, where he saw offer of resistance, was at a village on the right hand, seated on the skirt of a great wood, so that there was but one way to come to it, and that a disadvantageous one. At this place his lordship being in the van-guard, and seeing the rebels put themselves betwixt his army and the village, and withal drive back the loose men, who went to burn it, as they had done the rest, expected their whole forces, and therefore drew all the army over a ford, which was a little short of the village; and then having placed all the baggage and cattle behind towards the champaign, and his horse fast by for their guard, he sent a serjeant with some light shot to fire the village, commanding him to begin at the farthest houses, and at the same instant dispatched men to possess the groves, having advanc'd the van-guard of foot towards the grove of one side, and the rear-guard towards the other, himself directing the one, and leaving the charge of the other to the marshal. But soon after it appear'd, that they were but some loose rogues sent to make a bravado for the saving of the village; and that the main forces of the rebels having coasted on the left hand of the army were laid for them before; for the village was burnt without loss of a man. The rebels, after they had perceived the manner of the army's proceeding, ran away, having only discharged one volley of shot. But four miles short of Arklow their forces were discover'd drawing down to a river side, which for half a mile together ran within a musket-shot of an highway, and over which there was a ford near to the sea, thro' which the guides directed the carriages and foot to pass. The back of this river gave the rebels one small advantage, for it was very boggy a good way together; but they fearing the engaging of their whole forces, if they should make good the ford, endeavour'd only to entertain the wings with a light skirmish, as they march'd for the guard of the carriages. But soon after both sides giving fire apace, some of the old Irish soldiers in the lord lieutenant's army finding the rebels give way, unadvisedly pass'd over the river, and made a stand with about 200 men within an harquebus shot of twice as many of the rebels, who had also seconds both of horse and foot within a small distance from them. Which his lordship perceiving, pass'd a deep ford with an hundred English horse, and sent to the earl of Ormonde, who with his horse was pass'd at the farther ford near the sea side, to second those, and to draw near the foot, that were so disorderly engaged. As soon as the horse, that went upon the spur, came within

a harquebus shot of the foot, the lord lieutenant commanded the foot to make an orderly retreat, entertaining still a skirmish with the rebels, and seeking to draw them farther from the wood, that the horse might freely charge them. As this direction was going, the earl of Ormonde, by the mistake of the messenger, drew up his troops of horse near the other side of the wood on the right hand, and so charg'd upon the spur to the very skirt of the wood, where the rebels discharged at his lordship a volley of shot, but without any harm; only one horse of his lordship's was hurt. On the other side capt. ESMOND, captain of an hundred foot, was shot thro' the body and thro' the arm, besides two or three soldiers more, who were wounded with bullets, the rebels loss being nothing inferior: for besides those, who were galled, two or three of their best and forwardest men, who presented themselves in the skirmish, were struck down. Thus that encounter ended, and all the army was drawn over the ford towards the sea side; which way being heavy and deep was refused by the lord lieutenant, and another chosen, which for one mile had some small passes in it, where the rebels offered skirmish, but to little purpose; for they kept so far off, that his lordship commanded his men to spare their powder. Near the last pass he placed an ambush of thirty horse, and commanded the army to march on, himself staying upon a hill a musket shot off with the rear-guard of the horse; on which hill he made shew of as many coloured coats as the rebels had seen before, and as many horses, boys upon spare led horses and hackneys making up the number. The rebels therefore fearing to come upon champain ground, coasted still along on the left hand of the army.

From that place the army had a fair champain, at the end of which was a great ascent, at the top of which were two high hills on either hand, the one on the right hand towards the sea, and the other on the left hand towards the country.

The lord lieutenant considering how the rebels had still coasted along by his army all that day, hastened from the rear-ward to the top of one of those hills, that on the left hand, in order to view what order the army held, and to observe the course of the rebels. His lordship was no sooner come thither, but he saw the van-guard with the earl of Ormonde and the marshal already advanced as far as Arklow a mile distant from him, and the rebels forces, to the number of at least 800 foot and 40 horse, within a quarter of a mile from him, marching with all possible haste to cut off the carriages, and a wing of fifty or sixty foot, who stood at the bottom of that hill and the skirt of the wood. This disorder or disadvantage was occasion'd by the fault of the guides, who conducted the earl of Ormonde and the marshal with the van-guard hard by the sea side, where they could not see the country, nor be seen by their own wings, who were employed in skirting the woods, the lord lieutenant having been directed the upper way betwixt the hills. This caused him to command the serjeant major to send him 300 of the lightest foot with all speed, and all the horse of the rear; and in the meantime he, being accompanied with the earl of Southampton and some dozen gentlemen of quality on horseback, besides about eighty foot, drawn out as wings to second the former wings of the van-guard, led by the two lieutenants, came as fast as possible to the place, where the men stood amaz'd, ready to be cut in pieces. Just beneath this place was a little pass or passage thro' the shrubs on the right hand, except which the rest of the way thence

to Arklow was all champain. On the left there lay a small field of green corn, and a plain above it. Before it was a bog, by which the rebels stood, and behind it a shrubby wood, which join'd the hills, as the hills join'd to the sea. The lord lieutenant viewing the ground, and considering the small number, which he had with him, and observing the manner of the rebels coming on, assured himself, that if he should proceed so far, that his men were once driven to retreat, all those, whom he had with him, were clearly lost, whatever fortune afterwards the army might run. On the other hand, that if he did not stop the rebels in their coming on, he should be encompassed on every side, and infinitely overmatch'd with numbers. He therefore sent all the gentlemen on horseback, (sir HENRY WINGFIELD only excepted) with the earl of Southampton to the plain on the right hand, directing the earl to make good the place, and to check the rebels, if they came forward upon the plain and hard ground, and in loose troops; and himself drew down somewhat beyond the pass to shew the rebels, that they needed not to run so far as the upper skirt of the wood, where the wings stood as a prey for them. But as the rebels at the first coming down of these troops made some stay, doubting that greater forces might follow close after; so when they saw, that the number of horse and foot was no greater, they came on with a loud cry, and more speed than before. As they advanced, capt. ROCHE, an Irishman by birth, who had long serv'd the French king, had his leg shiver'd with a shot, and was carried off. But immediately the earl of Southampton with the horse gave a charge so resolutely and so home, that he entered the wood as far as the bog would permit him, mr. ROBERT VERNON, capt. CONSTABLE, and mr. COXE being all bogg'd, and obliged to quit their horses. In this charge mr. VERNON kill'd a soldier with his sword, and almost every one of the horsemen kill'd his man; and at their coming to the earl of Southampton, finding that capt. CONSTABLE, mr. VERNON, and mr. COXE were left behind, they went on again to countenance their coming off, and brought them all safely back, except that mr. COXE had before received a mortal wound, being thrust with a pike into the body. Capt. CONSTABLE had two wounds in his body with a pike, and a shot thro' his hose from one side to the other; besides that his horse was sorely wounded. Mr. VERNON lay under his horse, till a gentleman, named mr. BELLINGTON, quitted his own to help him up. In this charge also the son of lord MORLEY, who was heir to the baron of Monteagle, mr. GEORGE MANNERS, mr. THOMAS WEST, sir THOMAS JERMYN, sir ALEXANDER RADCLIFFE, sir THOMAS EGERTON, capt. POOLEY, mr. CAREW REYNOLDES, and mr. HEYDON behaved with great bravery, so that the rebels on that side were not only repulsed, but thrown into a strange panic. On the other side the lord lieutenant sent down one of the two lieutenants, who were with him, to lead a wing of shot, at the same instant, in which the earl of Southampton charg'd. But of thirty only three went well on; of the fifty, which were drawn down under ensign CONSTABLE, he could bring forward but six, tho' himself proceeded on with the utmost intrepidity. The rebels determined at the same time to attack on both sides; but because right before the lord lieutenant there lay a bog of great disadvantage to those who pass'd, they took the way about the close of green corn, coming in with horse and foot in gross, expecting to have carried all before them. However by this time the lord lieutenant, after much labour, had got the foot to stand firm, to keep order, to forbear noises and speeches of fear and amazement, for a poorer company there could not have been

been found in the whole army; and it was the will of providence, that a good countenance serv'd the purpose. For the rebels staying for their grofs to come up, gave the horse from the rear-guard, who came upon the spur, leifure to approach; which again stopp'd the rebels. His lordship perceiving this, sent to the earl of Southampton thirty horse, keeping only thirty more with himself. The rebels immediately, as if it had been upon some resolution, came on again with their whole forces; divers of their foot thro' the wood to the earl of Southampton, and their horse and the grofs on the left hand towards the lord lieutenant; at which time his lordship commanded capt. WILLIAM MORRIS, corporal of his company, with fifty horse of his own troop, to charge all, whom he saw before him on firm ground; and sent a corporal of sir HENRY DAVERS's company with other fifteen to follow him upon a trot, and to favour his coming off, but not to break nor engage his men, but to keep them close together, in order to terrify the rebels. His lordship drew out likewise twenty musketeers along the side of the green close to flank the going on and coming off of his horse. Capt. MORRIS and the rest very well followed the directions given them, and the rebels were driven back; but three of the lord lieutenant's horse were wounded in the charge. The enemy being thus discouraged from advancing with their horse, and standing on hard ground, made head the other way thro' the bog and wood towards the earl of Southampton, who with his whole troop charg'd them again, and drove them in. Immediately upon this charge came the marshal with some more horse, and sir HENRY POWER with 300 foot from the van-guard, and capt. CHAMBERLAYNE with 200 from the rear-guard; at which time the rebels finding themselves over-match'd with horses, but trusting to the goodness of their foot, came up to possess the wood on both sides and the bog. Whereupon on the right hand the marshal drew down to the very skirt of the wood, and sir HENRY POWER with his 300 entered it on the left hand. The lord lieutenant sent some hundred men to attack, while sir HENRY and himself with the rest of the foot approach'd within thirty paces of the bog. In this encounter both the lord lieutenant's troops and the rebels came very roundly up, and very close, and spent powder very frankly; and here the latter seeing themselves safe from the horse, and well knowing, that, when they thought proper, they could faster come off than the others would follow, they resolved to make an onset with their utmost force; at which time the serjeant-major came up with sir HENRY DOCWRA and all the ensigns of the rear-guard. Whereupon the lord lieutenant sent sir HENRY DOCWRA with 300 foot to join with sir HENRY POWER, who was very far engaged. This he presently performed, and with all his ensigns in the head, his pikes bent, and his drums beating, brought down that battalion to the very bog, and made good the place. This forced the rebels to turn their backs in disorder, many throwing away their arms, and some so amazed, that they stuck in the bog, and were overtaken and kill'd by the lord lieutenant's men, tho' otherwise slower and heavier than they. His lordship gave direction for following the chase so far and so long as they had a good grofs near to back those, who did the execution.

After the army was thus possess'd of the place of skirmish and of the dead bodies, and the rebels run away out of sight, they march'd away to Arklow, where they lodg'd that night. The rebels forces consisted of those of Cavanagh, of the traitors of the country of Wexford and Low Leinster, of the Birnes, O Tooles, Mores of Leix,

Leix, and all their bannaughts. Their leaders were DONNEL SPANIAGHE, PHELM MAC FEAGH, and MAC ROWRY. The loss on the army's side was not above one or two common soldiers, and except mr. COXE, who was kill'd, capt. CONSTABLE was the only man of rank wounded, notwithstanding which he continued his march. The pursuit being ended, PHELM MAC FEAGH called to an Irishman, and desired him to tell the lord lieutenant, that he humbly crav'd leave to speak with him, with condition that he might have his lordship's word for his safe return; requesting the messenger to procure him an answer. His lordship's answer was, that if he sent to Arklow for a passport, only to come as a penitent rebel to render his absolute submission to her majesty's servant and minister authorised by her royal commission, he should have such safe conduct. But if he sent in any other form or for any other purpose, his lordship would execute the messenger; for he would never suffer his commission to be dishonoured by treating or parlying with rebels.

The army's quarters that night, July 2, was at Arklow, and the next day they march'd towards Wicklow, and encamp'd three miles short of it right against the place, where sir HENRY HARRINGTON had been defeated. Thence they held their direct course towards Dublin.

While his lordship was in this Munster journey, on the 15th of June *, he receiv'd advertisements from a captain, whom he had employed by sea into the north, to spy out TYRONE's actions, that two ships, lately come from Spain, had put confidence into that rebel, who went from Dungannon to Loughfoyle about that business; but they brought only munition, not any treasure. That TYRONE had given forces to BRYAN MAC ART, son to ART MAC BARON, that he might take pledges, and watch over NEALE MAC BRIAN, whom he suspected, and had charg'd MAC GENIS to do the like over MAC CARTAN, who was also suspected by him; so that there was no possibility to parly with them according to the instructions given by his lordship. That TYRONE kept the great pledges, SHANE O NEALE's sons, in an island, within a strong fastness; but as yet had neither gather'd at home, nor received from foreign parts, any treasure. That both TYRONE and O DONNEL had their agents in the out isles of Scotland, to solicit the Redshanks to assist them for pay. That the king of Spain had promised them aid of men, which they would not have landed in Ulster, but in some part of Munster or at Galloway in Connaught. That the Scots daily carried munition to them; which traffic might be hindered by two gallies with oars, but no ship using sails could stop their passage. That the gross of the northern rebels in Ulster and part of Connaught drawn together would be 9000 foot and 1400 horse. That they were confident to draw the war into such a length, as should be unsupportable to the state of England; to which end O DONNEL had hired a body of Redshanks, who were to be cefs'd in Connaught and Munster, because TYRONE having a deadly feud with some of the chief leaders, durst not trust them in Ulster. Besides that upon the arrival of foreign treasure, great multitudes of these Scots were like to flock to them. And to the same end TYRONE had made strong fastnesses or intrenchments, as well upon the passages of Loughfoyle and Ballishannon, (where he left forces to resist the English garrisons to be

* MORYSON's Itinerary, Part II. b. i. p. 34.

sent thither) as at the Black Water and Ballinemoyree, himself purposing to meet the English army in the woods of Ballinemoyree between Dundalk and the Newry, where he hoped to make some of the best to drop, and afterwards to fall back at his pleasure to like fights of advantage, which he had prepared at the Black Water. So that the only means suddenly to break these rebels, was to hire 400 Redshanks to fall upon them by advantage of their rowing boats in the heart of TYRONE's intrenchments, where they might easily take from him all his wealth, consisting in cattle, and there intrench themselves, and, in spite of all his forces, be supplied with all necessaries from the Scottish islands. And indeed to this purpose the lord BURGH, if he had not been prevented by sudden death, had contracted with these Scots, promising 4000 men for the first month's pay 1200*l.* the chief leader a colonel's pay, and certain captains the pay of a captain of 100 men: after which month their septs were to be cessed for their victuals upon such countries, as they must have fought with the rebels for every morsel; particularly, the sons of AGNUS MAC CONNEL with their sept, upon the route, the Glennes, and north Clondeboy, who, for the pretence they had to inherit that country, would prosecute JAMES MAC SURLEY, the possessor thereof, to the uttermost: DONNEL GROME and his sept, upon Yough, being MAC GENIS's country: the MAC LANES and their sept, upon the south Clondeboy, and the Duffren: all which septs were to put in pledges to the lord BURGH, not to plunder any person under the queen's protection, and to depart the kingdom, when his lordship should please no longer to make use of their service.

During the expedition into Munster, the lord lieutenant, on the 25th of June, wrote the following letter to the queen:

“ When this shall come to your majesty's hands, I know not; but whensoever
 “ it hath that honour, give it leave, I humbly beseech your majesty, to tell you,
 “ that having now passed thro' the provinces of Leinster and Munster, and been
 “ upon the frontier of Connaught, where the governor and the chief of the province
 “ were with me, I dare begin to give your majesty some advertisement of the state
 “ of this kingdom; not, as before, by hearsay, but as I beheld it with mine own
 “ eyes.

“ The people in general have able bodies by nature, and gotten by custom ready
 “ use of arms, and by their late successes boldness to fight with your majesty's troops.
 “ In their pride they value no man but themselves; in their affection they love
 “ nothing but idleness and licentiousness; in their rebellion they have no other end
 “ but to shake off the yoke of obedience to your majesty, and to root out all remem-
 “ brance of the English nation in this kingdom. I say this of the people in general;
 “ for I find not only the greater part thus affected, but that it is a general quarrel
 “ of the Irish; and they, who do not profess it, are either so few or so false, that
 “ there is no account to be made of them. The Irish nobility and lords of countries
 “ do not only in their hearts affect this plausible quarrel, and are divided from us in
 “ religion, but have an especial quarrel to the English government, because it
 “ limiteth and tieth them, who ever have been, and ever would be, as absolute
 “ tyrants, as any are under the sun. The towns being inhabited by men of the
 “ same

“ same religion and birth as the rest, are so carried away with the love of gain,
 “ that for it they will furnish the rebels with all things, that may arm them, or
 “ enable them against the state, or against themselves. The wealth of the kingdom,
 “ which consisteth in cattle, oatmeal, and other victuals, is almost all in the rebels
 “ hands, who in every province till my coming have been masters of the field.
 “ The expectation of all these rebels is very present and very confident, that Spain
 “ will either so invade your majesty, that you shall have no leisure to prosecute them
 “ here, or so succour them, that they will get most of the towns into their hands,
 “ ere your majesty shall relieve and reinforce your army. So that now, if your
 “ majesty resolve to subdue these rebels by force, they are so many, and so framed
 “ to be soldiers, that the war of force will be great, costly, and long. If your
 “ majesty will seek to break them by factions amongst themselves, they are covetous
 “ and mercenary, and must be purchased; and their jesuits and practising priests
 “ must be hunted out and taken from them, which now do fodder them so fast and
 “ so close together. If your majesty will have a strong party in the Irish nobility,
 “ and make use of them, you must hide from them all purpose of establishing
 “ English government, till the strength of the Irish be so broken, that they shall
 “ see no safety but in your majesty’s protection. If your majesty will be assured of
 “ the possession of your towns, and keep them from supplying the wants of the
 “ rebels, you must have garrisons brought into them, able to command them; and
 “ make it a capital offence for any merchant in Ireland to trade with the rebels, or
 “ buy or sell any arms or munition whatsoever. For your good subjects may have
 “ for their money out of your majesty’s store that, which shall be appointed by order,
 “ and may serve for their necessary defence; whereas, if once they be tradable, the
 “ rebels will give such extreme and excessive prices, that they can never be kept
 “ from them. If your majesty will secure this your realm from the danger of
 “ invasion, as soon as those, which direct and manage your majesty’s intelligences,
 “ give notice of the preparations and readiness of the enemy, you must be as well
 “ armed, and provided for your defence; which provision consists in having forces
 “ upon the coast inrolled and trained, in having magazines of victual in your
 “ majesty’s west and north-west ports ready to be transported, and in having ships
 “ both of war and transportation, which may carry and waft them both, upon the
 “ first alarm of a descent. The inrolling and training of your subjects is no charge
 “ to your majesty’s own coffers. The providing of magazines will never be any
 “ loss; for in using them you may save a kingdom, and if you use them not, you
 “ may have your old store sold; and, if it be well handled, to your majesty’s profit.
 “ The arming of your majesty’s ships, when you hear your enemy arms to the sea,
 “ is agreeable to your own provident and princely courses, and to the policy of all
 “ princes and states of the world.

“ But to return to Ireland again, as I have shewed your majesty the dangers and
 “ disadvantages, which your servants and ministers here shall and do meet withal
 “ in this great work of reducing this kingdom; so I will now, as well as I can,
 “ represent to your majesty your strengths and advantages. First, these rebels are
 “ neither able to force any walled town, castle, or house of strength, nor to keep
 “ any, that they get; so that while your majesty keeps your army in strength and
 “ vigour, you are undoubtedly mistress of all towns and holds whatsoever. By
 “ which

“ which means, if your majesty have good ministers, all the wealth in the land
 “ shall be drawn into the hands of your subjects; your soldiers in the winter shall
 “ be carefully lodged, and readily supplied of any wants, and we, that command
 “ your majesty’s forces, may make the war offensive and defensive, may fight and
 “ be in safety, as occasion is offered. Secondly, your majesty’s horsemen are so
 “ incomparably better than the rebels, and their foot are so unwilling to fight in
 “ battle or gross (howsoever they be desirous to skirmish and fight loose) that your
 “ majesty may be always mistress of the champaign countries, which are the best
 “ parts of this kingdom. Thirdly, your majesty victualling your army out of
 “ England, and with your garrisons burning and spoiling the country in all places,
 “ shall starve the rebels in one year, because no place else can supply them.
 “ Fourthly, since no war can be made without munition, and munition this rebel
 “ cannot have but from Spain, Scotland, or your own towns here, if your majesty
 “ will still continue your ships and pinnaces upon the coast, and be pleased to send
 “ a printed proclamation, that upon pain of death no merchant, townsman, or
 “ other subject, do traffic with the rebel, or buy or sell in any sort any kind of
 “ munition or arms; I doubt not but in a short time I shall make them bankrupt
 “ of their old store, and I hope our seamen will keep them from receiving any new.
 “ Fifthly, your majesty hath a rich store of gallant colonels, captains, and gentle-
 “ men of quality, whose example and execution is of more use than all the rest of
 “ your troops; whereas the men of best quality among the rebels, which are their
 “ leaders, and their horsemen, dare never put themselves to any hazard, but send
 “ their kerne and their hirelings to fight with your majesty’s troops; so that altho’
 “ their common soldiers are too hard for our new men, yet are they not able to
 “ stand before such gallant men, as will charge them. Sixthly, your majesty’s
 “ commanders being advised and exercised know all advantages, and by the strength
 “ of their order will in all great fights beat the rebels. For they neither march, nor
 “ lodge, nor fight in order, but only by the benefit of their footmanship can come
 “ on and go off at their pleasure; which makes them attend a whole day, still skir-
 “ mishing, and never engaging themselves. So that it hath been ever the fault
 “ and weakness of your majesty’s leaders, whensoever you have received any
 “ blow.

“ Now if it shall please your majesty to compare your advantages and disadvan-
 “ tages together, you shall find, that tho’ these rebels are more in number than
 “ your majesty’s army, and have (tho’ I do unwillingly confess it) better bodies
 “ and perfecter use of their arms, than those men, which your majesty sends over;
 “ yet your majesty, commanding the walled towns, holds, and champion countries,
 “ and having a brave nobility and gentry, a better discipline, and stronger order
 “ than they, and such means to keep from them the maintenance of their life, and
 “ to waste the country, which should nourish them, your majesty may promise your-
 “ self, that this action will in the end be successful, tho’ costly, and, that your
 “ victory will be certain, tho’ many of us your honest servants must sacrifice our-
 “ selves in the quarrel; and that this kingdom will be reduced, tho’ it will ask,
 “ besides cost, a great deal of care, industry, and time. But why do I talk of
 “ victory or of success? Is it not known, that from England I receive nothing but
 “ discomforts and foul’s wounds? Is it not spoken in the army, that your majesty’s

“ favour is diverted from me ; and that already you do bode ill both to me and it ?
 “ Is it not believed by the rebels, that those, whom you favour most, do more hate
 “ me out of faction, than them out of duty and conscience ? Is it not lamented
 “ of your majesty’s faithfulest subjects both there and here, that a COBHAM or a
 “ RALEGH (I will forbear others for their places sake) should have such credit and
 “ favour with your majesty, when they with the ill success of your majesty’s most
 “ important action, the decay of your greatest strength, and the destruction of
 “ your faithfulest servants ? Yes, yes, I see both my own destiny, and your ma-
 “ jesty’s decree ; and do willingly embrace the one, and obey the other. Let me
 “ honestly and zealously end a wearisome life. Let others live in deceitful and
 “ unconstant pleasures. Let me bear the brunt, and die meritoriously. Let others
 “ achieve and finish the work, and live to erect trophies. But my prayer shall
 “ be, that when my sovereign loseth me, her army may not lose courage, or this
 “ kingdom want physic, or her dearest self miss Essex ; and then I can never go
 “ in a better time, nor in a fairer way. Till then, I protest before God and his
 “ angels, that I am a true votary, that is sequestered from all things but my duty
 “ and my charge. I perform the uttermost of my body’s, mind’s, and fortune’s
 “ ability ; and more should, but that a constant care and labour agrees not with
 “ an inconstant health in an unwholesome and uncertain climate. This is the hand
 “ of him, that did live your dearest, and will die your majesty’s faithfulest
 “ servant,

“ E S S E X.”

The lord HENRY HOWARD, on the 16th of June, wrote the following letter to the earl*.

“ The fitness of this honourable bearer, my most worthy, dear, and only lord,
 “ were sufficient to give an appetite unto one, that were less desirous than myself,
 “ and less eager of all opportunities, that may occur, for recommendation of my
 “ humble service, and most affectionate devotion to my most worthy lord, whom
 “ to serve and see in that place, wherein he lives, were the only way to live happily,
 “ if it pleased not God to lay this plague of enforced absence on me for a document,
 “ that no man in this world can be happy in that, which his heart accounteth
 “ the highest happiness. But since there is an herb yet left in the garden (tho’ a
 “ bitter one) for the cure of my disease, which is time, I will as many ways make
 “ use of it, by distillation and sublimation, as I can devise, till that happy hour
 “ comes, wherein by restitution of him, whom I love and honour most, I may
 “ rejoice, that time hath cured me. I must confess, that in the mean space, I must
 “ sigh some time to think, that JOSEPH must be sent into Egypt for our sins ; that
 “ our only ARISTIDES must live in this kind of exile ; and that we should be driven
 “ to hazard a jewel of so inestimable a price. *Difficilia quæ pulchra in vase fiant.*
 “ But honour is not gained without difficulty, or, if it were, my dear lord would not
 “ account of it. My hope of your safe return is anchored in heaven. I believe,
 “ that God himself is not only pleased with his own workmanship in you, as he was,
 “ when *vidit omnia, quæ creavit, & erant valde bona* ; but withal, that he is purposed

* MSS. in the Bodleian library, N° 3499.

“ to protect that worthy person of your lordship’s under the wings of his cherubim.
 “ And I assure myself in the infinite mercies and merits of my Saviour, that your
 “ garland hath been woven of too many dainty flowers to receive a taint of any
 “ little wind, in stormy tempests, that dare threaten you. The more, that I am
 “ drawn by distraction of tender doubts to look into less raging seas both abroad,
 “ what dangers, and at home what wrongs, the more I languish with suspense of
 “ accidents, which are in the bosom of the destinies; but ever in the end of con-
 “ templation, it pleaseth God to inspire my thoughts with such a comfortable zeal
 “ of probabilities, as when discouragement begins to steal upon the *
 “ of despair, a mighty billow pulls it out again. Dear lord, be not so careless of
 “ yourself, for whom the world cares so much; for so should you deprive your
 “ dearest friends of their dearest delight, which is against your property. This lord,
 “ upon all occasions, that have required proof of a well affected heart, hath on my
 “ knowledge play’d the part of a true friend, vowing love and service unto him,
 “ that deserves it best. Wherefore your lordship cannot have a sounder proof,
 “ than that my word doth warrant him, considering my endless vows to recommend
 “ or love no man, that loves not you. You shall hear more at large of some
 “ things by my cousin THOMAS KNOWLES. All that I can do at this time, is to
 “ continue my exercise at every time in praying daily and hourly for the preservation
 “ of him, who is not only the greatest, but in effect the only comfort I have in this
 “ world, and most affectionately kifs the sweet, honourable hands of my inesti-
 “ mable lord, whom no man can be said to love in due proportion, that can love
 “ in any comparifon.

“ Your lordship’s most affectionately,

“ From Howard-house

“ this 16th of June, 1599.

“ humbly and eternally,

“ HEN. HOWARD.”

Towards the latter end of July the earl having brought back his forces into Lein-
 sterⁱ, the soldiers were weak, sick, and incredibly diminished in number; the cure of
 whom he left to others, and himself returned to Dublin. All that he had done in
 this expedition, besides the scattering of the rebels troops, was the taking of Cahir
 castle, and receiving the lords of Cahir, Roche, and some others into her majesty’s
 protection, who, after his departure, either openly fell again to the rebels party,
 or secretly combined with them. While he was in this expedition, about 600 men,
 whom he had left in the Glins, by the unskilfulness of some young captains and
 soldiers, and the ill affection of some Irish officers, received a disgraceful blow from
 the O’BIRNS. This provoked him to a severe punishment of their fault, disarming
 the soldiers, and executing the tenth man; calling the captains to a court martial,
 and discharging them, and condemning an Irish lieutenant, who had parley’d with
 the rebels, and was thought to have animated them, to be shot.

Having understood, that the queen was greatly offended with his expedition into
 Munster, he wrote from Wicklow on the 1st of July a letter to the lords of the

ⁱ CAMDEN, p. 736. & MORYSON, Part II. p. 37 & 39.

council in England, inclosing his journal in it, probably that, which has been given about from the manuscripts of sir JAMES WARE. His letter, or at least part of it, was as follows^k.

“ The only gloss that I can make upon the plain and true text I send, is this,
 “ that if so much hath not been here performed, as is there by her majesty expected,
 “ either it hath been, because she made choice of an insufficient minister, or else
 “ because it hath pleased her majesty to match him with a weak and insufficient
 “ council. For I may boldly protest, that I have not failed to execute that, which
 “ either myself could conceive, or what was demonstrated to me by my followers
 “ to be for the advancement of her majesty’s service. But, as I ever said and ever
 “ must say, I provided for this service a breastplate, and not a cuirass; that is, I am
 “ armed on the breast, but not on the back. I armed myself with confidence,
 “ that rebels in so unjust a quarrel could not fight so well as we could in a good.
 “ Howbeit if the rebels shall but once come to know, that I am wounded on the
 “ back, not slightly, but to the heart, as, I fear me, they have too true and too
 “ apparent advertisement of this kind; then what will be their pride and the state’s
 “ hazard, your lordships in your wisdoms may easily discern. Pardon, I beseech
 “ your lordships, this short, idle letter. At my return to Dublin, when I shall
 “ have received her majesty’s and your lordships farther pleasure, and shall have
 “ settled my distempered brains, I will make amends for this want.”

After his return to Dublin he wrote on the 11th^l of the same month another letter to their lordships in these terms.

“ May it please your lordships,
 “ In my last letter sent by GREEN from Wicklow, I gave an account of the end
 “ of my journey thro’ Munster and Leinster. Since which time till I came to
 “ Dublin the care for the troops, and direction upon their coming home, and my
 “ daily marches, did take up all my time. To Dublin I brought an ill distempered
 “ body; yet forced myself to spend the next morning after my coming in council,
 “ where I both gave and demanded an account of all, that had passed during our
 “ separation, and conferred of our necessary provisions against our going into the
 “ north. The effect of the account, which I gave, your lordships have already
 “ understood by my former dispatches. What I receive, your lordships shall know
 “ as soon as I am possessed of it. Upon our breaking up of the council I delivered
 “ myself to the physicians, who had charge of me, for three days; tho’ all that
 “ while I received and answered all letters from several parts of this kingdom, and
 “ did my best to give contentment to private suitors.

“ On Monday last I called a martial court upon the captains and officers, who
 “ were under sir HENRY HARRINGTON, when our troops having advantage of num-
 “ ber, and no disadvantage of ground, were put to the rout, and many cut in pieces
 “ without striking a blow. In this court PIERCE WALSH, lieutenant to capt. ADAM

^k Collection of letters of ROBERT earl of Essex, by M. K. in my possession, p. 147, & seqq.

^l Ibid. 136, compared with the copy among sir JAMES WARE’s MSS.

“ LOFTUS, for giving the first example of cowardice and dismaying to the troops,
 “ was condemned to die, and afterwards accordingly executed. The other captains
 “ and officers, tho’ they forsook not their places assigned them, but were forsaken
 “ by their soldiers; yet because in such an extremity and distress they did not some-
 “ thing very extraordinary, both by their example to encourage the soldiers, and
 “ to acquit themselves, were all cashiered, and are still kept in prison. The soldiers
 “ being before condemned all to die, were by me most of them pardoned, and, for
 “ example sake, only every tenth man executed. Sir HENRY HARRINGTON,
 “ because he is a privy counsellor in this kingdom, I forbear to bring to trial, till
 “ I know her majesty’s pleasure.

“ Since my tedious and painful sitting on Monday I have not been free any one
 “ hour from alarms both from the west and from the north, TYRONE being with
 “ one half of his forces before Dundalk; and CORMACK MAC GUIRE his brother,
 “ O RORKE and MAC MAHONE, with the other half upon the border of West-
 “ meath. So that every hour I send forth messengers, troops, and directions; and
 “ yet am no whole hour free from indispositions: and albeit the poor men, that
 “ marched with me eight weeks together, be very weary and unfit for any new
 “ journey; and besides, the horsemen so divided, that I cannot draw 300 to an
 “ head; yet as fast as I can call these troops together, I will go look upon yonder
 “ proud rebel: and if I find him on hard ground, and in an open country, tho’ I
 “ should find him in horse and foot three for one, yet will I by God’s grace
 “ dislodge him; or put the council to the trouble of chusing a new lord
 “ justice.”

“ But to leave this, and to come to that, which I never looked should have come
 “ to me, I mean your lordships letter touching the displacing of the earl of South-
 “ ampton; your lordships say, that her majesty thinketh it strange, and taketh it
 “ offensively, that I should appoint him general of the horse, seeing not only her
 “ majesty denied it, when I moved it, but gave an express prohibition to any such
 “ choice. Surely, my lords, it shall be far from me to contest with your lordships,
 “ much less with her majesty. Howbeit God and mine own soul are my witnesses,
 “ that I had not in this nomination any disobedient or irreverend thought; that I
 “ never moved her majesty for the placing of any officer, my commission fully
 “ enabling me to make free choice of all officers, and commanders of the army.
 “ I remember, that her majesty in the privy chamber at Richmond, I only
 “ being with her, shewed a dislike of his having any office: but my answer
 “ was, that if her majesty would revoke my commission, I would cast both it and
 “ myself at her majesty’s feet. But if it pleased her majesty, that I should execute it,
 “ I must work with mine own instruments. And from this profession and protesta-
 “ tion I never varied; whereas if I had held myself barred from giving my lord of
 “ Southampton place and reputation some way answerable to his degree and expence,
 “ no man, I think, doth imagine, that I loved him so ill, as to have brought
 “ him over. Therefore if her majesty punish me with her displeasure for this choice,
 “ *pœna dolenda venit*. And now, my lords, were now, as then it was, that I were
 “ to chuse, or were there nothing in a new choice but my lord of Southampton’s
 “ disgrace and my discomfort, I should easily be induced to displace him, and to

“ part

“ part with him. But when in obeying this command, I must discourage all my
 “ friends, who now seeing the days of my suffering draw near, follow me afar off,
 “ and are some of them tempted to renounce me; when I must dismay the army,
 “ which already looks sadly, as pitying both me and itself in this comfortless
 “ action; when I must encourage the rebels, who doubtless will think it time to
 “ hew upon a withering tree, whose leaves they see beaten down, and the branches
 “ in part cut off; when I must disable myself for ever in the course of this service,
 “ the world now perceiving, that I want either reason to judge of merit, or freedom
 “ to right it, disgraces being there heaped, where in my opinion rewards are due;
 “ give just grief leave once to complain, O miserable employment, and more mise-
 “ rable destiny of mine, that makes it impossible for me to please and serve her
 “ majesty at once! Was it treason in my lord of Southampton to marry my poor
 “ kinswoman, that neither long imprisonment, nor any punishment besides, that
 “ hath been usual in like cases, can satisfy or appease? or will no kind of punishment
 “ be fit for him, but that, which punisheth, not him, but me, this army, and this
 “ poor country of Ireland? Shall I keep the country, when the army breaks? or
 “ shall the army stand, when all the volunteers leave it? or will any voluntaries
 “ stay, when those, whom they have will and cause to follow, are thus handled?
 “ No, my lords, they already ask passports, and that daily. Yea, I protest before
 “ God, they, that have best conditions here, are as weary of them, as prisoners of
 “ fetters. They know, this people knows, yea the rebels know, my discomforts
 “ and disgraces. It is a common demand, How shall he long prosper, to whom
 “ they, that have her majesty’s ear, as much as any, wish worse than to TYRONE
 “ or O DONNEL?

“ To end this argument, which neither I can prosecute without grief, nor your
 “ lordships read with pleasure; my good lords, I do prostrate myself at her majesty’s
 “ feet: I will humbly and contentedly suffer whatsoever her majesty will lay upon
 “ me. I will take any disgraceful displacing of me, or after-punishing of me,
 “ dutifully and patiently. But I dare not, whilst I am her minister in this great
 “ action, do that, which shall overthrow both me and it. Deal with me therefore,
 “ as with one of yourselves, whose faith and service you know. Deal with this
 “ action, as with that, which will make you all joy or mourn. Deal with her
 “ majesty according to her infinite favours and your oaths, that she do not one day
 “ resume the saying of AUGUSTUS, Had MECÆNAS or AGRIPPA been alive, she
 “ should sooner have been put in mind of her danger. And, lastly, do me this right
 “ to believe, that I am

“ humbly at your lordships commandment,

“ E S S E X.

“ Your lordships letter of the 27th of June touching the discharge or revictualling
 “ of her majesty’s ships here had been answered ere this, but that I made a dispatch
 “ by my servant GIBBON from Waterford to your lordships and the lord admiral,
 “ for order to be sent to Waterford for the new victualling of them, which I assure
 “ myself was delivered long ere this.”

Upon

Upon the receipt of a second letter from their lordships, he removed the earl of Southampton from his post; which he informed them of in the following*.

“ By your last letters I received a second signification of her majesty’s pleasure
 “ for the dispatching of my lord of Southampton from the charge of the government
 “ of the horse; and withal a letter sent by her majesty in confirmation of her ma-
 “ jesty’s pleasure delivered by your lordships: upon the receipt of which dispatch I
 “ did both signify to my lord of Southampton, that he should not take upon him
 “ that place hereafter, and wrote to mr. _____ to stay the entertainment, and
 “ strike that office out of the list; so that her majesty’s order is duly and exactly
 “ performed. I pray God it prove happy and successful, chiefly at this time,
 “ when the marshal lies wounded. I am so distracted with the misery of Connaught,
 “ the wants of Munster, the mutiny of Leinster, because I keep not with them,
 “ the want of governors and men able to take charge, that I protest, if I did not
 “ more for her majesty’s service and honour bear these frowns of fortune and torture
 “ of mind, I should quickly find a fair way to free myself. Shall I cut them off
 “ by the sword? Our only English soldiers partly sicken and partly run away,
 “ finding this the worst of all countries. Our new men are unserviceable, and the
 “ Irish unfaithful. Shall I reduce this kingdom by composition? I might justly
 “ have conceived great hope of effecting it, had her majesty’s wonted favour towards
 “ me continued, and had it shined over me in such brightness, as this service
 “ requireth. But now who will be desirous to come under a roof, that threateneth
 “ ruin? or who will make his way to safety by him, that is no way safe himself?
 “ Whilst I live and last, let me be put to all painful tasks; for now all former
 “ delights have abandoned me, and left me this only comfort, the meditation of my
 “ only martyrdom. In the mean time for my dear sovereign’s sake, for my coun-
 “ try’s sake, for your own interest, as sworn counsellors of state, advise and persuade
 “ her majesty what in reason may be expected, if she lose one of her two kingdoms,
 “ her best forces, and (which I would boldly add, howsoever I assure myself it will
 “ be least regarded) her true servant, who hath faithfully and for her majesty not
 “ unfortunately managed the latest and greatest actions. And so I commit your
 “ lordships to &c.

“ R. E S S E X.”

In other letters to their lordships he shewed likewise great chagrin, particularly in two, which are inserted here together, as they have no date in my copies. One was in these terms †.

“ Now, my lords, I have no _____ but at one time must contain myself in one
 “ place. Tho’ I save her majesty’s honour, yet may some others do it some disad-
 “ vantage. If I employ my utmost means, and use all possible industry, yet others
 “ may be drones. If I follow the service, with that zeal and integrity, which my
 “ duty to my dread sovereign requireth at my hands; yet others may, nay others do
 “ cunningly treat, and patch compositions, and make their way with the rebels.

* Letters of ROBERT earl of Essex, collected by M. K. p. 128.

† Ibid. p. 124.

“ Neither

“ Neither are these a few, but almost all, who have any thing to lose; gentlemen
 “ and noblemen, Irishmen and Englishmen, captains and pensioners, governors and
 “ privy counsellors. My instances are ready, and themselves, when I charge them
 “ with it, cannot deny it. What care shall the body of this state be able to sustain,
 “ that hath no part in it found? or what hope is there, that I shall make a short or
 “ speedy end of the war?

“ R. ESSEX.”

The other was as follows *.

“ To your lordships other particular letters, &c. we can only say this, that these
 “ imputations of indisposition towards you are so improper to us, as we will never
 “ do your lordships that wrong to take **them** so intended, nor ourselves that injury
 “ to go about to excuse them, knowing you **too** wise to apply these descriptions to
 “ any of us, and ourselves too honest to deserve **any** such exception. And there-
 “ fore, as it pleaseth your lordships to say, you will touch that point no more here-
 “ after, so we desire to give you no occasion by our writing to receive it, nor any
 “ other of the like nature, but to believe, that we, that are tied by the same duty
 “ with your lordships to desire and labour, that the action may prosper in the highest
 “ degree, do also wish to your lordships in particular that contentment, which they
 “ should do, that remain, &c. hoping, that her majesty will allow of my poor
 “ endeavours, which shall ever *præstare innocentiam, si non* * *. We humbly
 “ commend all your honourable persons and counsels to his protection and guiding,
 “ from whom all safety and direction must come.

“ R. ESSEX.”

The queen having now expressed in her letters some dissatisfaction with his conduct, he wrote to her the following answer †.

“ May it please your majesty,
 “ Altho’ I see your style already changed, and nothing but gathering clouds and
 “ foul weather after me; yet my duty, faith, and industry shall never alter. Let
 “ me fall as low and as soon as destiny and yourself have decreed. I am prepared
 “ for all things. But, dear sovereign, when you are weary of me, let me die as a
 “ private man. Take care of your honour; take pity of your brave army, whereof,
 “ for the time, I am the head and soul; and take to heart, that our success imports
 “ your estate. Value such honest men as we, that undergo all hazards and miseries
 “ for your safety and greatness; and cherish such gallant and worthy servants as
 “ this bearer, who will take it for as great happiness to be sacrificed for you, as others,
 “ whom you favour most, will be to be made great and happy by you. Cherish
 “ them, I humbly beseech you upon the knees of my heart; for they must sweat
 “ and bleed for you, when a crew of those, which now more delight you, will
 “ prove but unprofitable servants. And if your majesty, if you, I say, whose

* Ibid. p. 132.

† Ibid. p. 14.

“ parting

“ parting with me so pierced my very soul, can be transformed by those Sirens,
 “ that are about you, then think, that you shall quickly hear, that a brave death
 “ shall ransom from scorn and misery

“ Your majesty’s humblest servant,

“ E S S E X.”

The queen’s promotion of secretary CECIL to the office of master of the court of wards, which had been held by his father with the post of lord treasurer, and for which the secretary resigned the chancellorship of the duchy of Lancaster, was a considerable cause of chagrin to the earl, who had flattered himself with the expectation of what was now given to his rival^m.

The letters, by which his lordship had assured the queen and council of England of his resolution to march with his army immediately into Ulster against TYRONE himself, were scarce delivered, when by others he signified a necessity of a journey into Ophelia and Leax, near Dublin, against the O CONNORS and O MORES, whom he broke with ease, himself leading 1500 men into Ophelia, and sending his father-in-law, sir CHRISTOPHER BLOUNTE, the marshal, into Leax with 1000 men, under the command of sir CHARLES PERCY and sir RICHARD MORYSONⁿ; the news of which, and of the return of that part of Connaught to her majesty’s obedience, was brought to the court at Nonsuch about the 5th of August^o.

At his lordship’s return from Ophelia, taking a view of his army, he found it so weakened, that by letters signed by himself and the council of Ireland, he desired a supply of 1000 foot from England, to enable him presently to undertake the expedition into Ulster^p; to which that council was indeed greatly averse, urging many reasons against the exposing of his life and her majesty’s forces to such an hazard; and desiring the council of England to send orders to him to desist from the prosecution of so desperate an action. His lordship’s letters to the queen sent upon this occasion were full of humility and patience, and he had before this comply’d with her majesty’s command for discharging the earl of Southampton of the post of general of the horse^q.

The earl being however determined on his march northward, commanded sir CONYERS CLIFFORD, governor of Connaught, to draw his troops up to Belike, that he might oblige TYRONE to send some of his forces that way, while himself attacked him on the other side. Sir CONYERS accordingly marched with 1400 foot and the earl of Southampton’s troop of 100 horse under the conduct of capt. JOHN JEPHSON, with some other Irish horse; and coming to the Curlew mountain, he left the ammunition and carriages under the guard of the horse, till he passing forward with the foot had tried the passage. He had not gone far, before ORORKE and 200 other rebels with him, upon the advantage of woods, bogs, and a stony causey, attack’d the English, who at first valiantly repell’d them, till the rebels

^m CAMDEN, p. 736.

ⁿ MORYSON, p. 37.

^o SIDNEY letters, Vol. II. p. 113.

^p MORYSON, p. 37.

^q SIDNEY letters, p. 115.

finding, that the ammunition, which the English had with them, began to fail, renewed the charge, with greater fury than before; when our men being discouraged by the want of powder, and wearied with a long march, betook themselves to flight, in which they lost 120 men, and among them sir CONYERS himself, and sir ALEXANDER RADCLIFFE, besides many more wounded, of whom the greatest part recovered; and the valour of the horse saved the rest of the body, which would otherwise have perished, but now under their protection retired first to the plain, where their carriages were, thence to the abbey of Boyle, and at last to the castle of Athlone^r.

The account of this misfortune was brought to the court at Nonsuch about the 17th of August, representing the occasion of it to have been the ill behaviour of the common soldiers, and the want of conduct in sir CONYERS CLIFFORD: and the complaints in England of the earl's having done yet little or nothing, and neglected the war against the great rebel in the north, having reached him, he had already transmitted to England an apology for his proceedings^r. He sent likewise over thither the lord CROMWELL to make known the miserable state of Ireland, that lord having at the same time a view of his own to solicit for himself the presidentship of Munster, vacant by the death of sir THOMAS NORREYS; the lord lieutenant not being willing to dispose of any place, which fell in Ireland, but referring the appointment to her majesty, tho' it was thought, that his authority gave him a right to confer such posts^r.

The situation of affairs in that kingdom was grown almost desperate in the month of August, Sligo being revolted, the abbey of Boyle delivered to the rebels, the Irish going over to TYRONE in great numbers, and the English so terrified with the intended expedition towards the north, that most part kept their beds, so that the lord lieutenant could not collect for that dangerous service above 3500 or 4000 foot and 500 horse^v.

A supply of 1000 foot being sent from England, according to his and the council's request, a few days after their arrival he signified by his letters into England, that he could do no more in that season of the year, than to draw 1300 foot and 300 horse to the borders of Ulster^w. Mr. CUFFE, his secretary, being sent with these letters to court, came thither in the beginning of September^x, and had access to the queen, well instructed to answer such objections, as her majesty could lay to the earl's charge, who was now generally known to be highly discontented, especially with secretary CECIL, and reported to use speeches, that might be dangerous to his own safety^y. He accompanied his letters by mr. CUFFE with the judgment of the chief commanders of his army, subscribed by them on the 21st of August, importing, that more for that time could not be enterpriz'd for these reasons, that the army was unwilling to be drawn towards Ulster, many having run away from their colours; that many were sick; that no plantation could be made that year at Loughfoyle, nor any course taken to divert TYRONE's forces: that the Connaught army was

^r MORYSON, p. 37, 38.

^r SIDNEY letters, p. 113.

^r Ibid. p. 118, 119.

^r Ibid. p. 114, 119.

^w MORYSON, p. 38.

^x SIDNEY letters, p. 120.

^y Ibid. p. 122.

defeated:

defeated: that his lordship's army had not above 4000 able men at the most: that these were unable to stand against the rebels, being 6000, and lying within strong intrenchments: that much less could any strong garrison be left in the north, and a safe retreat made: and that those garrisons, if they could be left there, would more endanger the English (being continually to supply them with victuals in winter-time) than annoy the enemy.

His lordship set out from Dublin on his march against TYRONE on the 24th of August * with some 100 horse, and having appointed all the companies of foot and horse, that were to go into the field, to come to the Cavan and Kells, lodged himself at Aribracken, a house of the bishop of Meath's between the two towns: and because the companies came not in till the 31st, his lordship gave rendezvous to all the army at the hill of Clyth, half a mile from Kells towards the Brenny, and incamped that night at Castle Keram, two miles beyond the hill. There likewise he was obliged to stay one whole day, till his victuals, that came from Medah, overtook him, but that day he spent in viewing the lord of * * country, and part of the Brenny, and appointed certain particular commissioners to view all the companies of horse and foot, that he might know the true strength of his army, and dispose them in the regiments accordingly. This day also he debated in council, whether it were fit to place a garrison in Brenny or not; and if in any part of that country, where was the fittest place. It was concluded, that no garrison could be placed in any part of that country; first, because both about the Darase and betwixt that and the Kells the country was all wast, so that there was nothing beyond Kells to be defended or to relieve the garrison. Secondly, because all the country of Cavan is so far within the land, and hath no port or navigable river nearer than Dedah; so that all the victuals, that were sent to a garrison there, must be carried on * * backs, which would be very difficult and subject to a great deal of hazard, the place being not able to furnish many carriages, and the rebels of those quarters very strong. The third and last reason was, that TYRONE was lodged in Ferny with an army, and prepared to enter into the pale, and to have burnt and spoiled at the gates of Dublin, as soon as the lord lieutenant was gone up as high as Cavan. And therefore it being resolved, that Kells should the next winter be the frontier garrison towards the county of Cavan, the lord lieutenant march'd with his army towards Ferny, and lodg'd on the 2d of September betwixt Roberts Town and Newcastle, and on the 3d went to Ardaffe, where he might see TYRONE with his forces upon a hill a mile and half from his quarters, but with a river and a wood betwixt them. He first embattled his army, and then lodged it upon a hill by the burnt castle of Ardaffe; and because there was no wood for fire, no cabins but in the valley towards TYRONE's quarters, his lordship commanded a squadron of every company to go and fetch in wood, and sent the earl of Southampton with 500 foot and two companies of horse to guard them. TYRONE sent down some horse and foot to disturb them and offer skirmish, but afterwards directed them not to pass the ford, when he saw the lord lieutenant's men resolved to dispute. Some skirmish was there from one side of the river to the other, but to little purpose; for as the rebels offended the others little, so the latter troubled themselves as little with the rebels.

* MS. journal of the proceedings of the earl of Essex, among the MSS. of sir JAMES WARE.

The next day, Sept. 4, the lord lieutenant march'd thro' the plain country to the mill of Louth, and incamped beyond the river towards Ferny, as TYRONE did thro' the wood, and lodged in the next wood to his lordship, keeping his scout of horse in sight of the quarters of his lordship, who being obliged to stay for a supply of victuals from Dredah, consulted what was to be done against TYRONE's army, or how their fastness might be enter'd. In this debate it was declared by all, that his lordship's army being far less in strength was not to attempt trenches, and to fight upon such infinite disadvantage; but that a strong garrison might be placed at Louth or some place thereabouts, to annoy the bordering rebels, and to defend the whole county of Louth; and that since the army was there, it should be drawn out one day, and offer battle with its 2500 foot and 300 horse to the rebels 5000 foot and 500 horse. In conformity to this resolution his lordship first viewed Louth, and found it utterly unfit, there being no fewel to be procured near, nor any strength to be made in a short time. And the same day, September 5, he had a gentleman sent to him from TYRONE, one H. HAGAN, his constable of Dungannon, and a man highly favoured and trusted by him. This HAGAN delivered his master's desire to parley with the lord lieutenant, who refused it, and told HAGAN, that he would be the next morning on the hill between both the camps; and if TYRONE would then speak with him, he would be found in the head of the troops. With this answer HAGAN returned; and the next morning his lordship drew out 2000 foot and 300 horse, leaving a colonel and 500 foot and 200 horse to guard the quarters and baggage. He first imbattel'd his men upon the first great hill, where he came in sight of TYRONE, and then marched forward to another hill, on which TYRONE's guard of horse stood, which they quitted, and there his lordship's army made good the place till it was near three in the afternoon, during which time TYRONE's foot never shewed themselves out of the wood, and his horse were driven from all the hills between the army and the wood; on which occasion there was some skirmish amongst the light horse, in which a French gentleman of his lordship's troop, and an English gentleman of the earl of Southampton's, were the only persons wounded. After this skirmish a horseman of TYRONE's called to the lord lieutenant's men, and delivered this message, that his master would not fight, nor draw forth his troops, but desired to speak with the lord lieutenant, but not betwixt the two armies. Whereupon his lordship towards three o'clock in the afternoon drew back again into his quarters, and after his return thither placed a garrison of 500 foot and 50 horse at Nyfelrape, half a mile from the mill of Louth, where there was a square castle, with a great barn and a good ditch round it, and many thatch'd houses to lodge the men in. The command of this garrison was given to sir CHRISTOPHER ST. LAURENCE.

The next morning, September 7, the army dislodged, and marched to Drumcough; but before they had proceeded a mile H. HAGAN came again to the lord lieutenant, and in the presence of the earl of Southampton, sir GEORGE BOURCHIER, sir WARHAM ST. LEGER, and divers other gentlemen, delivered this message, that the earl of TYRONE desired her majesty's mercy, and that the lord lieutenant would hear him; which if his lordship would consent to, he would gallop back, and meet his lordship at the ford, which was on the right hand by the way, which the lord lieutenant

lieutenant took to Parincomeray. Upon this message his lordship sent two gentlemen with H. HAGAN to the ford, to view the place, where they found TYRONE, but the water so far out, that they told him, they thought it no fit place to speak in. Hereupon he grew very impatient, and said, "Then I shall despair ever to speak with him;" but at last found a place, where he standing up to the horse's belly might be near enough to be heard of the lord lieutenant, tho' the latter kept the hard ground. Upon notice of this his lordship drew a troop of horse to the hill about the ford, and seeing TYRONE alone there, went down likewise alone; at whose coming TYRONE saluted his lordship with a great deal of reverence, and they talk'd together near half an hour; after which they returned each to his companies on the hill. But within a while CAN O NEILE, TYRONE's natural son, came down, and desired from his father, that the lord lieutenant would let him bring down some of the principal men, who were with him, and that his lordship would appoint a number on either side. His lordship there directed TYRONE to bring six with him, for which purpose TYRONE chose his brother CORMAC MAC GINNIS, MAC GUIRE, EVER MAC COOLEY, H. OVERTON, and O QUIN, the last of whom came from Spain, but was an Irishman by birth. The lord lieutenant seeing them at the ford went down accompanied by the earl of Southampton, sir GEORGE BOURCHIER, sir WARHAM ST. LEGER, sir HENRY DAVERS, sir EDWARD WINGFIELD, and sir WILLIAM CONSTABLE. At this second meeting TYRONE and all his company stood almost up to their horses bellies in water, while his lordship was on hard ground, and the former spoke a good while bare-headed, and saluted with a great shew of respect all those, who attended his lordship. After almost half an hour's conference it was concluded, that there should be a meeting of certain commissioners the next morning at a ford by GARRET FLEMING's castle; and so they parted, the lord lieutenant marching with his army to Drumcough, and TYRONE returning to his camp. The next morning his lordship sent sir WARHAM ST. LEGER, sir WILLIAM CONSTABLE, sir WILLIAM WARREN, and his own secretary, mr. HENRY WOTTON, with instructions to the place of meeting, whither TYRONE came himself, and sent into GARRET FLEMING's castle four principal gentlemen, as pledges for the safety of his lordship's commissioners. In this parley was concluded a cessation of arms for six weeks, and so to continue from six weeks to six weeks till May-day, which might be broken upon fourteen days warning. It was likewise agreed, that such of TYRONE's confederates, as would not declare their assents to this cessation, should be left by him to be prosecuted by the lord lieutenant: that restitution should be made for all spoils within twenty days after notice given: and that for the performance of these covenants his lordship should give his word, and TYRONE his oath. This being concluded on the 8th of September, his lordship the next day dismissed his army, and went himself to take physic at Dredah, while TYRONE retired with all his forces into the heart of his country.

By this time the queen had received his lordship's letters of the 21st of August sent by CUFFE, and being offended, that so royal an army, maintain'd with her excessive charge, had in six months effected nothing, and now gave no hope of any important service to be done against the rebels, wrote a very severe letter to him and the council of Ireland, dated from Nonsuch, on the 14th of September*. She ob-

* MORYSON, p. 39—41.

serv'd in it, that she had before this sufficiently declared, how little the manner of his proceedings had answer'd her direction, or the world's expectation; and finding now by his letters by CUFFE a course more strange, (if stranger might be) she was doubtful what to prescribe him at any time, or what to build upon by his own writings to her in any thing. For she had clearly discern'd of late, that he had ever to that hour possess'd her with expectations, that he would do as she directed him; but that his actions shew'd always the contrary, tho' carried in such sort, as he was sure, that she had no time to countermand them. That before his departure no man's counsel was held sound, which perswaded not presently the main prosecution in Ulster; without which all was nothing, and nothing too much for that. This drew on the sudden transportation of so many thousands to be carried over with him, so that when he arrived, she was charged with more than the list, or which she resolv'd, to the number of 300 horse: and the thousand, which were only to be in pay during the service in Ulster, had been put in charge ever since the first journey. The pretence of which journey, as appear'd from his letters, was to do some present service in the interval, till the season grew more commodious for the main prosecution; for which last purpose he had importuned with great earnestness, that all manner of provisions might be hastened to Dublin against his return.

Of this resolution to defer his going to Ulster he might well think, that she would have made stay, if he had given her more time, or if she could have imagined by the contents of his own writings, that he would have spent nine weeks abroad. At his return, when a third part of July was past, and he understood her majesty's dislike of his former course, and made his excuse of having undertaken it only in respect of his conformity to the opinion of the council, with great protestations of haste into the north, she received another letter of new reasons to suspend that journey yet a while, and to draw the army into Ophelia. But the fruit of this was no other at his return, but more relations of farther miseries of the army, and greater difficulties to perform the Ulster war. Then followed from him and the council a new demand of 2000 * men, to which if her majesty would assent, he would speedily undertake what she had so often commanded. When that was granted, and his going onward promised by divers letters, she received by CUFFE fresh advertisement, that all he could do, was to go to the frontier, and that he had provided victuals only for twenty days. In which kind of proceeding, her majesty must deal plainly with him and the council, that it was more proper for them to leave troubling themselves with instructing her, by what rules her power and their obedience were limited, and to bethink them, if the courses had been only derived from their counsels, how to answer this part of theirs, to train her into a new expence for one end, and to employ it upon another; to which she could never have assented, if she could have suspected, that it should have been undertaken, before she heard it was in action. And therefore she wondered, how it could be answered, seeing his attempt was not in the capital traitor's country, that he had increased her list. But it was true, as she had often said, that she was drawn to expence by little and little, and by protestations of great resolutions in generalities,

* CAMDEN says only 1000.

till they came to particular execution. Of all which courses whoever should examine any of the arguments used for excuse, should find, that the earl's own proceedings begat the difficulties, and that no just causes produc'd the alteration. If want of numbers and sickness of the army were the causes, why was not the action undertaken, when the army was in better state? If winter's approach, why were the summer months of July and August lost? If the spring was too soon, and the summer, that followed, otherwise spent; if the harvest, that succeeded, was so neglected, as nothing had been done; then surely her majesty must conclude, that none of the four quarters of the year would be in season for him and the council to agree upon TYRONE's prosecution, for which all her charge was intended. She then requir'd him to consider, whether she had not great cause to think, that his purpose was not to end the war, when himself had so often told her, that all the petty undertakings in Leinster, Munster and Connaught were but loss of time, consumption of treasure, and waste of her people, till TYRONE was first beaten, on whom the rest depended. “Do not you see, *says her majesty*, that he maketh the
 “war with us in all parts by his ministers, seconding all places where any attempts
 “be offered? Who doth not see, that if this course be continued, the wars are
 “like to spend us and our kingdom beyond all moderation, as well as the report
 “of the success in all parts hath blemished our honour, and encouraged others to
 “no small proportion? We know you cannot so much fail in judgment as not
 “to understand, that all the world seeth, how time is dallied, tho' you think the
 “allowance of that council, whose subscriptions are your eccho, should serve and
 “satisfy us. How would you have derided any man else, that should have fol-
 “lowed your steps? How often have you told us, that others, which preceded
 “you, had no intent to end the war? How often have you resolved us, that until
 “Loughfoyle and Ballishannon were planted, there could be no hope of doing
 “service upon the capital rebels? We must therefore let you know, that as it
 “cannot be ignorance, so it cannot be want of means; for you had your asking,
 “you had choice of times, you had power and authority more ample than ever
 “any had, or any shall have. It may well be judged, with how little contentment
 “we search out this and other errors; for who doth willingly seek for that, which
 “they are so loth to find? But how should that be hidden, which is so palpable?
 “And therefore to leave that, which is past, and that you may prepare to remedy
 “matters of weight hereafter, rather than to fill your papers with many impertinent
 “arguments, being in your general letters, favouring still in many points of
 “humours, that concern the private of you our lord lieutenant; we do tell you
 “plainly, that are of our council, that we wonder at your indiscretion, to subscribe
 “to letters, which concern our public service, when they are mixed with any man's
 “private, and directed to our council-table, which is not to handle things of small
 “importance.” She afterwards observes, that he had, by his continual reports of
 the state of every province, described them all to be in a worse condition, than
 ever they were before he set foot in Ireland. “So that, *adds she*, whosoever shall
 “write the story of this year's action, must say, that we were at great charges to
 “hazard our kingdom; and you have taken great pains to prepare for many pur-
 “poses, which perish without understanding. And therefore because we see now
 “by your own words, that the hope is spent of this year's service upon TYRONE
 “and O DONNEL, we do command you and our council to fall into present delibe-
 “ration,

“ration, and thereupon to send us over in writing a true declaration of the state,
 “to which you have brought our kingdom, and what be the effects, which this
 “journey hath produced; and why these garrisons, which you plant far within the
 “land in Brenny and Menthegan, as others, whereof we have written, shall have
 “the same difficulties. Secondly, we look to hear from you and them jointly,
 “how you think the remainder of this year shall be employed, in what kind of
 “war, and where, and in what numbers.” The queen concludes this letter with
 telling him, that she had seen a writing in form of a cartel, “full of challenges,
 “*says she*, that are impertinent, and of comparisons, that are needless, such as hath
 “not been before this time presented to a state, except it be done now with a hope
 “to terrify all men from censuring your proceedings. Had it not been enough to
 “have sent us the testimony of the council, but that you must call so many of those,
 “that are of slender experience, and none of our council, to such a form of subscrip-
 “tion? Surely howsoever you may have warranted them, we doubt not but to
 “let them know what belongs to us, to you, and to themselves.”

Mr. FRANCIS BACON attending the queen at Nonsuch soon after mr. CUFFE's arrival with the earl's letter of the 21st of August, and her majesty expressing to him as well as others a passionate distaste of his lordship's proceedings in Ireland, as unfortunate, without judgment, contemptuous, and not without some private end of his own, he, who, as he tells us himself^a, was still awake and true to the grounds, which he thought fittest for his lordship's good, took occasion to speak to the queen to this effect: “Madam, I know not the particulars of state; and I know this,
 “that princes occasions must have no abrupt periods or conclusions. But otherwise
 “I would think, that if you had my lord of Essex here with a white staff in his
 “hand, as my lord of Leicester had, and continued him still about you, for society
 “to yourself, and for an honour and ornament to your attendance and court, in
 “the eyes of your people, and in the eyes of foreign ambassadors, then were he in
 “his right element. For to discontent him as you do, and yet to put arms and
 “power into his hands, may be a kind of temptation to make him prove comber-
 “some and unruly. And therefore if you would *imponere bonam clausulam*, and
 “send for him, and satisfy him with honour here near you, if your affairs, which,
 “as I have said, I am not acquainted with, will permit it, I think this were the
 “best way.”

The earl immediately after his conference with TYRONE at Brenny, sent the queen an account of it by capt. LAWSON, who had been mr. BACON's servant, and who arriv'd at court on Sunday the 16th of September*. The next day her majesty dispatched the captain back to Ireland with a letter under her signet, and a private one from herself. But his lordship being highly affected by her former of the 14th, brought by mr. CUFFE^b, and advertised (if we may credit a story^c, which indeed seems to deserve little regard for its authority or probability) by secretary CECIL, with the

^a Letter to the earl of Devonshire, p. 92.

* SIDNEY letters, Vol. II. p. 125.

^b MORYSON, p. 41.

^c Traditional memorials of queen ELIZABETH,

by FRANCIS OSBORNE, esq; § 23, p. 456. printed among his works, 7th edit. London 1673. See likewise his Political deductions from the history of the earl of Essex, p. 672.

queen's leave, first of her being past hope, and then of her death, all ships being stopp'd, but what carried that false intelligence, he resolved to return to England. Having therefore appointed ADAM LOFTUS, archbishop of Dublin, and sir GEORGE CAREY, treasurer at war, to govern Ireland in his absence, he sailed directly for England, and arrived at the court then at Nonsuch on Michaelmas-eve in the morning. He came post to Westminster-bridge, where he took oars, and went to Lambeth, and there took such horses, as he found staying for their masters. Sir THOMAS GERARD's horses were in the ferry boat coming over, ready to land. But his lordship went away, and sir THOMAS overtook him, and understanding, that the lord GREY of Wilton was a little before, rode somewhat hard, till he overtook him also, and told him, that the earl of Essex was a little behind, if he would speak with him. No, said the lord GREY, *I have some business at court.* "Then, I pray you, answer'd sir THOMAS, let my lord of Essex ride before, that he may bring the first news of his return himself." *Doth he desire it?* said the lord GREY. "No, replied sir THOMAS, nor will, I think, desire any thing at your hands." Then, said his lordship, *I have business*; and made greater haste than before, and came to court a quarter of an hour before the earl, and went to the secretary; but the earl himself came thither before any tidings were brought up stairs.

This is the account of mr. WHYTE in a letter written from the court the next day to sir ROBERT SIDNEY^a. But CAMDEN tells us^b, that the lord GREY, who was one of the earl's most determined enemies, having overtaken his lordship on the road, and passed him without the least mark of civility, the earl being apprehensive of receiving some prejudice from him at court, and sir THOMAS GERARD, who followed the lord GREY, having requested that lord not to do the earl a diskindness, without the return of any favourable answer, sir CHRISTOPHER ST. LAURENCE offered his assistance to dispatch both that lord and the secretary in the court; but the earl, who had a sincere abhorrence of attempts of that kind, absolutely rejected the proposal. His lordship lighted at the court gate about ten in the morning, and made all haste up to the presence and so to the privy-chamber, and did not stop till he came to the queen's bed-chamber, where he found her majesty newly up, and the hair about her face. He kneel'd to her, and kiss'd her hands, and had private speech with her, which seem'd to give him great contentment; for coming from her to go to shift himself in his chamber, he was very pleasant, and thanked God, that, tho' he had suffered much trouble and storms abroad, he found a sweet calm at home. It was much wonder'd at in the court, that he went so boldly to her majesty's presence, she not being ready, and he so full of dirt and mire, that his very face was full of it. About eleven he was ready, and went up again to the queen, and conferred with her till half an hour after twelve. Hitherto all was well, and her behaviour very gracious towards him. He then went to dinner, during which he discoursed merrily of his travels and journeys in Ireland, of the goodness of the country, the civilities of those of the nobility, who were true subjects, of the great entertainment, which he had in their houses, and of the good order, which he found there. He was visited frankly by all sorts of lords, ladies, and gentlemen. Only there appeared a strangeness between him and the secretary and that party.

^a SIDNEY letters, Vol. II. p. 128.

^b P. 740.

After dinner he went up to the queen, but found her much chang'd in that short time, for she began to call him in question for his return, and was not satisfied in the manner of his coming away, and leaving all things at so great a hazard; and she appointed the lords to hear him, who went to council in the afternoon, the lord HUNSDON, lord chamberlain, the lord NORTH, the secretary, and the comptroller sir WILLIAM KNOLLYS, the uncle of the earl, who went in with them to the council, where they all sat an hour; but nothing was then determined, the affair being referr'd to a full council summoned for the next day^c. The same night between ten and eleven an order was brought to the earl to keep his chamber. The next day, being Michaelmas-day, the lords sat in council in the forenoon, but the earl was not there before two in the afternoon, when all the lords being assembled in the council chamber, mr. SMITH, clerk of the council, was sent by the secretary from their lordships to the earl to attend them. Upon his coming they all rose and saluted him; but when they sat again, his lordship stood at the upper end of the board, uncovered, to answer all that was objected against him. The secretary, at the other end, delivered in divers articles the offences, which her majesty conceived that he had done against her. The council continued from two till five very private, the clerks having been directed to withdraw. The earl answer'd with the utmost temper, gravity, and discretion to the matters laid to his charge, his contemptuous disobedience of her majesty's letters and will, in returning; his presumptuous letters written from time to time; his proceedings in Ireland, contrary to the points resolved upon before he went; his rash manner of coming away from Ireland; his making of so many knights; and his over-bold going the day before to her majesty in her bed-chamber. Upon his return from the lords, he retired again to his chamber, to which he was confined. The lords sat a quarter of an hour after, and then went all to the queen, and delivered to her what had passed; to which she said, that she would pause and consider of his answers. The same day the secretary entertained at dinner the earls of Shrewsbury and Nottingham, the lords THOMAS HOWARD, COBHAM, and GREY, sir WALTER RALEGH, and sir GEORGE CAREW; while the earl of Essex was attended by the earls of Worcester and Rutland, the lords MONTJOY, RICH, LUMLEY, and HENRY HOWARD, the comptroller of the household, mr. DYER, and many knights. The lord EFFINGHAM was likewise very often with the earl, to whom he protested all service. But mr. WHYTE, who wrote this account in a letter to sir ROBERT SIDNEY on the 30th of September^d, remark'd, that the lord HENRY HOWARD was *beld a ranter*, and caution'd sir ROBERT to take heed of him, and not trust him, if he had not already gone too far.

While the earl was confined to his chamber at Nonsuch mr. FRANCIS BACON came to him, and talk'd to him privately about a quarter of an hour, when his lordship ask'd him his opinion of the course, that was taken with himself, and received from him this answer*, “My lord, *nubecula est; cito transibit*: it is but a mist. But shall I tell your lordship? It is as mists are; if it go upwards, it may haply cause a shower; if downwards, it will clear up. And therefore, good my lord, carry it so as you may take away by all means all umbrages and

^c SIDNEY letters, p. 127, 128.

^d Ibid. p. 129.

* FRANCIS BACON's letter to the earl of Devonshire, *Scrinia Ceciliana*, p. 92, 93.

“ distastes from the queen : and especially, (if I were worthy to admonish you, as
 “ I have been by your lordship thought, and now your question imports the con-
 “ tinuance of that opinion) observe three points : first, make not this cessation or
 “ peace, which is concluded with TYRONE, as a service, wherein you glory, but
 “ as a shuffling up of a prosecution, which was not very fortunate. Next, repre-
 “ sent not to the queen any necessity of state, whereby, as by a coercion or wrench,
 “ she should think herself inforced to send you back to Ireland ; but leave it to her.
 “ Thirdly, seek access *importune, opportune*, seriously, sportingly, every way.” The
 earl heard him willingly, but spake very few words, and shook his head sometimes,
 as if he thought mr. BACON was in the wrong ; but the latter was certain, that his lord-
 ship afterwards acted directly contrary to his advice in every one of these three
 points.

The countess of Essex was delivered of a daughter on Sunday the 30th of September^e. The next morning the queen called for the lord keeper, the lord treasurer, the earl of Nottingham, and the secretary, who, after some stay with her majesty, consulted together, and then returned to her ; and so proceeded to the lord keeper's chamber, whither they sent for the earl, who, upon coming, made them a low reverence, and then stood still, and soon after went back to his own chamber. In the afternoon he was convey'd in the earl of Worcester's coach to York-house in London, where the lord keeper resided, to whose custody he was committed^f, being accompanied from the court by few or none of his friends ; but he supported his misfortune with great patience and prudence^g. The lord keeper, lord treasurer, and secretary were with him on Friday, October 5, from eight in the morning till near eleven ; and the queen was now so exasperated against him, that when the old lady WALSINGHAM, his mother-in-law, made humble petition to her majesty for leave for him to write to her daughter his countess, who was extremely troubled not to see nor hear from him, her request was denied^h. His behaviour was still humble and submissive, tho' he was extremely shock'd at the height of the queen's indignation against him. It was given out, that if he would desire his liberty, and return to Ireland, he should have it : but he seem'd resolved never to go thither again, nor to meddle with any matters of war or state, but only to lead a private country life. The public spake differently of his imprisonment ; and pamphlets upon the subject were said to have been thrown out, but immediately suppressed. The countess of Southampton and his sister the lady RICH finding, that the resort of company to them at Essex-house gave offence to the court, retired into the country ; and his lordship's servants were afraid to meet in any place to make merry, lest it might be ill taken ; and the earls of Southampton and Rutland staid away from the courtⁱ. His lordship's violent friend, sir CHRISTOPHER ST. LAURENCE, was indeed so bold, as to drink at a public ordinary his health, and confusion to his enemies ; for which he was called in question before the lord treasurer, to whom he did not deny his words, but declared, that he would justify them, if any enemy of the earl should find fault with him. He was dismissed with a reprimand only from the lord treasurer. The

^e SIDNEY letters, p. 130.

^f Ibid. p. 131.

^g Ibid. p. 130.

^h Ibid. p. 131, 132.

ⁱ Ibid. p. 132.

countess of Northumberland, the earl's elder sister, came late at night on Monday the 15th of October to Essex-house, upon some difference between her husband and her^k. The lords were twice appointed to be with her majesty about the earl's liberty, but still they were dismissed, her resentment being not at all abated, but rather increased by a letter from TYRONE to his lordship, informing him, that he wonder'd at his sudden departure from Ireland: and that he could not draw O'DONNELL and the rest of his confederates, to agree to such articles of peace, as had been treated of by them. Upon the sight of which letter the queen ask'd, if there were not good reason to commit the earl. His lordship was now fallen very sick, and his physicians sent to dr. BROWN to desire him, because he particularly understood his lordship's constitution, to come to prescribe to him. But the doctor not daring to go without leave, procured the earl of Nottingham to move the queen for it; who refused to permit him to go to the earl himself, and only allowed him to confer with his lordship's physicians. This shewed the degree of her majesty's resentment against the earl, tho' he had written to her a very submissive letter^l; which was not improbably one of the two following^m, which are without dates.

“ My dear, my gracious, and my admired sovereign is *semper eadem*. It cannot
 “ be, but that she will hear the sighs and groans, and read the lamentations and hum-
 “ ble petitions of the afflicted. Therefore, O paper, whensoever her eyes vouchsafe
 “ to behold thee, say, that death is the end of all worldly misery; but continual
 “ indignation makes misery perpetual: that present misery is never intolerable to
 “ them, that are stayed by future hope; but affliction, that is unseen, is com-
 “ manded to despair: that nature, youth, and physic have had many strong encoun-
 “ ters: but if my sovereign will forget me, I have nourished these contentions too
 “ long, for in this exile of mine eyes, if mine humble letters find not access, no
 “ death can be so speedy, as it shall be welcome to me,

“ Your majesty's humblest vassal,

“ ESSEX.”

“ When the creature entereth into account with the Creator, it can never number
 “ in how many things it needs mercy; or in how many it receives it. But he, that
 “ is best stored, must still say, *da nobis hodie*; and he, that hath shewed most thank-
 “ fulness, must ask again, *quid retribuamus?* And I can no sooner finish this my
 “ first audit, most dear and most admired sovereign, but I come to consider how
 “ large a measure of his grace, and how great a resemblance of his power, God
 “ hath given you upon earth; and how many ways he giveth occasion to you to
 “ exercise these divine offices upon us, that are your vassals. This confession best
 “ fitteth me of all men; and this confession is most joyfully, and most humbly now
 “ made by me of all times. I acknowledge upon the knees of my heart your
 “ majesty's infinite goodness in granting my humble petition. God, who seeth all, is
 “ witness, how faithfully I do vow to dedicate the rest of my life, next after my highest

^k Ibid. p. 133.

^l Ibid. p. 134.

^m Letters of ROBERT earl of Essex, collected by M. K. in my possession, p. 8 and 12.

“ duty, in obedience, faith, and zeal to your majesty, without admitting any
 “ other worldly care; and whatsoever your majesty resolveth to do with me, I shall
 “ live and die

“ Your majesty’s humblest vassal,

“ E S S E X.”

The earl’s friend, the lord MONTJOY, was informed by the queen on Thursday the 18th of October, of her intention of sending him to Ireland: from which employment he excused himself as one of too great difficulty, and inconsistent with his health, on account of the climate of Ireland, which was insupportable to him. This refusal was a proof of his affection for the earl, since it was thought, that if any thing could procure his liberty, it would be the necessity of his service in that kingdom^a.

On the Sunday following the lords were with the queen in council about the affair of the earl, whose enlargement they were all desirous of procuring, commending his reasons for his proceedings in Ireland, and his manner of submission to her majesty for his offence in returning. But she angrily told them, that such a contempt ought to be publicly published. To which they replied, that her majesty by her sovereign power and the severity of laws might do it; but that it stood not with her honour and clemency. She then commanded, that a brief might be made of his contempts towards her out of his letters, particularly, his having made so many knights, contrary to her pleasure; his appointment of the earl of Southampton general of the horse, contrary to her will; and his return against her express command. The lords in general appeared to be his friends, and the more so, probably, as he was grown very ill thro’ grief, and sollicitude to know what her majesty would do with him, eating little, sleeping less, and sustaining life by continual drinking. A reconciliation was endeavoured between him and the secretary by a person stiled in mr. WHYTE’S cypher 300 *brother*: but the secretary was averse to it, because there was no constancy in his lordship’s love, and his passions were too violent; and his estate being now broken, he might be forced to solicit the queen for better means; in which if he should be denied, his lordship might be jealous of the secretary, who indeed was not inclined to assist him with his own interest in that point. Yet thus far it was carried, that the secretary was content to shew no malice towards him, tho’ he had good cause for it, having heard what unfriendly speeches his lordship had used of him, and seen the letters sent by him to the queen, full of malice towards him. Whether 300 *brother* did this, as desired by the earl, was not known^b.

The lords were again at court on Friday the 26th of October by the queen’s command, in hopes of procuring the earl’s liberty, but were put off by her majesty till the next day, hearing that some of his lordship’s friends and followers had said, that he was wrongfully imprisoned; which she said would be proved not to be true, and that her proceedings with him should be justified^c.

Her majesty being determined, that the lord MONTJOY should be sent to Ireland,

^a SIDNEY letters, Vol. II. p. 134.

^b Ibid. p. 136.

^c Ibid. p. 136.

the lords went to York-house on Monday the 29th of October to confer with the earl about that kingdom, and were long with him^d.

The earl's sickness increasing, and threatening his life, the queen on the 3d of November gave leave to dr. BROWNE and sir WILLIAM KNOLLYS to visit him; as she did sir JOHN FORTESCU the next day, and allowed his lordship the liberty of the garden; which marks of favour to the earl gave his enemy sir WALTER RALEGH so much chagrin, that he fell sick upon it, which occasioned her majesty to send to see him. The countess of Essex, who was now recovered from her child-birth, was indefatigable in her application for her husband to the men in power, from whom she received small comfort, they refusing to trouble the queen with her desires; and all the favour, that was obtained, was by means of the ladies, who had access to the queen; nor was his countess suffered herself to go to him. Leave was indeed granted to his sisters Northumberland and Rich to come to court, and solicit for him^e.

During the course of this month of November the secretary was said to have done good and honest offices for the earl, and to have been concern'd, that they had no better effect^f. And mr. FRANCIS BACON in his apologetical letter to CHARLES BLOUNTE, earl of Devonshire^g, after denying the charge upon himself of having in his visits to the queen on the business of the revenue and law incens'd her against the earl, affirms, that the secretary at that time profess'd a friendship for his lordship. "Cousin, *said he*, I hear it, but I believe it not, that you should do some ill office to my lord of Essex. For my part, I am merely passive, and not active in this action, and I follow the queen, and that heavily, and I lead her not. My lord of Essex is one, that in nature I could consent with, as with any one living. The queen indeed is my sovereign, and I am her creature: I may not lose her. And the same course I would wish you to take." Upon which mr. BACON satisfied the secretary how far he was from any such mind. A little before this time, and about the middle of Michaelmas term, when the queen had an intention to dine with that gentleman at Twickenham-park, he had prepared a sonnet directly tending to draw on her majesty's reconciliation to the earl, which being shewed to, was approved of by, a great man, and one of his lordship's nearest friends. Mr. BACON was likewise not only ready to do his lordship good offices, but to declare himself for him, and extremely desirous and ambitious to carry to him some token or favour from the queen, using all the art he had, both to procure her majesty to send, and himself to be the messenger. For, as the first point, he ventur'd to alledge to her, that the proceeding towards the earl was a thing very unplaussible with the people, and therefore wish'd her, howsoever she did, to discharge herself, and to lay it upon others; and for that purpose intermix her proceeding with some immediate graces from herself, in order that the world might take knowledge of her princely nature and goodness, lest it should alienate the hearts of the people from her. This he particularly insisted upon, knowing very well, that if she once relented

^d Ibid. p. 137.

^e Ibid. p. 139.

^f Ibid. p. 143.

^g *Scrinia Cecilianæ*, being a farther additional supplement of the Cabala, p. 93, 94. Edit. Lond. 1663, 4to.

to send or visit, these demonstrations would prove matter of substance for his lordship's good. And to draw that employment upon himself, he advised her majesty, that whensoever God should move her to turn the light of her favour towards the earl, and to make signification of it to him, if she did it not in person, she would at the least use some such person, as might not entitle himself to any part of the thanks, which might be the case of those, who were thought to have a great influence over her; but to employ such, whose choice could not be considered but as the effect of her own goodness. But he could never prevail with her, and only exposed himself to her jealousy of retaining still an inward and deep respect for the earl, more than stood at that time with her will and pleasure.

About this time the queen received a new offence from the dedication of the *first part of the life and reign of king HENRY IV.* to the earl by dr. (afterwards sir) JOHN HAYWARDE, a civilian, printed at London in 1599, in 4to. In the dedication were these expressions, *Magnus siquidem es, & præsentis judicio & futuri temporis expectatione.* This, with the subject of the book, the history of the deposing of king RICHARD II. occasion'd the author to be committed to prison, where he continued for a considerable time^h. The queen, who imagined, that this history was a seditious prelude to put into the people's head boldness and faction, and thought, that there was treason in it, ask'd mr. FRANCIS BACON, whether he could not find passages in it, that might involve that crime? to which he answered, that for treason, he could find none, but for felony very many. And when her majesty ask'd, wherein? he told her, that the author had committed very apparent theft, for he had taken most of the sentences out of TACITUS, and having translated them into English, inserted them into his text. And at another time, when the queen could not be persuaded, that the book was the performance of the writer, whose name was prefix'd, but that it had some more mischievous author, and said with great indignation, that she would have him rack'd to produce that author; mr. BACON replied, "Nay, madam, he is a doctor; never rack his person, but rack his style. Let him have pen, ink, and paper, and help of books, and be enjoin'd to continue the story, where it breaketh off; and I will undertake, by collating the styles, to judge, whether he were the author or no^w."

When the queen ask'd mr. BACON's opinion concerning the earl's case, he constantly told her, that they were faults, which the law might term contempts, because they were the transgression of her particular directions and instructions: but that his lordship might defend himself in regard of the great interest, which he had in her favour, the greatness of his place, the ampleness of his commission, and the nature of the business, being action of war, which in common cases cannot be tied to strictness of instructions, in regard of the distance of the place, and of a sea between, on which account his demands and her commands must be subject to wind and weather; in regard of a council of state of Ireland, which he had at his back to avow his actions; and, lastly, in regard of a good intention, which he might alledge for himself, and which in some religions was held to be a sufficient dispensation for God's commandments, much more for those of princes. For all which reasons mr. BACON

^h CAMDEN, p. 811.

* FRANCIS BACON's letter to the earl of Devonshire, p. 94, 95.

desir'd

desir'd the queen to be advis'd again and again, how she brought the cause into any public question. He observ'd likewise to her, that the earl was an eloquent and well spoken man, and besides his eloquence of nature and art, had an eloquence of accident, which surpass'd them both, the pity and benevolence of his hearers. And therefore when he should come to answer for himself, it was to be apprehended, that his words would have so unequal a passage above theirs, who should charge him, as would not be for her majesty's honour. Upon which considerations mr. BACON wish'd, that the conclusion of the affair might be, that they might wrap it up privately between themselves, and that she would restore his lordship to his former attendance, with some addition of honour to take away discontent. However he shew'd no approbation of sending the earl back to Ireland, both because it would have carried a repugnancy to his own former discourse, and because he was fully persuaded, that it was not good for the queen, the state, nor his lordship himself: but he did not object against it, and only left it as a subject of a delicate nature; tho' after the nomination of the lord MONTJOY to command in Ireland, and not long before his going thither, the queen speaking of it at Whitehall, mr. BACON said to her, "Surely, madam, if you mean not to employ my lord of Essex thither again, your majesty cannot make a better choice;" and was going on to shew some reason, when she interrupted him with great passion, "Essex! Whosoever I send Essex back again into Ireland, I will marry you. Claim it of me." Mr. BACON replied, "Well! madam, I will release that contract, if his going be for the good of the state."

Her majesty soon after thought of a course to have a declaration concerning the causes of the earl's restraint made in the Star-chamber, for the satisfaction of the world, without calling his lordship in person into that court, the occasion to be taken from some libels then dispers'd. But when this design was propounded by her to mr. BACON, he declared himself utterly against it, urging, that the people would say, that his lordship was wounded upon his back; and that justice had her balance taken from her, which ever consisted of an accusation and defence, with many other quick and significant terms to that purpose, adding, that the earl was too hard for her majesty *in foro famæ*; and therefore wish'd her, as he had done before, to wrap the affair up privately. But this advice offended her, which she shew'd in her countenance and manner, when mr. BACON attended her on law-busineses in the Christmas, Lent, and Easter term following.

In pursuit of the queen's resolution, the lords of the council, on Thursday the 29th of November, being the last sitting in the Star-chamber in the end of Michaelmas term, made a public declaration of the reasons of the earl's imprisonment. The assembly was very large, consisting of the lord keeper, the lord treasurer, the lord admiral, the lord chamberlain, lord NORTH, sir WILLIAM KNOLLYS, the secretary, sir JOHN FORTESCU, the lord chief justice POPHAM, and almost all the judges. There were likewise present the lord COBHAM, the lord THOMAS HOWARD, sir WALTER RALEGH, sir CHARLES and sir HENRY DAVERS, mr. FULK GREVILL, and many other persons of distinction*: but mr. FRANCIS BACON was not there,

* SIDNEY papers, Vol. II. p. 146.

of which, when the queen took notice to him, he alledged some indisposition of body to excuse it *.

The earl was still continued in the custody of the lord keeper, tho' her majesty in the beginning of December used some speech of favour towards him, which much troubled the contrary party¹; and his sisters Northumberland and RICH went to court to desire his removal to some better air and more convenient place, as his lady did to the lord treasurer and sir JOHN FORTESCU, not being permitted to go to court^m. The earl received the communion a second time on Sunday the 10th of December, and sent to the queen his two patents of master of the horse and of the ordnance, which her majesty returned; and on the 12th the countess had leave to visit him, and found him so extremely weak, that there was little hope of his recoveryⁿ. This induc'd her majesty to order eight physicians of the best experience to consult upon his case, who returned their opinion of the great danger of it; upon which she sent dr. JAMES to him with some broth, and a message, that he should comfort himself; and that she would, if she might with her honour, visit him; and it was observed, that when she spoke this, she had water in her eyes. She likewise commanded, that he should be removed from the chamber where he was, to the lord keeper's own chamber. But tho' her majesty's message gave him some comfort, yet he was already so exhausted, that his life was not expected for many days^o; and on Wednesday, December 19, he was reported to be dead, and the bell tolled for him. He had been prayed for in the churches of the city, and by the ministers in their pulpits, some of whom watch'd with him. The next day the lady RICH was at court, for permission to visit him before his death, especially as it was of importance to her with regard to her jointure. But tho' she was used very graciously by the queen, she could not obtain her request, nor her sister Northumberland, who made the same suit. The countess was with him every day from morning to night, when she returned to Walsingham-house. And sir WILLIAM KNOLLYS had leave to go and see him. Many scandalous things were now written upon the walls at court against the secretary; but the queen was made to believe, that the earl's sickness was pretended, and therefore sent no more to his lordship, who however began to recover^p, and in the beginning of January, 1599, was able to sit, and to eat at table. But tho' his lady was allowed to be with him from seven in the morning till six in the evening, yet his son, sisters, and mother-in-law, were refused the sight of him: and many ministers, who had prayed for him in their churches, were commanded to discontinue it, some of them having indeed used speeches tending to sedition. His lordship sent her majesty, without his name, a very rich new-year's-gift, which was neither received nor rejected, but left for some time in the hands of the comptroller^q, and at last refused by the queen, who still continued very angry with him. His sister RICH earnestly pursued her suit to be permitted to see him, sending frequent letters, and many presents to her majesty, who read the former, and accepted the latter, as she had done the new-year's-gift of the countess of Leicester^r, who afterwards came from the country, and went on the 26th of

* Letter to the earl of Devonshire, p. 96.

¹ SIDNEY letters, p. 149.

^m Ibid.

ⁿ Ibid. p. 150.

^o Ibid. p. 151.

^p Ibid. p. 153.

^q Ibid. p. 155, 156.

^r Ibid. p. 158, 159.

January to court, to be a petitioner for the removal of her son to a better air, he being recovered in a good measure from his sickness^f. On Thursday the 7th of February his lady was ordered to forbear coming to him; and a resolution being taken to bring him into the Star-chamber, Friday the 8th and Wednesday the 13th were appointed for that purpose; but the affair was put off by means of the secretary. For on Monday the 11th, about eleven or twelve o'clock at night, the lord treasurer and the secretary went to the lord keeper's, who carried a message from them to the earl, and passed several times between them and him, without his lordship's seeing them. His lordship wrote a submissive letter to the queen, which was carried to her the next morning by the secretary, who did all the good offices in his power to divert her majesty's resolution of having the earl called before the Star-chamber; but left it doubtful, when he returned to London in the evening: however at nine at night the queen's pleasure came to the secretary and the other lords of the council to stop the proceedings against his lordship. This gain'd great honour and love to the secretary. The countess of Essex was now again allowed access to her husband, but with some restraint of time, from nine in the morning till four in the afternoon^t. Towards the end of February the lady Rich was commanded to keep her house, on account, as was supposed, of several copies coming abroad by her means of a letter, which she had written to the queen^v, and which was probably the following one^w.

“ Early did I hope this morning to have had mine eyes blessed with your majesty's
 “ beauty: but seeing the sun depart into a cloud, and meeting with spirits, that did
 “ presage by the wheels of their chariot some thunder in the air, I must complain
 “ and express my fears to the high majesty and divine oracle, from whence I
 “ received a doubtful answer; unto whose power I must sacrifice again the tears and
 “ prayers of the afflicted, that must despair in time, if it be too soon to importune
 “ heaven, when we feel the misery of hell; or that words directed to the sacred
 “ wisdom should be out of season, delivered for my unfortunate brother, whom all
 “ men have liberty to defame, as if his offence was capital, and he so base dejected
 “ a creature, that his life, his love, his service to your beauties and the state, had
 “ deserved no absolution after so hard punishment, or so much as to answer in your
 “ fair presence, who would vouchsafe more justice and favour than he can expect
 “ of partial judges, or those combined enemies, that labour on false grounds
 “ to build his ruin, urging his faults as criminal to your divine honour; thinking
 “ it a heaven to blaspheme heaven; whereas by their own particular malice and
 “ counsel they have practised to glut themselves in their own private revenge, not
 “ regarding your service and loss so much as their ambition, and to rise by his over-
 “ throw. And I have reason to apprehend, that if your fair hands do not check the
 “ courses of their unbridled hate, their last courses will be his last breath, since
 “ the evil instruments, that they by their offices and cunning provide for the feast,
 “ have sufficient poison in their hearts to effect the service, that they will seem shall
 “ be easy to digest till it be tasted; and then it will prove but a preparation to

^f Ibid. p. 164.

^t Ibid. p. 166, 167.

^v Ibid. p. 172.

^w Letters of ROBERT earl of Essex, collected by
 M. K. p. 105.

“ greater mischiefs concealed among such crafty workmen, as will not only put all
 “ the obstacles of his greatness, but when they are in their full strength, like the
 “ giants, make war against heaven. But your majesty’s gracious conclusion in
 “ giving hope of a voider is all my comfort; which if you hasten not before he take
 “ a full surfeit of disgrace, they will say the spots they have cast upon him are too
 “ foul to be washed away; and so his blemished reputation must disable him for
 “ ever serving again his sacred goddess, whose excellent perfections and beauties
 “ will never suffer those fair eyes to behold so far from compassion. But at least,
 “ if he may not return to the happiness of his former service, to live at the feet of
 “ his admired mistress; yet he may sit down to a private life, without the imputa-
 “ tion of infamy, that his posterity may not repent, that their fathers were born of
 “ so hard a destiny, two of them perishing by being employed in one country,
 “ where they would have done you loyal service to the shedding of their last blood,
 “ if they had not been wounded to death by faction of them, that care not on whose
 “ necks they unjustly build the walls of their own fortunes; which I fear will grow
 “ more dangerous higher than is yet discovered, if God do not hinder the work, as
 “ the tower of Babel, and confound their tongues, that understand one another too
 “ well. And lastly, since out of your majesty’s princely nature and unfeigned virtue
 “ there must needs appear, that mercy is not far from such beauty, I humbly beseech
 “ you to make it your own work, and not to suffer those to take advantage to
 “ lie in ambush, thinking so as they discover a relenting and compassion in your
 “ worthy mind, to take the honour upon them, as means of our solation, not out
 “ of charity, but pride, that all must be attributed to them, and your sacred cle-
 “ mency abused by forcing us to go thro’ purgatory to heaven. But let your
 “ majesty’s divine power be no more eclipsed than your beauty, which hath shined
 “ throughout all the world, and imitate the * *, not destroying those, that trust
 “ in your mercy. With this humble request, I presume to kiss your sacred hand,
 “ vowing the obedience of endless love.

“ PENELOPE RICH.”

Her majesty being disposed about the middle of March to suffer the earl to live
 at Essex-house, sent orders for the removal of the countess of Leicester, the earl of
 Southampton and his lady, mr. FULK GREVILL, and mr. ANTHONY BACON, from
 thence^a. Accordingly on the 20th of that month his lordship was suffered to go and
 reside thither under the custody of sir RICHARD BERKLEY, who kept all the keys
 of the house, and lay in the next chamber to the earl, with whom no person was
 allowed to speak but by the queen’s leave; nor was his lady permitted access to him
 but in the day time^b. However he returned his acknowledgments to her ma-
 jesty for her favour in suffering him to return to his own house in the following
 letter^c.

“ Vouchsafe, most dear and most admired sovereign, to receive this humblest
 “ acknowledgment of your majesty’s most faithful vassal. Your majesty’s gracious
 “ message staid me from death, when I gasped for life. Your princely and com-

^a SIDNEY letters, p. 179.

^b Ibid. p. 181.

^c Letters of ROBERT earl of Essex, collected
by M. K. p. 7.

“ passionate increasing of my liberty hath enabled me to wrestle with my many
 “ infirmities, which else long ere this had made an end of me. And now this far-
 “ ther degree of goodness in favourably removing me to mine own house doth found
 “ in mine ears, as if your majesty spake these words, *Die not, Essex; for tho’ I*
 “ *punish thine offence, and humble thee for thy good, yet I will one day be served again*
 “ *by thee.* And my prostrate soul makes this answer, *I hope for that blessed*
 “ *day.* All my afflictions of body or mind are humbly, patiently, and chearfully
 “ borne by

“ Your majesty’s humblest vassal,

“ E S S E X.”

In April, 1600, the earl had a little more liberty granted in his own house, often walking upon the open leads and in the garden with his lady, they reading to each other; but she could not yet obtain permission to live with him, and his gates were still kept very close, and no person admitted to him^d; tho’ the secretary continued all friendly offices towards him^e.

In the beginning of May his *Apology to mr. ANTHONY BACON*, written two years before, came out in print; which gave him great concern, and occasioned him to send to the archbishop of Canterbury and others, and to the stationers company, to suppress it, as published without his knowledge or procurement, being extremely apprehensive of the offence, which it might give, two persons being already in custody on account of the publication of that piece^f; which highly provoked her majesty^g; to whom the earl, about the 20th of May, wrote the following letter^h.

“ Before all letters written with this hand be banished, or he, that sends this,
 “ enjoin himself eternal silence, be pleased, I humbly beseech your majesty, to read
 “ over these few lines. At sundry times and by several messengers, I received these
 “ words, as your majesty’s own, that you meant to correct, but not to ruin.
 “ Since which time, when I languished in four months sickness, forfeited almost
 “ all that I was able to engage, felt the very pangs of death upon me, and saw that
 “ poor reputation, whatsoever it was, that I had heretofore enjoyed, not suffered
 “ to die with me, but buried, and I alive; I yet kiss’d your majesty’s fair correcting
 “ hand, and was confident in your royal words. For I said unto myself, between
 “ my ruin and my sovereign’s favour there is no mean: and if she bestow favour
 “ again, she gives with it all things, that in this world I either need or desire. But
 “ now the length of troubles, and the continuance or rather the increase of your
 “ majesty’s indignation hath made all men so afraid of me, as mine own state is not
 “ only ruined, but my kind friends and faithful servants are like to die in prison,
 “ because I cannot help myself with mine own. Now I do not only feel the intolerable
 “ weight of your majesty’s indignation, and am subject to their wicked informa-
 “ tion, that first envied me for my happiness in your favour, and now hate me.

^d SIDNEY letters, p. 187, 191.

^e Ibid. p. 190.

^f Ibid. p. 193.

^g Ibid. p. 197.

^h Letters of ROBERT earl of Essex, collected by M. K. p. 1.

" out of custom; but as if I were thrown into a corner like a dead carcass, I am
 " gnawed on and torn by the vilest and basest creatures upon earth. The tavern-
 " haunter speaks of me what he lists. Already they print me, and make me speak
 " to the world; and shortly they will play me in what forms they list upon the stage.
 " The least of these is a thousand times worse than death. But this is not the worst
 " of my destiny, for your majesty, that hath mercy for all the world but me, that
 " hath protected from scorn and infamy all, to whom you once vowed favour but
 " Essex, and never repented you of any gracious assurance you had given till now:
 " your majesty, I say, hath now in this eighth month of my close imprisonment
 " (as if you thought my infirmities, beggary, and infamy, too little punishment
 " for me) rejected my letters, refused to hear of me, which to traitors you never
 " did. What therefore remaineth for me? Only this, to beseech your majesty
 " on the knees of my heart, to conclude my punishment with misery and my life
 " together, that I may go to my Saviour, who hath paid himself a ransom for me,
 " and whom methinks I still hear calling me out of this unkind world, in which I
 " have lived too long, and once thought myself too happy.

" From your majesty's humblest servant,

" E S S E X."

He wrote likewise another letter in these terms¹:

" Four whole days have I meditated, most dear and most admired sovereign, on
 " these words, that there are two kinds of angels, the one good, the other evil;
 " and that your majesty wisheth your servant to be accompanied with the good.
 " And thus my meditation teacheth me to understand mine oracle. She, that may
 " as easily make me happy, as wish me happy, doth vouchsafe to wish me threefold
 " happiness: that is, angels, that have three excellent offices, who may be good
 " to me in all; as good messengers, they may bring good tidings; as good watch-
 " men, they may secure their charge; and as good executioners, they may exercise
 " me with nothing but for my good. Other offices or virtues than these (for any
 " thing that I can conceive) angels have not; and other influence than from your
 " majesty, no angel, that will be good unto me in this world, can give. For if
 " your majesty send me gracious comforts, tho' all the world besides should ring
 " alarums and threatnings in mine ears, I should not weigh them. While your
 " majesty's grace and goodness watcheth over me, no earthly power shall make me
 " feel harm, nor apprehend danger. Since your majesty was pleased to say, that,
 " what you did was *ad correctionem, non ad ruinam*, and that you stayed all pro-
 " ceedings, that might disable me from your service hereafter, I have been confi-
 " dent, that your bright, powerful, and gracious beams will break forth and dis-
 " perse all the clouds, that now overshadow

" Your majesty's humblest vassal,

" E S S E X."

¹ Ibid. p. 4.

The queen having form'd a design of bringing the earl again into the Star-chamber, in a different manner from that before, opened it to mr. FRANCIS BACON, towards whom she had for several months before kept a profound silence with relation to his lordship. She told him, that she had found his words true; for that the proceeding in the Star-chamber had done no good, but rather kindled factious bruits, as she term'd them, than quench'd them; and therefore she was determined now, for the satisfaction of the world, to proceed against the earl in the Star-chamber by an information *ore tenus*, and to have him brought to his answer. But that whatever she should do, should be towards him *ad castigationem*, and not *ad destructionem*, an expression, which she had often used before. In order to divert her entirely from this purpose, mr. BACON answered, "Madam, if you will have me to speak to you in this argument, I must speak to you as friar BACON's head spake, that said, "*Time is*, and then *Time was*, and *Time would never be*: for certainly it is now far too late; the matter is cold, and hath taken too much wind." Her majesty seemed offended at this, and rose from him, adhering for some time to her resolution; in which mr. BACON in the beginning of Midsummer-term finding her settled, as he had likewise been informed otherwise, and that there was no other remedy for it, he said to her slightly, "Why, madam, if you will needs have a proceeding, you were best have it in some such sort, as OVID spoke of his mistress, *Est aliquid luce patente minus*; to make a council-table matter of it, and end." Which speech tho' she seemed to be displeased with, yet mr. BACON thought it did good for that time, and helped to divert the course of proceeding by way of information in the Star-chamber. However she chose afterwards to make a more solemn matter of it; and when order was given, that it should be heard at York-house, where the lord keeper lived, before an assembly of members of the privy-council, peers, and judges, and an audience of men of quality to be admitted, some of the principal counsellors sent for the queen's council at law, and notified to them her pleasure. But mr. FRANCIS BACON, who was one of them, was told publicly by one of the counsellors, that her majesty was not yet resolved, whether she would have him forborne in the business or not. This, he imagined, gave rise to a false report of his having solicited to be employed against the earl; whereas the truth was, that knowing what had passed between the queen and himself, and what occasion he had given her both of distaste and distrust in crossing her disposition by standing firm for his lordship, and suspecting likewise, that this was a stratagem arising from some particular emulation, he wrote to her majesty two or three words of compliment, signifying to her, that if it would please her to spare him in that cause out of the consideration, which she took of his obligations to the earl, he should reckon it for one of her highest favours; but otherwise desiring her to think, that he knew the degrees of duty; and that no particular obligation whatsoever to any subject could supplant or weaken that entireness of duty, which he owed and bore to her and her service. This was the real suit, which he made, in which he had a farther view; for as he judged, that that day's work would be a full period of any bitterness or harshness between the queen and the earl, he thought, that if he should declare himself according to her mind at that time, which could not do his lordship any manner of prejudice, he should keep his credit with her ever after, and by that means be enabled to do him service.

A few

A few days after mr. BACON and the rest of the queen's council were sent for again, and told, that her majesty's pleasure was, that they should all have parts in the business; in the distribution of which, that allotted to mr. BACON by the lords of the council was to set forth some undutiful carriage of the earl in giving occasion and countenance to dr. HEYWARDE's book, which was term'd a seditious pamphlet. Upon the assignment of this part, mr. BACON observed to their lordships, that it was an old matter, and had no manner of connexion with the rest of the charge, which were matters relating to Ireland; and that himself having been wronged by false reports before, this would expose him to them still more, and it would be said, that he gave in evidence his own tales. To this it was answered, that because it was considered how he stood obliged to the earl, therefore that part was thought fittest for him, which would do his lordship least hurt. For whereas all the rest was matter of charge and accusation, this only was but matter of caveat and admonition. Mr. BACON was in his own conscience little satisfied with this, because he knew well, that it was better for a man to be charged with some faults, than admonished of some others; yet as it was the queen's pleasure to impose this task upon him, he could not avoid it, however reluctant*.

The earl on Thursday June 5, 1600, was brought before eighteen commissioners assembled at York-house, and consisting of the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord keeper, lord treasurer, lord admiral, the earls of Worcester, Shrewsbury, Cumberland, Huntingdon and Derby, the lord ZOUCH, the comptroller of the household sir WILLIAM KNOLLYS, secretary CECIL, sir JOHN FORTESCU, sir JOHN POPHAM, and sir EDMUND ANDERSON, the two chief justices, sir WILLIAM PERIAM lord chief baron, and the justices GAWDY and WALMESLY. They sat from eight in the morning till near nine at night^a, all at a long table in chairs. At the earl's coming in none of the commissioners stirred his cap, or gave any other sign of courtesy. He kneeled at the upper end of the table, and for a good while without a cushion. At length the archbishop moved the treasurer, and they jointly the lord keeper and lord admiral, who sat overagainst them; and then he was allowed a cushion, yet still was suffered to kneel, till the end of the queen's serjeant's speech, when by the consent of the lords he was permitted to stand up, and afterwards upon the archbishop's motion to have a stool.

The lord keeper EGERTON first opened the cause of their meeting, and then directed the queen's council at law, to inform against the earl.

The queen's serjeant, CHRISTOPHER YELVERTON, afterwards knighted by king JAMES I. began in a short speech as a preface to the accusations. The sum of it was to declare her majesty's princely care and provision for the wars of Ireland, and likewise her gracious dealing with the earl before he went over thither, in discharging

* FRANCIS BACON's letter to the earl of Devonshire, p. 96, 97, 98.

^a MORYSON Itinerary, Part II. p. 68, 69, who has inserted in that book the relation of this proceeding, which was sent to Ireland. Mr. WHYTE in a

letter to sir ROBERT SIDNEY from Baynard-castle June 11, 1600, says, that the cause lasted from nine in the morning till eight at night. SIDNEY papers, Vol. II. p. 200.

ten thousand pounds of his debts, and giving him almost as much more to buy him horses, and provide himself, and especially in her proceedings in this cause, since after so great occasions of offence, as the consumption of a royal army, fruitless wasting of a vast sum of money, contempt, and disobedience to her express commandment, she notwithstanding was content to be so merciful towards him, as not to proceed against him in any of her courts of justice, but only in this private sort by way of mercy and favour.

The attorney general COKE spoke next, whose speech contained the substance of the accusation, and was very severe. For besides the many faults of contempt and disobedience, with which he charg'd the earl, he also inferr'd a dangerous disposition and purpose in his lordship, and this he aggravated by many rhetorical amplifications. He divided what he said of the earl's conduct into three heads, *quomodo ingressus*, *quomodo progressus*, *quomodo regressus*. Under that of the ingress he observed how large a commission his lordship had insisted upon, such a one, as never any man had obtained before, that he might have authority to pardon all traitors of himself, and even treason committed against her majesty's own person, and that he might manage the wars by himself, without being confined to the advice of the council of Ireland: which clause, the attorney said, was granted, that his lordship might at first proceed on the northern journey, which the council of Ireland, whose lands and estates lay in the south, might perhaps hinder, and endeavour to divert him to the safeguard of themselves. In the other parts of his speech were contained five special crimes charged on the earl, I. His making the earl of Southampton general of the horse: II. His going to Leinster and Munster, when he should have gone to Ulster: III. His making so many knights: IV. His conference with TYRONE: V. His return out of Ireland, contrary to her majesty's command. All these, except the fourth, were recited by the commissioners in their censures, as the crimes, for which he was censured by them. The first was amplified by the attorney general, because his lordship did it contrary to her majesty's mind plainly signified to him in England: that he increased that offence by continuing the earl of Southampton in the office, when her majesty had by letters expressly commanded, that he should be displaced; and by writing a very bold presumptuous letter to her in excuse of that offence, which letter was afterwards read. The second point of his southern journey was aggravated, as contrary to her majesty's advised resolution agreed upon by her council, and approved by her martial men as the only means to reduce Ireland, and contrary to the earl's own project, and even without the advice of the council of Ireland, as appeared by a letter of theirs under their hands, tho' the earl now pretended their advice for his own excuse: from which conduct of his followed the harrowing out and weakening of the most royal army, that ever went out of England, the wasting of a vast expence, and the overthrow of the whole action. The third point, the making of knights, was agreed to have been contrary to her majesty's express commandment, a question being made, whether he should have that authority or not, because he had abused it before at Cadiz; yet that power being at last granted with this limitation given him in charge, that he should make but few, and those men of good ability, whereas he had made to the number of threescore, and those some of his menial servants; and this in a most unreasonable time, when things were at the worst, which should have been done upon victory

and triumph only. The fourth point, his conference with TYRONE, was aggravated, on account of its being an equal and secret one; dishonourable to her majesty, that he, who sustained her royal person, should confer in equal sort with the basest and vilest traitor, that ever lived, a bush kerne, and base son of a blacksmith; suspicious, as it was private, no man, especially English, being suffered to approach; and shameful in the conclusion of it, that a wretched traitor should prescribe conditions to his sovereign, odious and abominable conditions, a public toleration of an idolatrous religion, pardon for himself and all the traitors in Ireland, and full restitution of lands and possessions to all sorts of them. To which was added, that before this parley, capt. THOMAS LEIGH went from the earl's camp to the traitor, if not sent by the earl, at least by his connivance, or that of the marshal sir CHRISTOPHER BLOUNTE, whom his lordship did not punish. The fifth and last point, his return, was urged to be intolerably presumptuous, contrary to her majesty's express commandment in writing, under the seal of her privy signet, charging him upon his duty not to return, until he heard farther from her: that this return was also exceedingly dangerous, since he left the army divided between two, the earl of Ormonde and the lord chancellor, men, whom himself had excepted against, as unfit for such a trust; and that he left this army in such a manner, that if God's providence had not been the greater, the ruin and loss of the whole kingdom had ensued thereupon. This accusation was heightened in every part of it by all the rhetoric and bitterness of expression, which the attorney general was master of, who concluded, that the ingress was proud and ambitious, the progress disobedient and contemptuous, and the regress notorious and dangerous. Among other things he press'd the lady RICH's letter to the queen with very harsh terms, styling it insolent, saucy, and malapert. He proposed in the end a precedent for the earl's punishment, being forced, he said, to seek far for one gentle enough; and that was of WILLIAM of Britten earl of Richmond, who refusing to come home out of France upon the king's letter, was adjudged to lose all his goods, lands, and chattels, and to endure perpetual imprisonment. He said likewise, "Whereas the earl in his letter exclaimeth *O tempora! O mores!*" (by which he was thought to refer to his lordship's words, *O miserable employment, and more miserable destiny of mine, that makes it impossible for me to please and serve her majesty at once!*) "Let me also say with the orator concerning him, *Hæc regina intelligit, hæc senatus vidit; hic tamen vivit.*" And in the end of his speech he observed, "Now nothing remaineth but that we enquire *quo animo* all this was done. Before my lord went to Ireland he vaunted and boasted, that he would fight with none but the traitor himself; he would pull him by the ears out of his den; he would make the earth tremble under him, &c. but when he came thither, then no such matter; he goes another way. It appeareth plainly, he meant nothing less than to fight with TYRONE."

The solicitor general FLEMING insisted upon the unhappy event, which followed in Ireland the earl's departure; by which it appeared, how little good he had done, the traitor being grown much more confident, more insolent, and stronger than ever he was before; which was evident by the declaration, which he had given out since his lordship's leaving that kingdom, vaunting, that he was the upholder of the catholic faith and religion; and that whereas it had been reported by some, that he

would follow the earl into England, he would perhaps shortly appear in England little to England's good.

Mr. FRANCIS BACON concluded the accusation with a very eloquent speech ; first, by way of preface, signifying, that he hoped the earl himself, and all, who heard him, would consider, that the particular bond of duty, which he did and ever would acknowledge himself to owe to his lordship, was now to be sequestered and laid aside. He then extolled her majesty's singular grace and mercy, of which, he observed, the earl was an eminent instance, upon whose humble suit she was content not to prosecute him in her court of justice, the Star-chamber, but, according to his earnest desire, to remove that cup from him (which he said were his lordship's own words in his letter) and now to suffer his cause to be heard *intra privatos parietes*, by way of mercy and favour only, where no manner of disloyalty was laid to his charge: *For*, added he, *if that had been the question, this had not been the place.* After considering particularly the earl's journey into Ireland, he came to charge his lordship with two points not spoken of before. The first of these was his letter written to the lord keeper during his retirement in 1598, very boldly and presumptuously, in derogation to her majesty; which letter, mr. BACON said, had been published by the earl's own friends; and the passages of it, which he insisted upon, were these, *There is no tempest to the passionate indignation of a prince*; as if her majesty were devoid of reason, and carried away with passion, the only thing, which join man and beast together. *Her majesty's heart was obdurate*; by which he would not say that the earl meant to compare her absolutely to PHARAOH, but in this particular only, which must needs be very odious. *Cannot princes err? Cannot subjects receive wrong?* "as if, says mr. BACON, her majesty had lost her virtues of judgment, justice, &c. Far be it from me to attribute divine properties to mortal princes: yet this I must truly say, that by the common law of England a prince can do no wrong." His last remark was upon his lordship's distinction of the duty, which a subject oweth to his prince, that the duty of allegiance is the only indissoluble one: "What then, said he, is the duty of gratitude? what the duty of obedience? &c." The second point of his accusation was the earl's patronage of dr HAYWARDE's history of the first years of the reign of HENRY IV. but indeed of the end of that of RICHARD II. and his lordship's writing only a cold formal letter to the archbishop to call in the book, after it had been published a week, knowing, that forbidden things are most sought after.

The special points of the whole accusation were afterwards proved by the earl's own letters, and some of her majesty's and the council's, and by a letter of the earl of Ormonde, and others of the council of Ireland, read by the clerk of the council.

The accusation being ended the earl kneeling began to speak for himself to this effect; that ever since it had pleased her majesty to remove that cup from him (which he acknowledged to have been at his humble suit) and to change the course of proceeding against him, which was intended to be in the Star-chamber, he had laid aside all thought of justifying himself in any of his actions; and that therefore he had now resolved with himself never to make any contestation with his sovereign:
that

that he had made a divorce betwixt himself and the world, if God and his sovereign would give him leave to hold it: that the inward sorrow and afflictions, which he had laid upon his soul privately betwixt God and his conscience for the great offence against her majesty, was more than any outward cross or affliction, which could possibly befall him: that he would never excuse himself either *à toto* or *à tanto* from whatsoever crimes of error, negligence, or inconsiderate rashness, his youth, folly, or manifold infirmities might lead him into. Only he must ever profess a loyal, faithful, unspotted heart, unfeigned affection, and desire ever to do her majesty the best service he could, which rather than he would lose, he would, if christianity and charity permitted, first tear his heart out of his breast with his own hands. But this being always preserved untouched, he was most willing to confess whatever errors and faults it pleased her majesty to impute to him. The first part of his lordship's speech drew plenty of tears from the eyes of many of the hearers, for it was uttered with great passion, and the expressions well chosen and very forcible; and it plainly appeared, that he had intended to have spoken no more for himself. But being touched, as it seemed, with the over sharp speeches of his accusers, he humbly desired their lordships, that as he had observed many rhetorical inferences and insinuations thrown out by his accusers, which might argue a disloyal, malicious, wicked and corrupt affection in him, they would give him leave, not in any sort to excuse himself, but only by way of explanation to lay before them those false guides, which had deceived him, and had led him into all his errors: and so he entered into a kind of answer to the attorney general's speech from point to point in order. With respect to that of his large commission for pardoning treason against her majesty's person, he alledg'd, that it was a thing, which he had learn'd from the attorney himself, only to obviate the opinion of the rebels, who thought, that all treason in Ireland might be interpreted treason against her majesty's person, and therefore would trust no pardon without that clause. That in making the earl of Southampton general of the horse, the guide, that had misled him, was an opinion, that her majesty might have been satisfied with those reasons, which moved him; as also with those, which he had urged in his letters for continuance of the earl in his place; but that after he perceived her majesty's mind plainly in her second letter, he displaced him the next day. For his journey into Munster, he alledged divers things, principally that the time of the year would not serve for an Ulster journey, and then the advice of the council of Ireland, which he protested to urge, not to excuse himself, but rather to accuse his own errors, and those of that council: And whereas some of that board, to excuse themselves, and charge him deeper, had now written the contrary to the council of England, he affirmed solemnly, that they had therein dealt most falsely; "and it seemeth, *said he*, that God's "just revenge hath overtaken two of them already, the earl of Ormonde by blindness, and sir WARHAM ST. LEGER by violent death." For his making of knights he pleaded the necessity and straits, to which he was reduced, that being the only way, which he had to retain the volunteers, the strength and pride of the army; that he had knighted but two of his servants, and those men of special merit and good ability; and that he thought, that his service ought not to be any bar against them from receiving the reward of their deserts.

But before he had thus gone thro' half his answer, he was interrupted by the lord
 3 M 2
 keeper,

keeper, who told him, that this was not the course, that was likely to do him good: that he began well in submitting himself to her majesty's mercy and pardon, which himself, and the rest of the lords, were glad to hear; and no doubt her princely and gracious nature was by that way most likely to be inclin'd to favour: that all extenuation of his offence was but the lessening of her majesty's mercy in pardoning: that he, with all the other lords, would clear him of all suspicion of disloyalty: and that therefore he might do well to spare the rest of his speech, and save time, and commit himself to her majesty's mercy. Upon the earl's replying, that it might appear by that hedge, which he diligently put to all his answers, that he spoke nothing but only to clear himself from a malicious corrupt affliction; the lord keeper told him again, that if he meant the crime of disloyalty, it was that, which he needed not to fear; and that he was not charg'd with it, as the place and course taken against him might shew; all that was now laid to him being contempt and disobedience: and if he intended to persuade them, that he had disobey'd indeed, but not with a purpose of disobeying, that was frivolous and absurd.

Then the lord treasurer began to speak, and clearing the earl from all suspicion of disloyalty, confuted several of his other excuses.

Secretary CECIL next, after premising the reasons, why he spoke before his turn on account of his place, and acquitting his lordship of all thoughts of disloyalty, which he often repeated, justified her majesty's special care and wisdom with respect to the wars in Ireland, in providing whatever could be demanded by the earl for that service before he went thither; in supplying him afterwards with whatever he could ask, if it were possible to do it; and in prescribing that course, which, had it been follow'd, was the only way to save that kingdom; and, which being forsaken, was the only cause of the ruin and loss of that royal army. He then examin'd his lordship's excuses, and particularly that of having follow'd the advice of the council of Ireland, which he was not bound to, having so ample a commission; and if he had been bound, yet they were at his command, and might have been forced by him to say what he pleas'd: and that his own letters might be provisionary, and written on purpose then to excuse him now. The secretary insisted much upon the justification of her majesty's wisdom in managing that whole action, as much as lay in her; and laid the intire fault of the ill success in Ireland upon the earl's ominous journey, as he term'd it, into Munster. He gave, however, the earl his right always, and shew'd more courtesy to him than any other; but said, that the earl in all his journey did nothing else but make, as it were, circles of errors, which were all bound up in the unhappy knot of his disobedient return. He gave the earl free liberty to interrupt him at any time in his speech. But his lordship being contented with the opinion of loyalty so clearly reserv'd to him, was most willing to bear the whole burden of the rest of the accusation, and therefore never used any farther reply, except a few words, on occasion of a question or two, mov'd by the archbishop and the lord admiral. That of the former was concerning the conditions of yielding to Tyrone in point of toleration of religion; the earl heartily thanking his grace for moving that doubt, and protesting, that it was a thing mention'd indeed, but never assented to by himself, or insisted on by the traitor, to whom his lordship had said plainly, "Hang thee up, thou carest for religion as much

" as

“as my horse.” The secretary likewise clear’d the earl in this respect, that he had never yielded to Tyrone that scandalous condition, tho’ by reason of that traitor’s vaunting afterwards, it might have some shew of probability. The lord admiral’s question gave occasion to the earl to say something about his return, that he came over upon a false ground of hope, that her majesty might pardon him, as she did the earl of Leicester in the like case, who return’d out of the Low-countries contrary to her majesty’s express letter. “This I thought with myself, *said he*, that if Leicester were pardoned, whose end was only to save himself; why might not Essex be pardoned, whose end was to save a kingdom?” But the secretary replied, that upon his knowledge there never pass’d any letter from her majesty to forbid the earl of Leicester’s return.

Judge WALMESLEY’S speech was more blunt than bitter. “Prisoners at our bars, *said he*, are more graceless; they will not confess their faults.” And he compar’d his lordship’s coming home, and leaving the army, to a shepherd, who left his flock to the keeping of his dog.

In conclusion the earl protested, that all he sought for was the opinion of a true and loyal subject: that he intended only to shew those false guides, which had misled him, whether they were his own errors, or those of his counsellors, whom he follow’d: that he yielded himself wholly to her majesty’s mercy and favour, and was ready to offer up his poor carcass to her, he would not say to do (for alas! he had no faculties) but to suffer whatever her majesty should inflict upon him. He requested all the lords to make a just, honourable, and favourable report of his disordered speeches, which had fallen from him in such sort, as his aching head, and body weaken’d with sickness, would give him leave to use.

The lords then proceeded to the censure; and the lord keeper began with observing, that the throne is establish’d by justice and clemency: that her majesty had reserv’d mercy to herself; but for the satisfaction of her justice she had appointed them to inquire into the cause. That they were to examine only into these faults of contempt and disobedience laid to the earl, and to censure him accordingly; but had nothing to do with mercy, which God only was to work in her majesty’s breast. In considering the earl’s faults, he laid down these for his grounds, that the two foundations of the prince’s scepter and estate are the reputation of a diligent and careful providence for the preservation of her state and country, and the obedience of her subjects; and he, who should take either of these from her, would take from her the crown and scepter. For the first, he shew’d at large, how her majesty had deserv’d that reputation in the whole course of the Irish wars: and for the second, obedience, he explain’d the nature of it, which consists in precisely following the strait line of the prince’s commandment; and upon this fact he amplified to the utmost all the earl’s contempts and disobediences, that her majesty’s mercy might appear the more eminent. Among the rest (for he went thro’ them all in order) he answer’d thus to the pretence of the earl of Leicester’s precedent for excuse of the earl’s return. In good things the example is better than the imitation of another: he, who acts well of himself, acts best; and he, who acts well by imitation, acts commendably in a less degree. But in bad things the proportion is otherwise; the

example being bad, the imitation is worse. If therefore the earl of Leicester did evil in coming over contrary to the queen's commandment, the earl of Essex did worse in imitating the earl of Leicester, and was so much the more to be punish'd for it. The lord keeper concluded with this censure; "If this cause had been heard
 " in the Star-chamber, my sentence must have been as great a fine, as ever was set
 " upon any man's head in that court, and perpetual imprisonment in that place,
 " which belongeth to a man of his quality, the Tower. But now that we are in
 " another place, and in a course of favour, my censure is, that he is not to execute
 " the office of a counsellor, nor to hold himself for a counsellor of state, nor to
 " execute the office of earl marshal of England, nor of master of the ordnance;
 " and to return to his own house, there to continue a prisoner as before, till it
 " shall please her majesty to release both this and all the rest."

After the lord keeper all the rest in order gave their censures, (amplifying her majesty's clemency and the earl's offences,) according to the manner in the Star-chamber; and all agreed to this censure, for so they call'd it, and not a sentence. The greater part of the day was spent in their censures, many of which were long, only those of the noblemen, not counsellors, were short.

The earl of Worcester cited these verses;

*Scilicet à superis etiam fortuna luenda est,
 Nec veniam, læso numine, casus habet.*

The earl of Cumberland said, that if he thought, that censure should stand, he would desire longer time, for it seem'd to him somewhat severe; and he intimated how easily a general commander might incur the like: "But, *added he*, in confidence of her majesty's mercy I agree with the rest."

The lord Zouch would give no other censure but that, which he thought the earl would lay upon himself, which was, that he would restrain himself from executing his offices, &c. and keep himself in his house till her majesty should release all.

They all seem'd by their speeches to conceive a sure hope of her majesty's releasing this censure; and the earl himself was reasonably chearful; only his body seem'd weak and distemper'd with sickness; and now and then he shew'd most manifest tokens of sorrow for his offence to her majesty, by tears in his eyes, especially in the first part of his own speech, and during that of the lord keeper †. After they had all pass'd their censures, he desired them to intercede with her majesty for grace and mercy, since there had appear'd in his offences no disloyalty towards her, only ignorance and indiscretion in himself. His behaviour throughout the whole proceeding, and especially his patience in hearing all that was said against him, was admir'd by every one present; and many were affected in a manner, which drew tears from them *.

† MORYSON, Part II. p. 69—74.

* SIDNEY papers, vol. II. p. 200, 201.

The next day mr. FRANCIS BACON attended her majesty, fully resolv'd to exert his utmost endeavours to bring the earl again soon into court and favour; and knowing (as he suppos'd at least) how the queen was to be manag'd, he thought that to make her conceive, that the matter went well then, was the way to make her leave off there. Among other things therefore he said to her, "You have now, madam, obtained victory over two things, which the greatest princes in the world cannot at their wills subdue; the one is over fame; the other is over a great mind. For surely the world is now, I hope, reasonably well satisfied: and for my lord, he did shew that humiliation towards your majesty, as I am persuaded he was never in his life-time more fit for your majesty's favour than he is now. Therefore, if your majesty will not mar it by lingering, but give over at the best, and now you have made so good a full point, receive him again with tendernefs, I shall then think, that all, that is past, is for the best." The queen seem'd to take great contentment at this, and often repeated and reminded mr. BACON, that she had ever said, that her proceeding with regard to the earl should be *ad reparationem*, and not *ad ruinam*. She then order'd that gentleman to set down in writing all that had pass'd at York-house, a narrative of which he brought to her within a few days after, and he read it to her in two several afternoons: and when he came to that part, which set forth his lordship's own answer, which was mr BACON's principal care, she was extraordinarily mov'd by it with kindness and relenting towards him, and observing to mr. BACON how well he had express'd that part, said, that she perceiv'd, old love would not easily be forgotten. To which mr. BACON answer'd, that he hop'd she meant that by herself; and in conclusion advis'd her, that now she had taken a representation of the matter to herself, she would let it go no farther. "For, madam, *said he*, the fire blazeth well already: what should you tumble it? And besides, it may please you, keep a convenience with yourself in this case; for since your express direction was, there should be no register nor clerk to take the sentence, nor any record or memorial made of the proceeding; why should you now do that popularly, which you would not admit to be done judicially?" Upon which she agreed, that the writing should be suppress'd; and mr. BACON was of opinion, that there were not five persons, who ever saw it*. It is publish'd among his *works* †, but imperfectly, that part relating to the earl's answer being wanting in it.

On Thursday, June 12, being a star-chamber day, the lord keeper, in his usual speech to the country gentlemen, mention'd the late proceeding against the earl of Essex, who, he observ'd, had acknowledg'd his errors, and express'd his sorrow for them: but that some wicked persons had intermeddled by libelling what her majesty had done in that point, which occasion'd a proclamation to be publish'd against such seditious practices ||.

The great number of knights made by the earl in Ireland having given great offence to the queen, she had an intention of degrading them from that dignity by

* Mr. FRANCIS BACON's letter to the earl of Devonshire, p. 98, 99.

† Vol. I. p. 560. Edit. 1753. fol.
|| SIDNEY papers, vol. II. p. 202.

a proclamation, and commanding that no antient gentleman of the kingdom should give them place. But secretary CECIL, by his interest, stop'd the warrant sign'd for this proclamation, which the queen was thought to have been advis'd to publish by mr. FRANCIS BACON, who affirm'd, that his lordship had no authority to create those knights, having been forbid by a letter under her majesty's own hand; which when she now sent to him for, he return'd for answer, that he had lost or mislaid it §.

The secretary continuing his kind offices to the earl **, his lordship's keeper was remov'd from him in the beginning of July; but he was then ill of an ague, and admitted no body to him, living as retir'd as possible, his lady herself going away every night ^f. He solicited for leave to remove to Grafton, or to Grays near Reading, the house of sir WILLIAM KNOLLYS ^g, having dismiss'd sir GILLY MERICKE and sir HENRY LINLEY from his service by order ^h. His sister RICH was still under restraint, and was design'd to be brought before the council ⁱ; but the countess of Northumberland was frequently with the queen, who treated her very graciously ^k. His lordship wrote sometimes to her majesty, being much favour'd by secretary CECIL ^l; and on the 26th of August was sent for to York-house, where the lord keeper, lord treasurer, and secretary signified her pleasure to him for his liberty, except that of access to the court. He told them, that his purpose was to lead a very retired life at his uncle's house at Grays; but requested them, to obtain permission for him, that before he went thither, he might once come into her majesty's presence and kiss her hands, in order that he might, with the more contentment, betake himself to the solitude of the country ^m. The queen's permission to his lordship to go to his uncle's house in Oxfordshire, was accompanied with this declaration, that tho' her majesty was contented, that he should hold himself to be under no guard but that of duty and discretion, yet he must in no sort take himself to be freed of her indignation; in which respect he was commanded to forbear to presume to approach the court or her person. Secretary CECIL informing his own friend and confident sir GEORGE CAREW, lord president of Munster, of this in a letter from the court at Oatlands, on the 29th of August 1600 *, added, "that distinction of being *free from guard*, but "*under indignation*, makes very few resort to him but those, who are of his blood, amongst which I imagine you think the lord HENRY HOWARD will not be long "from him."

In the beginning of September, 1600, the earl went to Ewelme lodge, with a design to return to London about Michaelmas, in order to renew his suit of access to the queen ⁿ, and not without hope, as the secretary wrote to sir HENRY NEVILLE in a letter from London, of the 9th of September ^o, of some farther grace shortly;

§ Ibid. p. 204.

** Ibid.

^f Ibid. p. 205.

^g Ibid. p. 206.

^h Ibid. p. 207.

ⁱ Ibid. p. 206, 207.

^k Ibid. p. 207.

^l Ibid. p. 212.

^m Ibid. p. 213.

* Original letters of secretary CECIL to sir GEORGE CAREW, in the library at Lambeth. N^o 604. fol. 23.

ⁿ SIDNEY papers, p. 214.

^o WINWOOD'S memorials, vol. I. p. 254.

there being many arguments, that the queen began to relent towards him and to wish him near her. His lordship return'd, on the 3d of October, from the country to Essex-house, where he liv'd privately, his gate being shut day and night; and great suit was made for continuing to him the farm of the sweet wines, but without success, tho' his officers still kept their places^p. His lease of it had expir'd at Michaelmas; and at last, after a month's suspense, whether it should be granted to him again or not, it was put into the hands of sir HENRY BILLINGSLEY, and others, to husband it for the queen^q.

Upon his lordship's being restor'd to his liberty, mr. FRANCIS BACON wrote to him on the 9th of July, from Grey's Inn, the following letter.

“ My lord,

“ No man can expound my doings better than your lordship, which makes me
 “ need to say the less. Only I humbly pray you to believe, that I aspire to the
 “ conscience and commendation of *bonus civis* and *bonus vir*; and that tho' I love
 “ some things better, I confess, than I love your lordship, yet I love few persons
 “ better, both for gratitude's sake, and for your virtues, which cannot hurt but by
 “ accident: of which my good affection it may please your lordship to assure your-
 “ self, and of all the true effects and offices I can yield. For as I was ever sorry,
 “ your lordship should fly with waxen wings, doubting ICARUS's fortune; so for
 “ the growing up of your own feathers, be they estridge's, or other kind, no man
 “ shall be more glad. And this is the axle-tree, whereon I have turned and shall
 “ turn. Which having already signified to you by some near mean, having so fit
 “ a messenger for mine own letter, I thought good also to redouble by writing.
 “ And so I commend you to God's protection.”

The earl return'd this answer:

“ Mr. BACON,

“ I can neither expound nor censure your late actions, being ignorant of all of
 “ them save one; and having directed my sight inward only to examine myself.
 “ You do pray me to believe, that you only aspire to the conscience and commen-
 “ dation of *bonus civis*, and *bonus vir*; and I do faithfully assure you, that while
 “ that is your ambition (tho' your course be active and mind contemplative), yet
 “ we shall both *convenire in eodem tertio*, and *convenire inter nosipsos*. Your pro-
 “ fession of affection and offer of good offices are welcome to me. For answer to
 “ them I will say but this, that you have believed, that I have been kind to you;
 “ and you may believe, that I cannot be other, either upon humour or mine own
 “ election. I am a stranger to all poetical conceits, or else I would say somewhat
 “ of your poetical example. But this I must say, that I never flew with other
 “ wings than desire to merit, and confidence in my sovereign's favour: and when
 “ one of these wings failed me, I would light no where but at my sovereign's feet,
 “ tho' she suffered me to be bruised with my fall. And till her majesty, that

^p SIDNEY letters, p. 216.

^q Letter of sir HENRY NEVILLE to mr. WIN-

WOOD from London, the 2^d of November 1600.
 WINWOOD's memorial, Vol. I. p. 271.

“ knows I was never a bird of prey, finds it to agree with her will and her service,
 “ that my wings should be impeded again, I have committed myself to the muse.
 “ No power but my God’s and my sovereign’s can alter this resolution of

“ Your retired friend

“ E S S E X.

After this, during the whole latter end of the summer, while the court was at Nonfuch and Oatlands, mr. FRANCIS BACON made it his task and scope to take and give occasions for the earl’s restoration to his fortunes; and applied himself in all his accesses to the queen, which were many at that time, and purposely sought upon various other pretences, chiefly, and indeed only, for that purpose. On the other side, he did not forbear to give the earl, from time to time, faithful advertisements what he found and what he wish’d; and drew up for him some letters to her majesty: for tho’ he knew well his lordship’s gift and style were far better than his own, yet because the earl requir’d it, alledging, that by his long restraint he was grown almost a stranger to the queen’s present conceits, he readily undertook this office. This succeeded so well, for the space of six weeks or two months, that mr. BACON expected continually the earl’s restoration to his attendance at court; and he was never more welcome to the queen, or better receiv’d, than when he spake fullest and boldest for his lordship. Her majesty on speaking to mr. BACON of a fellow, who had undertaken to cure, or at least ease his brother ANTHONY of his gout, and asking how it went forward? Mr. BACON answer’d, that at first his brother receiv’d good by it, but afterwards, in the course of the cure, found himself at a stay, or rather worse. To this the queen replied, “ I will tell you, “ BACON, the error of it. The manner of these physicians, and especially these “ empirics, is, to continue one kind of medicine, which at the first is proper, being “ to draw out the ill humour; but after they have not the discretion to change “ their medicine, but apply still drawing medicines, when they should rather in- “ tend to cure and corroborate the part.” Mr. BACON rejoin’d, “ Good lord! “ madam, how wisely and aptly can you speak and discern of physic minister’d to “ the body, and consider not, that there is the like reason of physic ministered to “ the mind. As now, in the case of my lord of Essex, your princely word ever “ was, that you intended ever to reform his mind, and not ruin his fortune. I “ know well, you cannot but think you have drawn the humour sufficiently; and “ therefore it were more than time, and it were but for doubt of mortifying and “ exulcerating, that you did apply and minister strength and comfort unto him; “ for these same gradations of yours are fitter to corrupt than to correct any mind “ of greatness.” At another time the queen told mr. BACON for news, that the earl had written to her some dutiful letters, which had mov’d her; but after taking them to flow from the abundance of his heart, she found it to be but a preparative to a suit for the renewing of his farm of sweet wines. Mr. BACON’s answer to this was, “ Alas! madam, how doth your majesty construe of these things, as “ if these two could not stand well together, which indeed nature hath planted in “ all creatures? For there are but two sympathies, the one towards *perfection*; the “ other towards *preservation*. That to *perfection*, as the iron tendeth to the load- stone:

“ stone : that to *preservation*, as the vine will creep unto a stake or prop, that
 “ stands by it, not for any love to the stake, but to uphold itself. And therefore,
 “ madam, you must distinguish : my lord’s desire to do you service is, as to his
 “ perfection, that, which he thinks himself to be born for ; whereas his desire to
 “ obtain this thing of you is but for a sustentation.” It was at the same time, that
 mr. BACON drew up, by the earl’s appointment, two letters ; one written from his
 brother ANTHONY ; the other as an answer return’d from his lordship ; both to be
 by mr. BACON, in a secret manner, shew’d to the queen, the scope of which was to
 represent his lordship’s mind to be such, as mr. BACON knew her majesty would
 faintest have had it. But the issue of all this dealing was, that the queen by some
 slackness of the earl liked him worse and worse, and grew more incens’d against
 him ; and remembering the continual and confident speeches and courses, which
 mr. BACON had held on his lordship’s side, became utterly alienated from him, and
 for the space of at least three months, between Michaelmas and New-year’s tide
 following, would not so much as look upon him ; and whenever he desir’d to speak
 with her about law-business, sent him out very slight refusals ; till immediately after
 New-year’s tide he was admitted to her, when he dealt plainly with her, and said,
 “ Madam, I see you withdraw your favour from me ; and now I have lost many
 “ friends for your sake, I must lose you too. You have put me like one of those,
 “ that the Frenchmen call *enfants perdus*, that serve on foot before horsemen : so
 “ have you put me into matters of envy without place or without strength ; and I
 “ know, at chess a pawn before a king is ever much plaid upon. A great many
 “ love me not, because they think I have been against my lord of Essex ; and you
 “ love me not, because you know I have been for him. Yet will I never repent
 “ me, that I have dealt in simplicity of heart towards you both, without respect of
 “ cautions to myself ; and therefore *vivus vidensque pereo*. If I do break my neck,
 “ I shall do it, as DORRINGTON did, which walked on the battlements of the
 “ church many days, and took a view and survey where he should fall. And so,
 “ madam, I am not so simple, but that I take a prospect of my own overthrow :
 “ only I thought I would tell you so much, that you may know, that it was faith, and
 “ not folly, that brought me into it ; and so I will pray for you.” Upon which
 speeches utter’d with some passion, the queen was exceedingly mov’d, and accumu-
 lated a number of kind and gracious words upon him, and bid him rest upon this
gratia mea sufficit. But she said not a single word of the earl. Mr BACON therefore
 departed, with a resolution to meddle no more in the matter, since he saw, that it
 would ruin himself, and not do his lordship any good^d.

But how sincere soever mr. BACON might be in his endeavours to serve the earl,
 his public conduct at least in appearing as a pleader against his lordship, at York-
 house, expos’d him to the general odium ; which occasion’d him, in a letter, of the
 3d of December 1599 †, to the lord HENRY HOWARD to confute a report of his
 having deliver’d it to the queen as his opinion previous to the earl’s being call’d
 thither ; first, that his lordship’s offence was a *præmunire*, and at last, that it was
 high treason, and this in opposition to the lord chief justice’s and attorney general’s

^d Letter to the earl of Devonshire, p. 99
 —103.

† The date of this letter appears from a copy
 of it in the Bodleian library.

opinion. “ The root, no question, *says he*, is partly some light headed envy at my
 “ access to her majesty; which being begun and continued since my childhood,
 “ as long as her majesty shall think me worthy of them, I scorn those, that shall
 “ think the contrary. And another reason is the aspersions of this tale and the
 “ envy thereof upon some greater man * in regard of my nearness. And so, my
 “ lord, I humbly pray you, answer for me to any person, that you shall think
 “ worthy your own reply and my defence. For my lord of Essex, I am not servile
 “ to him, having regard to my superior duty. I have been much bounden to him:
 “ and on the other side, I do protest before God, I have spent more thoughts and
 “ more time about his well doing, than I ever did about mine own. I pray God,
 “ you his friends amongst you be in the right. *Nulla remedia tam faciunt dolorem*
 “ *quam quæ sunt salutaria*. For my part I have deserved better than to have my
 “ name objected to envy, and my life violenced. But I have the privy coat of a
 “ good conscience. I am sure these courses and bruits hurt my lord more than all.”
 He wrote likewise a letter to secretary CECIL, containing several passages in almost
 the same words with that to lord HENRY HOWARD, and observing, that the chief
 ground of the calumnies raised upon himself was a deep malice to the secretary,
 “ upon whom, *says he*, by me thro’ nearness, they think to make some aspersions.
 “ As for any violence to be offered me, wherewith my friends tell me to no small
 “ terror, that I am threatned, I thank God, I have the privy coat of a good con-
 “ science, and have a good while since put off any fearful care of life, or the ac-
 “ cidents of life.”

The lord HENRY HOWARD’s answer to mr. FRANCIS BACON’s letter to him
 was in these terms †.

“ I might be thought unworthy of that good conceit you hold of me, good mr.
 “ BACON, if I did not sympathise with so sensitive a mind in this smart of wrong-
 “ ful imputation of unthankfulness. You were the first, that gave me notice, I
 “ protest, at Richmond of the rumour, though within two days after I heard more
 “ than I would of it. But as you suffer more than you deserve, so I cannot be-
 “ lieve what the greedy malice of the world hath laid upon you. The travels of
 “ that worthy gentleman in your behalf, when you stood for a place of credit,
 “ the delight, which he hath ever taken in your company, his grief, that he could
 “ not seal up assurance of his love by fruits, effects, and offices proportionable
 “ to an infinite desire, his study, in my knowledge, to engage your love by the
 “ best means he could devise, are forcible persuasions and instances to make me
 “ judge, that a gentleman so well born, a wise gentleman so well levelled, a
 “ gentleman so highly valued by a person of his virtue, worth, and quality,
 “ will rather hunt after all occasions of expressing thankfulness, so far as duty doth
 “ permit, then either omit opportunity, or increase indignation. No man alive
 “ out of the thoughts of judgment, the ground of knowledge, and lesson of ex-
 “ perience, is better able to distinguish ’twixt public and private offices, and direct
 “ measure in keeping a measure in discharge of both. To which I will refer you
 “ for the finding out of the golden number. In my own particular opinion I

* Secretary CECIL.

† From a MS copy in the Bodleian library.

“ esteem of you, as I have done ever, and your rare parts deserve, and so far
 “ as my voice hath credit, justify your credit, according to the warrant of your
 “ profession, and the store of my best wishes in all degrees towards you, &c. My
 “ credit is so weak in working any strange effect of friendship, where I would
 “ do most, as to speak of blossoms without giving taste of fruits, were idle-
 “ ness. But if you will give credit to my words, it is not long since I gave
 “ testimony of my good affection in the ear of one, that neither wants desire,
 “ nor means to do for you.

“ Thus wishing to your credit, that allowance of respect and reverence, which
 “ your wise and honest letter doth deserve, and resting ever ready to relieve all
 “ minds, so far as my ability, and means will stretch, that groan under the
 “ burden of undeserved wrong, I commend you to God’s protection, and myself to
 “ the best use you will make of me. In haste from my lodging.

One of the letters written by mr. FRANCIS BACON for the earl, and printed
 among the works of the former, beginning with these words, “ It were great
 “ simplicity in me, &c.” is much inferior to what the earl himself would have
 written. But there are two others, which appear to have come from his lord-
 ship’s own hand, and have not yet been seen in print. The first is in these terms*:

“ Let me beg leave, most dear and most admired sovereign, to remember the
 “ story of your own gracious goodness, when I was even at the mouth of the grave.
 “ No worldly means had power to stay me in this world but the comfort, which I
 “ receiv’d from your majesty. When I was weak and full of infirmities, the in-
 “ crease of liberty, which your majesty gave, and the gracious message, which your
 “ majesty sent me, made me recover in a few weeks that strength, which my phy-
 “ sicians in a long time durst not hope for. And now, lastly, when I should be
 “ for ever disabled for your majesty’s service, and by consequence made unwilling
 “ to live, your majesty at my humble supplication granted, that that cup should
 “ pass from me. These are deeply ingraven in my memory, and they shall ever
 “ be acknowledged by my tongue and pen. But yet after all these, without one
 “ farther degree of your mercy, your servant perisheth. *Indignatio principis mors*
 “ *est*. He cannot be said to live, that feels the weight of it. What then can your
 “ majesty think of his state, that hath thus long lived under it, and yet sees not
 “ your majesty reach out your fair hand to take off part of this weight? If your
 “ majesty could know what I feel, your sweet and excellent nature could not but be
 “ compassionate. I dare not lift up my voice to speak, but my humble (now
 “ exiled, tho’ once too happy) eyes are lifted up, and speak in their dumb language,
 “ which your majesty will answer your own chosen time. Till then no soul is so
 “ afflicted as that of

“ Your majesty’s humblest vassal

“ ESSEX.”

* Letters of ROBERT earl of Essex: collected by M. K. p. 20.

The other letter was written on the 17th of November, the anniversary of her accession to the throne *.

“ Vouchsafe, dread sovereign, to know there lives a man, tho’ dead to the world,
 “ and in himself exercised with continual torments of body and mind, that doth
 “ more true honour to your thrice blessed day, than all those, that appear in your
 “ sight. For no soul had ever such an impression of your perfections, no alteration
 “ shewed such an effect of your power, nor no heart ever felt such a joy of your
 “ triumph. For they, that feel the comfortable influence of your majesty’s favour,
 “ or stand in the bright beams of your presence, rejoice partly for your majesty’s,
 “ but chiefly for their own happiness. Only miserable Essex, full of pain, full of
 “ sickness, full of sorrow, languishing in repentance for his offences past, hateful
 “ to himself, that he is yet alive, and importunate on death, if your favour be
 “ irrevocable; he joys only for your majesty’s great happiness and happy great-
 “ ness: and were the rest of his days never so many, and sure to be as happy as
 “ they are like to be miserable, he would lose them all to have this happy 17th
 “ day many and many times renewed with glory to your majesty, and comfort of
 “ all your faithful subjects; of whom none is accursed but

“ Your majesty’s humblest vassal,

“ E S S E X.”

But the refusal of access to court and of the renewing to him the farm of sweet wines made too deep an impression of resentment upon his mind, and occasioned him to give ear to the desperate counsels of his dependents and servants, and especially of Mr. CUFFE, his secretary, a man of secret ambitious ends of his own, *smothered, as sir HENRY WOTTON says^a, under the habit of a scholar, and slubbered over with a certain rude and clownish fashion, that had the semblance of integrity.*

He had been discharged some weeks before the earl’s fatal irruption into the city, by his lordship’s special command, from all farther attendance or access to him, out of an inward displeasure, which the earl had then conceived against the dangerous tendency of CUFFE’s suggestions and counsels. His lordship had about the same time received an advice from the countess of Warwick, a lady of great power at court, of which she made a virtuous use, that he should privately take an out-lodging at Greenwich; and sometime, when the queen went abroad in good humour, of which the countess would give him notice, he should come forth, and humble himself before her majesty in the field. This counsel sunk deep into him, and for some days he resolved to follow it; but in the mean time CUFFE, whom the message of his dismissal had affected to such a degree, that he fell down almost dead, having now gain’d the earl of Southampton, was by his lordship’s intercession restored to his lord’s ear, “ and so working, *says sir HENRY WOTTON^b*, upon his
 “ disgraces, and upon the vain foundation of vulgar breath, which hurts many
 “ good men, spun out the final destruction of his master and himself, and almost

* Ibid. p. 10.

^a Reliquiæ WOTTON, p. 180.

^b Ibid. p. 181.

“ of his restorer, if his pardon had not been won by inches.” CUFFE being joined by others of the same violent and ambitious temper, they persuaded the earl to recover by force his former situation about the queen, and to remove his enemies. For this purpose, to increase his lordship’s interest and dependencies, his steward MERICKE kept open house for all, who were disgusted by her majesty or her ministers; and the sermons preached daily at Essex-house by divines eminent for their zeal drew thither a great concourse of citizens. In these circumstances the earl’s resentments for the treatment, which he had received, were fomented, and often broke out into the strongest expressions, even against the queen herself, of whom, among other offensive things, he said, that she was grown an old woman, and as crooked in mind as in her carcase*. Nor was he a little exasperated by the assault, which his enemy the lord GREY of Wilton † made upon his friend the earl of Southampton on horseback in the public street, in the latter end of January, 1600, for which the former was by the queen’s order committed to the Fleet ‡. Among other means of supporting himself, and ruining the party opposite to him, he wrote to the king of Scots, representing them as engaged in designs against his succession to the crown of England, and attached to the infant of Spain: that in the western parts of England sir WALTER RALEGH was governor of the isle of Jersey; in the eastern, lord COBHAM warden of the cinque ports; lord BURGHLEY, lord president of the north; and sir GEORGE CAREW president of Munster in Ireland; all places the most proper for receiving the Spaniards, to whom they were devoted, and creatures of secretary CECIL, who having gain’d the lord treasurer and lord admiral, had now the chief administration of affairs. In pursuit of this representation the earl treated with the king of Scots to send ambassadors to England, to insist upon a declaration of his majesty’s right to the succession. He courted likewise both the puritan || and popish party, by affecting to shew a commiseration of their hardships under the queen’s government; and under various pretences brought together the boldest of the men of the sword, whom he secretly lodged in his own neighbourhood. He formed also a council consisting of the earl of Southampton, sir CHARLES DAVERS, who was an intimate friend of that earl; sir FERDINAND GORGE, governor of Plymouth; sir JOHN DAVIS, surveyor of the ordnance, and an eminent mathematician, and JOHN LYTTTELTON of Frankley, a man of great abilities and resolution. These met privately at Drury-house, where his lordship first proposed

* CAMDEN, p. 778, 779, 780.

† He had served under the earl of Essex in Ireland, but was committed to the marshal one night for having charged a colonel of horse without the direction of the earl of Southampton as general. WINWOOD, Vol. I. p. 47.

‡ Ibid. p. 292. & CAMDEN, p. 780.

|| Dr. HEYLIN in his *History of the Presbyterians*, l. x. p. 352. represents the earl as the patron of the presbyterian party, and *none fitter for their purpose*, and prepared by his education in the house of the earl of Leicester and his marriage to the daughter of sir FRANCIS WALSINGHAM, *for these applications*, which hitherto he had neglected upon a just fear of incurring the queen’s displeasure. He charges likewise his lordship with *looking up*

towards the crown, to which a title was drawn up for him, as the direct heir of THOMAS of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, one of the younger sons of king EDWARD III. and that he was *cried up* by the puritans *with most infinite praises* both in their pulpits and in their pamphlets, telling him, that he was not only great in honour and love of the people, but *temporis expectatione major*, far greater in the expectation, which his friends had of him. These last words plainly refer to dr. HAYWARDE’s dedication of his *first part of king HENRY IV.* to the earl. But it is one among many instances of want of candour in dr. HEYLIN to load the puritans with what was written (if it had any ill meaning) by dr. HAYWARDE, who was very far from being ever thought a favourer of them.

to them a list of those, whom he thought attached to him, consisting of one hundred and twenty earls, barons, knights and gentlemen; and then desired them to consult whether it was best to seize the Palace or the Tower of London, or both at once; and what should be done with regard to the city. The result was, that sir CHRISTOPHER BLOUNTE with a select body of men should seize the gate, sir JOHN DAVIS the court, sir CHARLES DAVERS the guard and presence chamber; and that then the earl himself should come forth from the Meuse, and with certain chosen persons go to the queen, and desire her to remove his enemies from her person, whom he intended to bring to a trial, and calling a parliament to change the form of government.

While they were waiting for the arrival of the Scots ambassadors and an opportunity for executing the scheme concerted, the suspicions of it were increased by the unusual concourse to Essex-house under the pretence of hearing sermons, and by some expressions, which fell from the preachers, that the great officers of a kingdom had a right of restraining princes themselves^c. These suspicions were confirmed by the intelligence given the secretary by a young man of good family, who was a domestic of the earl, and had been educated with him from his childhood, and was so much trusted by him, that his lordship made no scruple to discourse in his hearing with friends concerning their most secret designs^d. And on the 7th of Feb. ROBERT SACKVILLE, the eldest son of the lord treasurer, went to Essex-house, under cover of a visit to the earl, but in reality to observe who were there. Soon after which the council meeting at the treasurer's sent mr. HERBERT, the second secretary, to his lordship to come to them, who designed to admonish him to make a temperate and prudent use of the liberty granted. But at the same time a paper was put into his hands, warning him to take care of his own safety. He being apprehensive, that some discovery might have been already made, and that he should be again committed to custody, excused his not attending on the council on account of his ill health. He then called a council of his most intimate friends, and intimating, that some of them would be soon imprisoned, consulted them, whether the palace should be immediately seized; or the affections of the citizens tried, and their assistance employed in attempting the palace; or whether they should abandon the design and fly. The first was thought an impracticable project, on account of their want of men and artillery; and because, as some affirm'd, the guards there were doubled; and it was an inexcusable crime against the queen, to invade her palace. While they were debating what reliance might be had upon the affections of the citizens of London, and about the uncertainty of the humour of the common people, a person came in, pretending to be sent from them, who promised all possible assistance against the enemies of the earl; who upon this growing more chearful, began to dilate at large upon his great interest in the city; persuading himself from their former acclamations in his favour and invectives against his adversaries, that they were entirely devoted to his reputation and fortunes. He concluded likewise from the accounts of others, that THOMAS SMITH, the sheriff of London, who had the command of a thousand train-bands, would support him on all occasions. He resolved therefore the next day, being Sunday, February 8, to enter the city with two hun-

^c CAMDEN, p. 780—783.

^d THUANUS, tom. cxxv. p. 59.

dred gentlemen a little before the end of the sermon at St. Paul's Cross, and there to acquaint the aldermen and common council with the reasons of his coming, and desire their assistance against his enemies. And if he should find the citizens averse to this, he would immediately fly to another part of the kingdom; but if they complied, he would with their help force his way to the queen. During the whole night after emissaries from his house ran about to inform his friends, that the lord COBHAM and sir WALTER RALEGH were endeavouring to take away his life. Early the next morning therefore the earls of Rutland and Southampton, the lord SANDYS, and HENRY PARKER lord Monteagle, and about three hundred gentlemen of good quality resorted to him. He intimated to some of them, that a design was formed against his life; and that he had taken a resolution to go to the queen, and inform her of his danger from his enemies, who abused her majesty's name. To others he signified, that the city of London was on his side; for which reason he would retire thither, and by the help of it revenge the injuries, which he had received from his adversaries. The gates of his house were all this while kept closely shut, and no person, who was not known, admitted, nor any suffered to go out, except sir FERDINANDO GORGES, who being sent for by sir WALTER RALEGH, who waited for him in a boat, and being allowed to go to him, sir CHRISTOPHER BLOUNTE advised him to seize sir WALTER. It has been affirmed, that sir FERDINANDO took this opportunity of discovering to sir WALTER the whole affair; and it is certain, that the latter warn'd the former that he was in danger of imprisonment for being absent from his government of Plymouth without leave; and that sir FERDINANDO on the other hand desired sir WALTER to take care of himself, since a considerable body of gentlemen had conspired against him and others, who abused the queen's authority.

The lord mayor just at this time received orders from the queen to see, that the citizens were all in their houses ready to obey orders; and her majesty sent to the earl of Essex the lord keeper EGERTON, sir WILLIAM KNOLLYS the comptroller, his uncle, and POPHAM lord chief justice of the King's-bench, to know the reasons of this concourse at his house. But they were with difficulty admitted thro' a wicket, all their servants being shut out, except the purse-bearer. In the court-yard they saw a confused multitude, and in the midst of them the earl himself with the earls of Rutland and Southampton, and many others, who immediately surrounded them. The lord keeper then turning to his lordship signified to him, that himself and the others were sent by the queen to know the cause of such a concourse, promising, that if his lordship had been injured by any, he should have right done to him. The earl answered aloud, that he knew, that a design was concerted against his life, and persons hired to kill him in his bed: that he had been perfidiously used: that letters had been counterfeited in his name: that they were met to defend themselves, and preserve their lives, since neither his patience nor misery could soften the malice of his enemies, who would not be satisfied without his blood. The lord chief justice spoke to the same purpose with the lord keeper, and promised, that if the earl would particularly explain what was designed against him, he would faithfully mention it to the queen, and that his lordship should be fully and justly heard. The earl of Southampton upon this took notice of the lord GREY's having assaulted him; to which the lord chief justice answered, that the offender was imprisoned.

on account of it. The lord keeper pressing the earl of Essex again to discover to them privately, if not publicly, his grievances, he was interrupted by a cry of the multitude, *Away, my lord; they abuse your lordship's patience; they betray you, they undo you; you lose time.* The lord keeper then turning to them, commanded them, upon their allegiance, to lay down their arms, and then with the others followed the earl, who was in this interval retired into the house, with a design to discourse with him privately. As they were going, they heard a cry from some, *Kill them: away with the great seal: keep them in custody.* When they were in the house, the earl ordered them to be lock'd in; and told them, that he desired, that they would have patience for a little while: that he must now go into the city to take measures with the lord mayor and sheriffs, and would soon return. Their keepers were, sir JOHN DAVIS, FRANCIS FRESHAM, and OWEN SALISBURY, an old foldier of desperate resolution, and some others armed with muskets.

The earl having committed the defence of his house to sir GILLY MERICKE, went out immediately after with a company of about 200 men, but not properly armed, most of them having only swords with their cloaks on their shoulders. They were joined by the earl of Bedford, the lord Cromwell, and others, on their way into the city, in the entrance into which the earl cried out, *For the queen! for the queen! A plot is laid for my life;* and then proceeded directly to mr. SMITH's the sheriff's house near Fen-church. As he went thither, he desired the citizens, who came out to see him pass, to arm themselves, since otherwise they would be of no service to him; but not one of the whole city, tho' then well exercised in arms, and very full, and greatly devoted to him, appeared in his favour. When he arrived at the sheriff's house, he was in such an agitation of body, and sweat so profusely, that he was obliged to shift himself.

The sheriff, upon whom he had from his own credulity and the report of others rashly depended, presently retired by a back door to the lord mayor. In the mean time the secretary's elder brother, THOMAS lord Burghley *, and DETHICK garter king at arms came into the city, and proclaimed the earl and his adherents traitors, tho' some endeavoured to oppose and prevent it: and the same proclamation was made by the earl of Cumberland and sir THOMAS GERARD, knight marshal, in other parts of the city. The earl hearing of this rushed out of the sheriff's house with great perplexity and confusion in his countenance, crying out in the streets, that England was going to be given up to the infanta of Spain, and endeavouring in vain to excite the citizens to arms. Seeing his ill success in this, and that his own people were secretly withdrawing from him, and being informed, that the lord admiral was coming with a body of troops, he began to lose all hopes, and resolved to return home, and endeavour to procure favour from the queen by means of the lord keeper and the other counsellors, whom he had left confined at his house. But when he came to Ludgate, sir JOHN LEVISON, who was posted there with a company of soldiers, refusing sir FERDINANDO GORGES, who was sent by his lordship to desire leave to pass thro', sir FERDINANDO solicitous for his own safety persuaded the earl

* OSBORNE affirms, that most others had refused the employment out of love or fear. *Deductions from the history of the earl of Essex,* among OSBORNE's works, p. 565, 7th edit.

to depute him to set the counsellors at liberty, and to intercede with them for her majesty's pardon, while there was hopes of it, no blood being yet shed, the queen doubtful of the event, and the minds of the citizens uncertain. His lordship consented, that the chief justice should be discharged, but he refusing his liberty without that of the lord keeper, sir FERDINANDO set them all free, and went by water with them to the queen.

In the mean while the earl finding himself stopped by the soldiers posted near the west gate of St. Paul's by order of the bishop of London under sir JOHN LEVISON, drew his sword, and directed sir CHRISTOPHER BLOUNTE to attack them, which he did with great bravery, and killed WAITE, a stout officer, who had been formerly hired by the earl of Leicester to assassinate sir CHRISTOPHER, and was now abandoned by his own company. Sir CHRISTOPHER being wounded himself was taken prisoner, and TRACY, a young gentleman dear to the earl, was killed, as were likewise two or three of the citizens. His lordship being repulsed, and shot thro' his hat, and finding, that many of his companions had slipped away, with the few, who still remained, retreated to Queenhith, where he procured boats, and returned to Essex-house. The discharge of the counsellors was a great disappointment and vexation to them. But having burnt such papers, as might make a discovery, he proceeded to the fortifying of his house, from a sanguine expectation of assistance from the city. But it was soon invested by the lord admiral, who posted the earls of Cumberland and Lincoln, the lords THOMAS HOWARD, GREY, BURGHLEY and COMPTON, and others, and a body of horse and foot on the land; while the lord admiral himself, with his son the lord EFFINGHAM, the lord COBHAM, sir JOHN STANHOPE, sir ROBERT SIDNEY, and mr. FULK GREVILL besieged the house towards the garden and river. Every thing being now ready for storming the house, the lord admiral ordered sir ROBERT SIDNEY to summon the besieged to yield. The earl of Southampton answered, to whom? to their enemies? that this would be throwing themselves into destruction. To the queen? this would be confessing themselves guilty. But that if the lord admiral would give hostages for their security, they would present themselves to her majesty; otherwise they were unanimously resolved to die defending themselves. The lord admiral returned an answer by sir ROBERT SIDNEY, that no terms were to be proposed by rebels, nor hostages to be given to them: but he intimated to the earl, that out of regard for the ladies, he would permit his countess, and his sister RICH, and their women, to depart. His lordship received this as a favour, and desired an hour or two to be allowed him for fortifying again the place, where they should go out; which was granted. Before the expiration of the hour, the earl in despair determined to force his way thro', in which he was encouraged by the lord SANDYS, who was more advanced in age than the rest, and declared, that the boldest counsels were the safest; and that it was more honourable for men of quality to die sword in hand than by the executioner. But the earl soon changing his mind began to think of a surrender, and signified that he would submit upon certain conditions. And upon the lord admiral's refusing to grant any, he intimated, that he did not insist upon prescribing terms, but was willing to receive them, and only requested these three, that they should be civilly treated; which the lord admiral promised: that their cause should be justly and lawfully heard; of which the lord admiral said there was no doubt to be

be made: and that mr. ASHTON, the minister, might attend him in prison for the comfort of his soul: for which with his other requests the lord admiral engaged to intercede with the queen. Immediately after this the lords and gentlemen fell on their knees, and delivered up their swords to the lord admiral, about ten at night, without the loss of any person except of OWEN SALISBURY and one or two more killed in the house by shot from without, and as many of the besiegers.

The earls of Essex and Southampton were at first conveyed by the lord admiral to the archbishop's palace at Lambeth, and not to the Tower, because the night was dark and stormy, and the passage thro' the river impracticable: but they were soon after by the queen's order carried thither in a barge, as the earl of Rutland, the lords SANDYS, CROMWELL, and MONTEAGLE, and sir CHARLES DAVERS and sir HENRY BROMLEY were in boats, the rest of the conspirators being committed to the public prisons *.

The next day, February 9, the queen published a proclamation thanking the citizens of London for shewing themselves constant and unmoveable from their duties to her, and that not any of them of any note had offered to assist the earl and his associates; and warning them to be careful of the peace of the city, since the insurrection was so sudden, that the extent of the design was not yet thoroughly known.

Upon the earl's being brought to Lambeth on the night of his apprehension, the archbishop having expressed his concern to see that time, and that his lordship had so far forgot himself, he answered smilingly, that the sincerity of his conscience, and the goodness of his cause, comforted him. He expressed himself with great severity and contempt of the citizens of London; that they were a base people: that he had trampled up and down the city without any resistance: that he would undertake with 400 of his choice men to have overrun the city: that he had passed many of their lanes and chains barricadoed, without one blow offered at him, in his return from Ludgate to Queenhith †.

Two days after the earl's insurrection secretary CECIL wrote this short account of it to sir GEORGE CAREW, lord president of Munster ^a.

“ Sir GEORGE CAREW,

“ Because I am not ignorant, that greatest accidents are most subject to be mis-
 “ reported by such, as are either in passion or ignorance, I have thought it very
 “ fit, with all convenient speed, to acquaint you with a most dangerous attempt,
 “ which hath happened on Sunday last, wherein both her majesty's own person and
 “ the usurpation of this kingdom was openly shot at. By this proclamation the
 “ proceedings of the earl of Essex will appear, and therefore I shall only need say

* CAMDEN, p. 781—790.

† A sermon preach'd at Paul's Cross on the 1st Sunday in Lent, *Martii* 1, 1600. With a short discourse of the late earl of Essex's confession and penitence before and at the time of his death. By

WILLIAM BARLOWE, doctor of divinity. *Edit. London 1600. Signature D 4. for it is not paged.*

^a Original letters of secretary CECIL to sir GEORGE CAREW, lord president of Munster. Lambeth library, No. 604. fol. 5.

“ this

“ this unto you, that I think, by that time my letters shall come unto you, both
 “ he and the earl of Southampton, with some others of the principals, shall have
 “ lost their heads. I send you the note of most of them, that were in open action
 “ with them. If the queen had not put herself in strength that very morning, and
 “ barricaded Charing-crofs and other places of the back parts of Westminster, their
 “ resolution was to have been at court by noon: whereof when they understood,
 “ they put themselves into London, and from thence (hoping to have been followed
 “ by the city) they resolved to come back; but being repulsed at Ludgate by a
 “ stand of pikes, and the city holding fast for the queen, they and some fifty of
 “ their complices ran to the water, and put themselves into Essex-house, which the
 “ earl had furnished with all manner of warlike provisions, and then defended them-
 “ selves till towards six o’clock in the evening; at which time the lord admiral sent
 “ unto them, that if they would not yield, he would blow up the house; which
 “ he might have done sooner, but that the lady Essex and the lady Rich were within
 “ it. Whereupon, notwithstanding their great batteries, they all yielded to her
 “ majesty’s mercy. Thus you have a true relation of this dangerous accident, unto
 “ which I will only add this, that even when a false alarm was brought to the
 “ queen, that the city was revolted with them, she never was more amazed than
 “ she would have been to have heard of a fray in Fleet-street. And thus much for
 “ this time I thought good to let you know till farther opportunity, committing
 “ you to God’s protection.

“ Your loving and assured friend,

“ From the court at Whitehall,

“ Feb. 10, 1600.

R O. C E C I L.

“ The commanders of our little army were,

“ The lord admiral, lord general;
 “ Earl of Cumberland, lord lieutenant;
 “ Lord THOMAS HOWARD, marshal;
 “ Lord GREY, general of the horse;
 “ Lord BURGHLEY, colonel general of the foot; who with some ten horse went
 “ into London, and proclaimed the earl of Essex a traitor, with all his adherents,
 “ by the mouth of the king of arms, notwithstanding that my lord of Essex with
 “ all his complices were in the city.”

His lordship’s fate was hastened by a desperate proposal of THOMAS LEIGH, who
 had served as an officer in Ireland, and was a cousin of sir HENRY LEIGH, knight of
 the garter, and a friend of TYRONE, as well as a creature of the earl, whom how-
 ever he had offered to seize or kill the very night, on which his lordship refused
 to go to the council, when sent for by them. He on the 12th of February proposed
 to sir HENRY NEVILLE, son-in-law of the lord treasurer, and lately returned from
 his embassy in France, and to sir ROBERT CROSS, that he would deal with some
 other gentlemen of resolution to the number of four, who should enter the queen’s
 privy-chamber, while she was at supper, and lock the doors, and hold her, till she
 should sign a warrant for the delivery of the earls of Essex and Southampton out of
 the Tower. This being discovered by these two gentlemen, he was seized that very
 night,

night, watching at the privy-chamber door, in order to observe how he might have access the next day; and the fact being avowed to his face by sir HENRY NEVILLE and sir ROBERT CROSS, he confessed it, but declared, that he would not have hurt her majesty's person, except others would have forced in upon her, to hinder that course, which he pretended for the delivery of the earls*. He was the next day condemn'd and hang'd at Tyburn.

A few days after, one of the conspirators, from the hopes of life or a reward, made a discovery of the consultations held at Drury-house; which others upon their examination finding to have been done, and concluding, that the whole affair was now unravelled, and that it was a preposterous kind of fidelity to conceal what was already known, they made a confession of all the particulars of the design^b.

The principal of these were sir JOHN DAVIS, sir FERDINANDO GORGES, sir CHRISTOPHER BLOUNTE, and sir CHARLES DAVERS^c: the last of whom, after having continued obstinate in his denials till he had seen the confessions of others under their hands†, entered at last into a detail of the measures concerted in favour of the earl of Essex soon after his confinement on account of his return from Ireland. This paper, dated February 22, having never seen the light before, deserves to be inserted here from a copy in the advocates library at Edinburgh^d.

“ About a month after my lord of Essex's first commitment to my lord keeper, I
 “ came from my house in the country to London. Before my coming I found my
 “ lords of Southampton and Montjoy, unto whom my lord of Essex had committed
 “ the care of his fortune, according to the fears, that had been conceived at several
 “ times of his danger to be carried to the Tower. Divers courses had been thought
 “ of for his delivery, either by procuring him means to escape privately into France,
 “ or by the assistance of his friends into Wales, or by possessing the court with his
 “ friends to bring himself again into her majesty's presence. These things had, as I
 “ take it, been rather thought on, than ever well digested, until about ten days
 “ after my coming up, in a new fear of his imprisonment to the Tower. My lords
 “ Southampton and Montjoy and my brother meeting at my lord Montjoy's
 “ house, where I was present, it was resolved by them, and approved by me, as
 “ his best course, to make a private escape. It was proposed by my lord of South-
 “ ampton to Essex, whether by message or letter I know not; with offer, that he
 “ and my brother would accompany him in his flight. The answer my lord of
 “ Essex returned was, as I remember, that if they could think of no better course
 “ for him than a poor flight, he would rather run any danger, than lead the life of
 “ a fugitive.

“ About this time the employment for Ireland being inforced upon my lord Mont-
 “ joy, he imparted unto us the sending of HARRY LEIGH the summer before into

* Letter of sir ROBERT CECIL to mr. WIN-
 WOOD from London, March 7, 1600, WIN-
 WOOD's Memorials, Vol. I. p. 301. & CAMDEN,
 p. 790.

^b CAMDEN, p. 791.

^c Secretary CECIL's letter, *ubi supra*, p. 300.

† Original letter of secretary CECIL to sir

GEORGE CAREW, March 14, 1600, in the Lam-
 beth library.

^d A. 1, 34. N^o 30. The copy, which I make
 use of is among the MS. collections of dr. FORBES,
 in the possession of the honourable PHILIP YORKE,
 esq;

“ Scotland, to assure the king, that my lord of Essex was freed from those ambitious
 “ conceits, that some of his enemies had sought to possess the world withal: to give
 “ him assurance, that, next to her majesty, he would endure no succession but his;
 “ and to intimate some course for his declaration in her majesty’s time. The parti-
 “ culars thereof were at that first time, I think, confusedly proposed, and never
 “ brought to any head.

“ The cause, that moved my lord Montjoy to enter into this course with Scot-
 “ land, was, as he protested, his duty to her majesty and his country; for he could
 “ not think his country safe, unless by declaration of a successor it were strengthen’d
 “ against the assaults of our most potent enemies, which pretended a title thereunto.
 “ Neither could he think her majesty so safe by any means, as by making her king-
 “ dom by that means safe against their attempts. He entered into it the rather
 “ at that time, to serve my lord of Essex, who by loss of her majesty was like to
 “ run a dangerous fortune, unless he took a course to strengthen himself by that
 “ means. Now when that the government of Ireland was put into my lord Mont-
 “ joy’s hands, his former motives growing stronger in him, the danger of my
 “ lord of Essex more apparent, being earnestly pressed by my lord of Essex to think
 “ of some course to relieve him, my lord first swearing and exacting the like oaths,
 “ as I remember, from my lord of Southampton, to defend her majesty’s person
 “ and government over us against all persons whatsoever, it was resolved to send
 “ HARRY LEIGH again into Scotland; and if the king would enter into the
 “ course, my lord Montjoy would leave the kingdom of Ireland defensively
 “ guarded, and with four or five thousand men assist him; which, with the party,
 “ that my lord of Essex should make head withal, were thought sufficient to bring
 “ that to pass, that was intended. HARRY LEIGH came not back until my lord
 “ Montjoy was in Ireland; and when he came was committed. LEIGH’s answer
 “ was dilatory, the king not being ready to enter into that attempt till the garrison
 “ were settled at Loughfoyle; which were the men and shipping intended for that
 “ enterprize: and so that business ended.

“ While HARRY LEIGH was in prison my lord of Southampton went into Ireland,
 “ and by him were letters sent from my lord of Essex to my lord Montjoy,
 “ to move him to bring over those former intended forces into Wales, and from
 “ thence to proceed on to the accomplishment of the former design. My lord
 “ of Southampton, for his part, as I came in, was willing to secure himself, out
 “ of the fear he had, by discovering of the former negotiation by HARRY LEIGH,
 “ to be undone. But my lord of Montjoy’s answer was, that he thought it more
 “ lawful to enter into such course with one, that had interest in the succession than
 “ otherwise; and tho’ he had been led before out of the opinion he had to do his
 “ country good by the establishment of the succession, and to deliver my lord of
 “ Essex out of the danger he was in; yet now his life appeared to be safe, to restore
 “ his fortune only, and to save himself from the danger, which hangs over him by
 “ discovery, and to satisfy my lord of Essex’s private ambition, he would not enter
 “ into any enterprize of that. I forgot to deliver in the beginning, that my lord
 “ of Southampton said, he would adventure himself for my lord of Essex, and
 “ venture his life to save him, and enter into banishment with him; and demanded
 “ of

“ of me, how soon I would engage myself for his sake. I answered, I loved him
 “ best, since that he had saved my life, and that after a noble fashion; and that he
 “ had suffered for me: even the life he had saved, and my estate and means what-
 “ soever, he should dispose of. I owed a duty to the person of my sovereign, which
 “ I assured myself he would respect. I owed a respect to mr. secretary, unto whom
 “ I was much beholden; and therefore would not be engaged in any thing against
 “ his person. That I knew his lordship was too noble, howsoever he might inter-
 “ pret unlawful things, to attempt any thing foul or ignominious. Within these
 “ limits I did engage myself to any adventure of life and estate. Not upon those
 “ grounds. I was privy to * * * hath been said, that as I had sent sir CHRISTO-
 “ PHER BLOUNTE advice, of my lord of Essex's escape from my lord keeper's: and
 “ upon these grounds of affection and thankfulness to him, ever tendering his safety,
 “ and to see him free from danger, wherein he was wrapt, I protest hath proceeded
 “ whatsoever I have either intended or acted.

“ My lord of Southampton, upon his going into Ireland, took my promise to
 “ perform any thing within the former limits for my lord of Essex, and to that effect
 “ recommended me unto him.

“ When my lord Montjoy's answer came, that he would not stir in that sort
 “ as was required, I wrote to my lord of Essex of my lord of Southampton's wear-
 “ ness to stay in Ireland, and his purpose to go into the Low Countries. My lord
 “ of Essex answered, that he desired, that the lord of Southampton should not
 “ go far, for tho' they were rejected, yet they might be of use one to the
 “ other.

“ My lord of Essex being freed from his keeper, and mr. CUFFE having repair-
 “ ed unto him, as he had usually done, discoursed of my lord of Essex's fortunes,
 “ what issue they were to have, and what he had caused him to believe, and what
 “ he might do for himself, if he would stir in his own cause, especially by the
 “ means of Scotland: it seemed by that, he by some secret means had intelli-
 “ gence.

“ CUFFE told me, that my lord of Essex was desirous to speak with me; and my-
 “ self having received a letter from him to that effect, I was brought unto him by
 “ mr. CUFFE. I certified him of his friends coming towards him; I excused my
 “ lord Montjoy for not satisfying of his last request. The lord Essex answered,
 “ that he esteemed them as his best friends; that he would join with them in all
 “ things, that should be for their common good. That by Michaelmas he should
 “ make some judgment of his fortune. At that time the lease of his wines would
 “ expire. That by renewing of it, or taking it from him, he should perceive what
 “ was meant him. That whatsoever fell out, he would proceed by common consent
 “ with those friends.

“ That I told my lord of a purpose I had to go into Ireland to my lord Southamp-
 “ ton: that I would communicate his purposes to his friends: projects by way of
 “ parliamentary were debated.

“ That

“ That before the earl was resolved, I had a letter of my lord of Southampton’s
 “ departure out of Ireland.

“ Mr. CUFFE was sent to me with desire from my lord of Essex, that I should
 “ hold my journey, and to communicate this design unto my lord Montjoy and
 “ my brother.

“ That at Michaelmas the lease of his wines did expire, and then he should make
 “ some judgment of his fortunes. That there would be about Michaelmas a parlia-
 “ ment called; and that himself and his friends would make a good party in the
 “ house, and propound some things for the common good of the state. That if he
 “ were kept from the parliament by colour of his confinement, then he knew not
 “ certainly what course to take.

“ That at my departing from him, he was not certainly resolved what I should
 “ propound to my lord Montjoy, but said he would send unto me his resolution
 “ by CUFFE.

“ That CUFFE came to me to Oxford with my lord of Essex’s desire, that under-
 “ standing my lord of Southampton’s departure out of Ireland, yet that I should
 “ hold my journey into Ireland, and communicate his designs unto my lord Mont-
 “ joy and my brother; which was of the set purpose by his friends to put himself
 “ again into the court, and to present himself unto her majesty; and that my lord
 “ Montjoy would write unto him a complaint of the misgovernment of * state,
 “ and a summons unto him to do somewhat to redress it.

“ My lord Montjoy answered, that he did not approve the project; but desired
 “ the earl to have patience to recover again the queen’s ordinary favour. That at
 “ his coming home, he would do for him like a friend: that if he sent for a letter,
 “ he would write unto him such a one, as he might justify.

“ At my return I did not find my lord of Essex resolved upon this former
 “ project.

“ Not long before Christmas it was feared by some of the earl’s friends, that
 “ he should be committed, in regard of the resort unto sermons in his house: and
 “ then there was more thought of flying than enterprizing any thing. But a little
 “ before Christmas the resolution was taken by his direction to his friends at Drury-
 “ house.”

Two indictments being found against the earls of Essex and Southampton on
 the 16th of February, 1602, one at Guildhall in London, and the other in Mid-
 dlesex at the King’s bench, Westminster, before the lord chief justice of England,
 and other commissioners assigned for that purpose, their lordships were on Thursday,
 the 19th of that month, publicly arraigned in Westminster-hall before twenty-five
 peers of the realm, the lord treasurer BUCKHURST sitting as lord high steward. The
 Vol. II. 3 P judges

judges appointed to attend there were the two lord chief justices POPHAM and ANDERSON, the justices GAWDY, FENNER, WALMESLEY, KINGSMILL, and baron CLERKE; and the queen's council were YELVERTON her serjeant, COKE attorney general, FLEMING solicitor general, and mr. FRANCIS BACON^d. CAMDEN, who was present at the trial, has given a particular, and, as he assures us, an impartial account of it^e; which may be compared with that of monf. DE BOISSISE, the French ambassador in a letter to monf. DE ROHAN^f, and that of secretary CECIL in a letter to mr. WINWOOD on the 7th of March following^g; in which he observes, that the earl of Essex laboured to extenuate his fault, by denying, that he ever meant any harm to the queen's person, and by pretending, that he took arms only to save himself from the lord COBHAM and sir WALTER RALEGH, who, he gave out, would have murder'd him in his house on Saturday night. He urged likewise an intention, which he had of removing the secretary himself, with some others, from the queen, as one, who would have sold the kingdom of England to the infanta of Spain. But before he went out of the hall, when he saw himself condemned, and found, that sir JOHN DAVIS, sir FERDINANDO GORGE, sir CHRISTOPHER BLOUNTE, and sir CHARLES DAVERS had confessed all the conferences held at Drury-house by his own direction, for surprising the queen and the Tower, he broke out to several gentlemen, who attended on him in the hall, that his confederates, who had now accused him, had been principal inciters to him, and not he of them, ever since the August preceding, to work his access to the queen^h.

After a long trial, which lasted from eight in the morning till seven at night, the two earls were condemned and received sentence of death, the earl of Southampton with great modesty, and in a manner, which affected all present, desiring the peers to intercede for her majesty's mercy, against whom, he protested, that he never had entertained the least ill intention. The earl of Essex likewise desired their lordships favour for his unfortunate friend the earl of Southampton, but with respect to himself, he declared, that he was not at all solicitous for life, which he had always wished above all things to lay down with an entire fidelity to God and his sovereign, whatever the determination of law upon him might be: but that he would not have any one suggest to her majesty, that he despised her mercy; which notwithstanding he did not believe that he should ask in too humble a manner. He requested their lordships, that tho' they condemn'd him in that court of justice, they would acquit him in that of their consciences, since he was free from any disloyal thought against his queen. And when the ax was turned towards him after pronouncing of sentence, he said, "This body might have done her majesty better service, if she had pleased. "I shall be glad, if it can be of use in any manner i." He then desired, that he might have the assistance of his chaplain, mr. ABDY ASHTON, and that the lord THOMAS HOWARD, lately made constable of the Tower, and the lieutenant of the Tower, and some others, whom her majesty should be pleased to allow, might

^d Brief relation of the arraignment of the earls of Essex and Southampton the 19th of Feb. 1600. MS. in my possession.

^e P. 791—801.

^f Dated March 4, N. S.

^g WINWOOD's Memorials, Vol. I. p. 296, 297, 298.

^h Ibid.

ⁱ CAMDEN, p. 800.

receive the communion with him before his death, who might be witnesses of the faith, in which he had always lived, and in which by God's grace he resolved to die; after which he said, that he should be soon ready for death^k.

Dr. THOMAS DOVE, then dean of Norwich, and in April following made bishop of Peterborough, being sent to him the next day by the lords of the council, and pressing him to acknowledge his offences, his lordship denied, that in any thing, which he had done, he was guilty of offending Almighty God^l: and when the dean ask'd him, why he had refused to come to their lordships on the Friday before his insurrection, when he was sent for by the appointment of her majesty, he answered, that DAVID refused to come to SAUL, when he sent for him. He said likewise to the dean in a passion, "If you knew how many motions have been made to me to do my best to remove such evils, as the commonwealth is burthened with, you would greatly wonder." The dean replying, that extraordinary attempts must have extraordinary warrants, and desiring him to shew his authority, his lordship answer'd, that he was earl marshal of England, and needed no other warrant. "But what," *added he*, should I reason with you upon this point, seeing we hold not one principle?^m" But the earl soon after was brought to a different sense of his conduct by means of mr. ASHTON, his chaplain, who, as his lordship said afterwards to the lord keeper and other counsellors, when they visited him, had *plowed up his heart, and brought him down, and humbled him*ⁿ. The anonymous writer of a letter to mr. ANTHONY BACON, dated at London, May 30, 1601^o, styles this mr. ASHTON a man *base, fearful, and mercenary*, but such a one, as by a *formal shew of zeal* had gotten a good opinion of the earl, who that way, being himself most religious, might easily be deceived. How the man was prepared was not known; but the manner of his dealing with his lordship was as follows, being the substance of his own confession to a worthy person. At his coming to the earl he found him exceedingly chearful, and prepared with great contentation for his end, with whom he began to this effect: "My lord, I am unfeignedly sorry to see no more sense in you of these and other fearful sins, into which you have fallen, whereby you have dishonoured God, shamed your profession, offended your sovereign, and pulled upon yourself many notes of infamy. You have now manifested to the world, that all your shew of religion was mere hypocrisy, that you are in your heart either an atheist or a papist, which doth plainly appear, in that all your instruments, followers and favourers, were of this quality; most of them men of no means, but either base persons, that you had raised, or such as lewdly consumed their own patrimony. And if there were any of better condition for their state, yet were they either recusants, or such as were discontented with the present government: so as the badness of your cause and action doth herein shew itself, that not one man but of the sort before-mentioned took your part, or liked your course. Besides, howsoever you would colour it with other pretences, your end was an ambitious seeking of the crown, the hope whereof for their own raising made these men to follow, animate and applaud you: so that if by a true confession and unfeigned repentance you do not unburthen yourself of these sins, you shall carry out of the

^k Brief relation, &c.

^l Dr. BARLOW's sermon, *fig.* C 4.

^m Ibid.

ⁿ Ibid.

^o Printed by mr. HEARNE in his notes upon CAMDEN'S ELIZABETH, Vol. III. p. 957—961.

“ world a guilty soul before God, and leave upon your memorial an infamous name
 “ to posterity. Therefore I will say to you, as JOSHUA did to ACHAN (for you
 “ have dishonoured God more than ever he did) *Give glory to God, and make con-*
 “ *fession of your fault.* For, as SOLOMON saith, *he, that hides his sins, shall not*
 “ *prosper.*”

He used many more words of gall and bitterness to the same effect. The earl was much amaz'd with this style, his expectation being so exceedingly deceiv'd, as looking rather in his case for a comforter, than so bitter and slanderous an accuser, and after a sad and silent pause answer'd him to this purpose; “ Mr. ASHTON,
 “ you have laid grievous things to my charge, of which if I could not with truth
 “ free and clear myself, I might justly be holden one of the most unworthy crea-
 “ tures on earth. And I assure you to have these reports carried and believed in
 “ the world is more grievous to me than a thousand deaths. First, touching my
 “ religion, I have always abhorred atheism and superstition, believing in the true
 “ God, and desiring to serve him in that form of his worship professed and main-
 “ tained in England, in which from my infancy I was brought up, and have con-
 “ stantly holden the profession thereof to this day. True it is, in those public ser-
 “ vices, wherein I have been employed, I have had use of men of sundry qualities.
 “ But howsoever I lov'd their valour, faithfulness, and knowledge of service, that
 “ were not religious, I was ever grieved for the want thereof in them, and neglect-
 “ ed no opportunity I possibly could gain, to bring them to it. For the crown, I
 “ never affected it; neither, I praise God, was I ever so careless of my soul, as by
 “ seeking a crown on earth, to which I had no colour of title, to deprive my soul
 “ of a crown in heaven, whereof I have so assured hope. Neither am I ignorant,
 “ what success God, in his justice, hath laid upon such ambitious courses in ages
 “ past. But being a principal member in this commonwealth, I could not but see
 “ and feel what misery was near unto my country by the great power of such, as
 “ are known indeed to be atheists, papists, and pensioners to the mortal enemies of
 “ this kingdom. I knew myself bound in conscience, as a Christian, to prevent the
 “ subversion of religion, and as an Englishman to have regard of my native country.
 “ The only means left to turn away these evils was to procure my access to her
 “ majesty, with whom I assured myself to have had that gracious hearing, that
 “ might have tended to the infinite happiness of this state, both in removing evil
 “ instruments from about her person, and in settling a succession for the crown, to
 “ the preventing of Spanish servitude, and saving of many thousand Englishmen's
 “ lives. No, no, Mr. ASHTON, I never desir'd other condition, than the state of
 “ a subject, but only to my sovereign, and not to so base and unworthy vassals
 “ under her.”

Mr. ASHTON upon this said to him, “ My lord, these are general speeches, and
 “ not much more believed of me now than they were of many then. You must
 “ remember, you are going out of the world; you know what it is to receive
 “ sentence of death here; but yet you know not what it is to stand before God's
 “ judgment seat, and to receive the sentence of eternal condemnation. Leave
 “ therefore all glorious pretences; free your conscience from the burthen of your
 “ grievous sins: for I protest I cannot believe, that you had any other pretence than
 “ I have

“ I have told you, or can name one man (other than such as I have mentioned) that
 “ was either adviser, persuader, or approver of your purposes. Neither see I any
 “ reason, why that I, being watchman over your soul, should not as well have
 “ been advised withall, if these things had been so, as any other.”

His lordship with infinite grief reply'd, “ Mr. ASHTON, I cannot marvel, tho'
 “ my protestations are not believed of my enemies, when they so little prevail with
 “ a man of your quality. But I am able to you, that are a minister and preacher
 “ of the gospel and messenger of God to me at this my last end, by particulars so
 “ to confirm that, which I have spoken, as you shall no longer doubt of it.” Then
 his lordship shewed his whole end to tend to the settling of the succession by act of
 parliament of the king of Scotland, as the true and immediate heir after her ma-
 jesty of this kingdom, and named to him several worthy persons, both of religion,
 honour and state, who had given their consents, and were engaged with him there-
 in. Mr. ASHTON having very attentively mark'd the earl's words made this re-
 ply; “ These be great matters your lordship hath opened unto me; and the con-
 “ cealing them may touch my life. Also I hold myself bound in allegiance to re-
 “ veal them. Besides the publishing of them may give satisfaction to many, that
 “ hold the same opinion of your courses, which I did. And farther, it may be
 “ dangerous to her majesty's person in some practice hereafter by them or some of
 “ their instruments, the burthen whereof your soul must bear, if you can and do
 “ not prevent it; and I will be a witness against you, that you have spoken it.”
 Thus his lordship being extremely urged made his confession, that he meant to
 have establish'd the king of Scots title in succession; and that with this intention he
 had many of the worthiest persons of the land in consent with him: which also he
 had an earnest purpose to have revealed at his death, as Mr. ASHTON and others
 acknowledg'd, but that he was so mightily dissuaded and commanded to the con-
 trary, as a thing, that might tend to the great danger of the queen's person.
 “ Now, *concludes the writer of the letter*, how little his [the earl's] honour is herein
 “ touched, and what small cause he had then of all times to dissemble, your wife
 “ and religious heart may easily judge.”

The effect of Mr. ASHTON's discourse with the earl was such, that on Friday the
 20th of February, the day after his lordship's condemnation, he sent to the lord
 THOMAS HOWARD, the constable of the Tower, to intreat him to move her ma-
 jesty to send to him the lord keeper, lord treasurer, lord admiral, and secretary
 CECIL by name, that he might now discharge his conscience, and confess his great
 obstinacy in denying at his arraignment those things, with which he was charg'd,
 and to reconcile himself to his enemies, and especially to the secretary, whom he desir'd
 to forgive him for wronging him at the bar, where he had pretended, that the cause
 of his taking arms was to save the kingdom from the Spaniard, to whom it was
 bought and sold, particularly urging it upon the secretary, who had been a dealer in
 the peace; adding, that he had heard, that the secretary had delivered to a counsellor,
 that the infanta had the best title. To which when the secretary replied, and
 press'd, that the party might be brought forth, Sir WILLIAM KNOLLYS, the comp-
 troller, was named, who, being sent for, clear'd the secretary, that he never spoke
 of that in any other manner, than as reporting what a strange book was publish'd
 4 under

under the name of **DOLMAN**, dedicated to the earl, which maintain'd the infant to have the best title. The next day after, being Saturday, February 21st, when the queen was pleased to send the four lords of the council to his lordship, according to his request, he with great penitency confess'd his sorrow for his obstinate denials at the bar, desiring, that he might have liberty to set down in writing his whole project of coming to the court in the manner, in which he did. This he accordingly wrote down in four sheets of paper, all under his own hand, concurring with the confessions of **sir CHARLES DAVERS**, **sir JOHN DAVIS**, **sir FERDINAND GORGE**, and **mr. LYTTELTON**, and acknowledging, that he had sent divers articles to Drury-house to be consider'd of; particularly, whether it were not proper, at the same time of coming to court, to possess the Tower, in order to give reputation to the action, if the city should mislike it: that **sir CHRISTOPHER BLOUNTE**, with a company of arm'd men, should take the court gate: that **sir JOHN DAVIS** should master the hall, and go up into the great chamber, where there should be some persons, who, unsuspected, one after another, should before hand be gotten into that room, and have seized the halberds of the guard, which commonly stood piled up against the wall: that **sir CHARLES DAVERS** should have been in the presence-chamber, where some other gentlemen should likewise have made good that place: And that the earl of Essex with the earls of Southampton, Rutland, and other noblemen, should have gone in to the queen, and then having her in their possession, to have used the shadow of her authority for the changing of the government, and called a parliament, and condemn'd all those, whom they charg'd to have misgovern'd the state. This was the substance of his lordship's confession, which he both verbally deliver'd, and afterwards set down in writing. He farther ask'd forgiveness of the lord keeper, and those whom he had imprison'd in his house, expressing his concern, that they had been put in fear of their lives by his followers. He then most passionately desir'd, in christian charity, forgiveness at the hands of those, whom he had particularly called his enemies; protesting, that when he had taken the resolution of going to court with force, he did not see what better pretext he could have, than a particular quarrel to those, whom he had at the bar named his greatest adversaries. And being urged still to say, what he knew or could reveal, especially concerning his charge against the secretary, he protested, that in his own conscience he acquitted him from any such matter, and was ashamed to have spoken it, having no better ground. He profess'd also to bear no malice to the lord **COBHAM** and **sir WALTER RALEGH**, whom he had named his enemies, and by whom he knew no other than that they were true servants to the queen and state. He concluded with an humble suit to her majesty, that he might have the favour to die privately in the Tower^a.

In his confession, he charg'd several of the conspirators as men, who intended the destruction of their country, and particularly **sir CHRISTOPHER BLOUNTE**, and his two secretaries, **mr. CUFFE** and **mr. TEMPLE**, desiring to speak to **mr. CUFFE**, who was brought to him; when the earl exhorted him to call to God and the queen for mercy, and to deserve it, by declaring of the truth. “For I, *says he*, that must now “prepare for another world, have resolved to deal clearly with God and the “world, and must needs say this to you, you have been one of the chiefest insti-

^a Secretary **CECIL**'s Letter, **WINWOOD**, vol. I. p. 300, 301.

OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

“gators of me to all these my disloyal courses, into which I have fallen.” To which mr. CUFFE made no other reply, than by complaining of his lordship’s inconstancy, and betraying of his most devoted friends. The earl discover’d likewise several persons in Scotland, France, and the Low-countries, as well as in England and Ireland, especially the lord deputy Montjoy, who were privy to his design; and among these he nam’d sir HENRY NEVILLE, who, on that account, was stop’d on his return to his embassy in France, and committed first to the custody of the lord admiral ^b, and afterwards to the Tower ^c; and who in his own case owns, that he had been present at the meeting of the earl’s friends at Drury-house on Candlemas-day, but complains, that his lordship had dealt unequally (not to say uncharitably) with him in his confession ^d: For that his lordship had deliver’d matters to charge him, but nothing to discharge him, tho’ both alike known to him; and had added some things not at all pertinent to the matter, and only on purpose to aggravate it, having, as sir HENRY had reason to think, taken offence against him for his refusal to agree to the resolutions taken in that consultation, and perhaps afterwards conceiv’d, that he was the revealer of it.

The earl prefac’d his confession with these words ^e: “Since that God of his mercy hath open’d mine eyes, and made me see my sin, my offence, and so touched my heart, as I hate it both in myself and others, I will, as God shall enable my memory, set down how far we are all guilty, and where, and by what degrees, our sin, this offence grew.”

Besides mr. ASHTON, who had attended the earl at his own request, there were sent to him two other divines, dr. THOMAS MONTFORD, residentiary of St. Paul’s and prebendary of Westminster ^f, and dr. WILLIAM BARLOW ^g, who had celebrated his lordship’s victory at Cadiz in a sermon at St. Paul’s cross ^h. This latter doctor, in his sermon preach’d by order of the government at St. Paul’s cross on March

^b CAMDEN, p. 802.

^c WINWOOD, vol. I. p. 325.

^d Ibid. p. 302—304.

^e Dr. BARLOW’s sermon.

^f He was son of JOHN MONTFORD of the city of Norwich, and educated in the university of Oxford, where he took the degree of doctor of divinity July 4, 1588. He was admitted rector of Ansty in Hertfordshire January 25, 1584, and instal’d prebendary of Westminster May 26, 1585, and afterwards became rector of St. Mary at Hill. March 24, 1596, he was made prebendary of Harleston in the cathedral of St. Paul’s and residentiary of that church; and on the 7th of May, 1602, was collated to the vicarage of St. Martin’s in the Fields; which he held till his death, Feb. 27, 1631, being inter’d in the chancel of the church of Tewing in Hertfordshire, of which he had also been rector.

^g This divine had been educated in Trinity college in Cambridge, of which he was fellow,

and being appointed chaplain to archbishop WHITGIFT, was collated by his grace to the rectory of St. Dunstan’s in the East, May 26, 1597, being then batchelor of divinity; and on the 18th of July, 1601, became prebendary of Chiswick in the cathedral of St. Paul’s, and in the latter end of the same year prebendary of Westminster. He was promoted to the deanery of Chester in 1603, and two years after to the bishopric of Rochester, and in 1608 translated to that of Lincoln, in which he died Sept. 7, 1613. He publish’d, besides several sermons, the life of dr. RICHARD COSIN, the civilian, in Latin, in 1598, in 4^{to}. *A Defence of the Articles of the Protestant Religion, against a certain libel*, 1601, in 4^{to}. and *The sum of the discourse had by his majesty with the lords the bishops, &c. at Hampton Court, Jan. 14, 1603*. London 1604, in 4^{to}.

^h This sermon, when preach’d, gave great offence to many persons, which oblig’d the preacher to prefix to his edition of it a defence of himself and his.

March 1st, the Sunday after the earl's death, mentions several particulars of their conferences with his lordship, as well as of his behaviour at his execution. These two divines knowing of his stiffness both at the bar and with the dean of Norwich, and not having understood of his repentance, agreed to have *beat him down, and to have wounded his heart with the dreadful judgments of God; yet afterwards to have raised him again with the comfortable promises of the gospel.* But when they came to him, they found him more open to reveal, than became them to inquire, and more resolute himself, than they upon the sudden could have made him; and they were much more welcome than they expected; for he most heartily desir'd God so to bless them, as their coming comforted him. He then began to declare his sense of his attempt with such detestation and remorse, that dr. BARLOW fearing, that he should, like the Corinthian mention'd by St. Paul, be overcome with overmuch heaviness, laid before him the comfortable speech of that apostle, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners, even the greatest. "But, *said dr. MONTFORD, who had been at his arraignment, I wonder your lordship, thus guilty to yourself, should be so confident at the bar. It offended many of your very good friends.*" *Yea, but now,* answer'd the earl, *I am become another man; the cause of which he ascrib'd to the work of God's spirit within him, and the means of his chaplain, mr. ASHTON, who was there present with them. He then told them, that he had satisfied the council with his voluntary confession under his own hand, and subscribed with his own name; "wherein tho' I have, said he, detected many, already apprehended, yet I hold it my duty to God and the realm to clear my conscience."* He own'd to the divines, that the design had been plotting and devising, *when,* according to dr. BARLOW, or, as dr. MONTFORD understood the words, *not long after* he lay at the lord keeper's house. He protested indeed to them, as he had done in his written confession, that when he sent the articles to Drury-house to be consider'd by his accomplices, he put in that caveat still, that as little blood might be shed as could; and that the queen's own person might receive no harm. They objected to him, that he, who could not, as himself acknowledg'd to them, restrain his followers from murdering the queen's subjects, when he stood upon his defence in his house, tho' they were but few, must not think, that he could have stay'd them in the court, the object of their revenge. *God knows,* replied he, *what danger and harm it had wrought to the realm. And*

his sermon against the misrepresentations of both. He observes, that he undertook it with fear and trembling, and from the time of his appointment to that office to the discharging of it, which was but three days, he was not one of them from the court, still labouring to inform himself of every thing, which he doubted. He particularly justifies himself from the imputation of being *a time-server*, and that he had preach'd on this occasion out of spleen against the earl, for not having preferr'd him for his former sermon on his lordship's victory at Cadiz. "Did I, *says he,* at that time labour for the place [at St. Paul's cross]? Yea rather, as mr. dr. STANHOPE knows, I us'd all the means I could to avoid it, alledging both

"the shortness of the time, but three days full;
 "my late being in that place, scarce two months
 "before; my youth and unexperience in those
 "state-matters, and such other delays, till, as he
 "knoweth, it was inforced by a commandment
 "peremptory. Did I, after it, press the court,
 "solicit the earl, affect any advancement by him?
 "God knows, that I lie not, he never saw me,
 "till half a year after his return from Cadiz he sent
 "for me about a matter of difference in some points
 "of religion between a popish priest mr. WRIGHT,
 "and myself, to take knowledge of me; at which
 "time he promised me honourably, and, I think,
 "if I had us'd his means, his promise had been
 "payment."

he

he thank'd God, *that it was prevented*, and that *he had made him this example to be justly spewed out of the land*. He often express'd a desire, that the time of his execution were come; and said, *that he knew, that the queen could not be in safety so long as he lived upon the earth*. He own'd, that "sometimes in the field encountering the enemy, being any danger, the weight of his sins lying heavy upon his conscience, being not reconciled to God, quelled his spirits, and made him the most timorous and fearful man, that might be." But that the sin of his attempt exceeded all his others, and had so wasted and spoiled his conscience, that not one good thought was left in his heart. Upon dr. BARLOW's observing to him, that his reliance upon his popularity had spurr'd him on, but that now the people had deceiv'd him; he said, *True, a man's friends will fail him; and added, all popularity and trust in man is vain, whereof myself have had late experience*. Being asked what he meant by designing to seize the Tower, since his principal project was for the court, he answer'd, that he meant, that it should have been a bridle to the city, if it should have mislik'd his other attempt. And dr. MONTFORD having question'd him, if there had not been taken by the conspirators an oath for secrecy and resolution, he denied it; and said, that they were as firmly persuaded of each other's faithfulness, as any one of them could be of his own heart to himself. And speaking of some of them, who were apprehended, he said, *Now I am in my soul persuaded they will prove good subjects*; which word now, in dr. BARLOW's opinion, referr'd to the earl's death, and confirm'd what he had said, that his life was no safety to the queen. He confess'd, that his crime was *a leprosy, which had infected far and near*: And when they spoke to him of the constancy of martyrs at their death, and the passage of St. Paul, Rom. viii. 18, he said, with passion, that *they died in a good cause, but he should die in a bad cause*.

The queen was in extreme agitation of mind, and very irresolute with respect to the execution of the sentence against the earl, which she at first countermanded by mr. EDWARD CARY; but afterwards being provok'd by his obstinacy in not imploring her mercy, and alarm'd by his declaration, that his life would be dangerous to her safety, she sent mr. DARCY with an order for his death^a.

His lordship was not indeed inflexible against all application to her majesty, tho' unfortunate in having it intercepted, by the earl and countess of Nottingham, from her knowledge; according to a traditional story inserted by me in another work^b, confirm'd by mr. FRANCIS OSBORN in his memoirs^c, and by monf. AUBERY DE MAURIER^d, from the authority of sir DUDLEY CARLETON, ambassador in Holland, who related it to prince MAURICE, from whom monf. DE MAURIER's father had it, while he resided as ambassador there from the court of France.

Upon Ash-wednesday the 25th of February 1600-1, the earl, about one in the morning, had warning given him by the lieutenant of the Tower to prepare himself for death that day; upon which he rose from his bed, and desir'd dr. BARLOW, dr.

^a CAMDEN, p. 803.

^b Historical view, p. 206, 207, in the note.

^c On the reign of queen ELIZABETH, p. 23.

^d Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de Hollande, p. 260. Edit. Paris, 1680.

MONTFORD, and mr. ASHTON, all then with him, to join with him in the exercises suitable to his present situation, and the state, into which he was going; and mr. ASHTON preach'd at the desire of the two doctors^c. His lordship, among other things told them, that the principal reason of his requesting a private execution within the Tower, for which he thank'd God and her majesty, was his apprehension, that if it had been public, the *acclamations of the citizens should have hoven him up*^f. Between the hours of seven and eight^g he was brought to the place of execution within the Tower, where a scaffold being set up in the court, and a form near the place, upon which sat the earls of Cumberland and Hertford, the lord viscount BINDON, the lord THOMAS HOWARD, the lord DARCY, the lord COMPTON^h, and the lord MORLEY, and divers knights and gentlemen to the number of about an hundredⁱ; and among them sir WALTER RALEGH, who retir'd before the earl's death into the Armoury, where he saw it, without having been seen by his lordship, and was so affected by it, that he shed tears^l. The earl was conducted to the scaffold by the lieutenant, and about sixteen partisans of the guard, and was dress'd in a gown of wrought velvet, a black sattin suit, a felt black hat, a little ruff about his neck, being attended from his chamber by the three divines, whom he requested not to leave him, but observe him, and recall him, if either his eye, countenance, or speech should bewray any thing, which might not beseem him for that time; and all the way desir'd the spectators to pray for him. At his coming to the scaffold, he vail'd his hat, and with obeisance to the lords spoke to this effect.

“ My lords, and you my christian brethren, who are to be witnesses of this my
 “ just punishment, I confess to the glory of God, that I am a most wretched sin-
 “ ner; and that my sins are more in number than the hairs of my head. I confess,
 “ that I have bestowed my youth in wantonness, lust, and uncleanness; that I
 “ have been puffed up with pride, vanity, and love of this world's pleasures: and
 “ that notwithstanding divers good motions inspired into me from the spirit of
 “ God, the good, which I would, I have not done; and the evil, which I would
 “ not, that have I done. For all which I humbly beseech my saviour Christ to be
 “ a mediator to the eternal Majesty for my pardon; especially for this my last sin,
 “ this great, this bloody, this crying, this infectious sin, whereby so many have for
 “ love to me been drawn to offend God, to offend their sovereign, to offend the world.
 “ I beseech God to forgive it us, and to forgive it me most wretched of all. I be-
 “ seech her majesty and the state and ministers thereof to forgive us: and I beseech
 “ God to send her majesty a prosperous reign, and a long, if it be his will. O Lord!
 “ grant her a wise and understanding heart. O Lord! bless her, and the nobles and
 “ the ministers of the church and state. And I beseech you and the world to hold
 “ a charitable opinion of me for my intention towards her majesty, whose death I
 “ protest I never meant, nor violence to her person. I never was, I thank God,
 “ atheist, not believing the word and scriptures; neither papist, trusting to my

* MS relation of the execution of the earl of Essex in my possession.

^f Dr. BARLOW's sermon.

^g MS. relation.

^h The true copy and substance of the late earl of Essex's behaviour, speech, and prayer, at the

time of his execution, printed at the end of dr. BARLOW's sermon.

ⁱ MS relation.

^l Sir WALTER RALEGH's speech at his own execution.

“ own merits ; but hope for salvation from God only by the mercy and merits of
 “ my saviour Jesus Christ. This faith I was brought up in ; and herein I am ready
 “ to die ; beseeching you all to join your souls with me in prayer, that my soul
 “ may be lifted up by faith above all earthly things in my prayer ; for now I will
 “ give myself to my private prayer. Yet for that I beseech you to join with me,
 “ I will speak, that you may hear me.”

As he turn'd himself aside to put off his gown, dr. MONTFORD requested him to remember to pray to God to forgive all his enemies, if he had any. To whom he answer'd, *I thank you for it ;* and so turning himself again to the lords and the rest, said, *I desire all the world to forgive me, even as I do freely and from my heart forgive all the world.* Then putting off his gown and ruff, and presenting himself before the block, and kneeling down, he was by dr. BARLOW encouraged against the fears of death ; to whom he answer'd, “ That having been divers times in places of
 “ danger, where death was neither so present nor yet so certain, he had felt the
 “ weakness of the flesh ; and therefore in this great conflict desir'd God to assist
 “ and strengthen him : ” and so with eyes fix'd on heaven, after some passionate pauses and breathings, he began his prayer in effect following.

“ O God, creator of all things, and judge of all men, thou hast let me know by
 “ warrant out of thy word, that Satan is then most busy, when our end is nearest,
 “ and that Satan being resisted will flee : I humbly beseech thee, to assist me in this
 “ my last combat ; and seeing thou acceptest ever of our desires as of our acts, ac-
 “ cept, I beseech thee, of my desires to resist him, as of true resistance, and perfect
 “ by thy grace what thou seest in my flesh to be frail and weak. Give me patience
 “ to bear, as becometh me, this just punishment inflicted upon me by so honour-
 “ able a tryal. Grant me the inward comfort of thy spirit. Let thy spirit seal un-
 “ to my soul an assurance of thy mercies. Lift my soul above all earthly cogi-
 “ tations ; and when my life and body shall part, send thy blessed angels, which
 “ may receive my soul, and convey it to thy joys in heaven.”

He then pray'd for all estates of the realm, concluding with the Lord's prayer, and reiterating this petition, *Lord Jesus, forgive us our trespasses ; Lord Jesus, receive my soul.* After this he desir'd to be inform'd what was fit for him to do in disposing himself for the block ; upon which the executioner on his knees presented himself, asking him forgiveness ; to whom the earl said, *I forgive thee : thou art welcome to me : thou art the minister of justice.* At which time dr. MONTFORD requested him to rehearse the creed, which he did, repeating every article after the divines. He afterwards open'd and put off his doublet, and stood in a scarlet waistcoat, till being ready to lie down, he said, that he would only stretch forth his arms, and spread them abroad, for then he would be ready. So bowing towards the block the divines requested him to say the two first verses of the 51st psalm, which he did ; and then inclining his body said, “ In humility and obedience
 “ to thy commandment, in obedience to thy ordinance, to thy good pleasure, O
 “ God, I prostrate myself to my deserved punishment. Lord, be merciful to thy
 “ prostrate servant.” After this he laid himself flat on the boards, and placing his head on the block stretched out his arms with these last words, which he was re-
 requested

quested to say, *Lord, into thy hands I recommend my spirit.* His head was severed from his body by the executioner at three strokes, the first of which absolutely depriv'd him of all sense and motion ^a.

Secretary CECIL acknowledg'd^b, that his lordship “suffered with great patience
“and humility, only (notwithstanding his resolution, that he must die) the conflict
“between the flesh and the soul did appear thus far, that in his prayers he was fain
“to be helped; otherwise no man living could pray more christianly than he did.”

Such was the last scene of the life of ROBERT earl of Essex, whose penitence, humility, and piety shewn in it were treated with contempt and ridicule by men of no religion, and particularly by marshal DE BIRON, who said, that his lordship died more like a minister than a soldier^c; but who receiv'd his own deserv'd death about fifteen months after with all the rage of a madman.

A very serious and pathetic letter has lately been publish'd^d, as written by his lordship, while under sentence of death, to the earl of Southampton. The style and circumstances clearly shew it to be his; but it could not be address'd to the latter earl, who was condemn'd at the same time with himself; for it is evident from the letter itself, that the person, to whom it was written, was not in that situation.

“My lord,

“As neither nature nor custom ever made me a man of compliments, so now I
“shall have less will than heretofore to use such ceremonies, when I have left to
“Martha to be *solicita circa multa*, and believe with Mary, that *unum sufficit*.
“But it is no compliment or ceremony, but a real and necessary duty, that one
“friend owes to another in absence, and especially at their leave-taking, when in
“man's reason many accidents may keep them long-divided, or perhaps bar their
“meeting, till they meet again in another world: for then shall I think, that my
“friend, whose honour, whose person, and whose fortune is dearer unto me, shall
“prosper and be happy, wheresoever he goeth, and whatsoever he taketh in hand,
“when he is in favour of that God, under whose protection there is only safety,
“and in whose service there is only true happiness to be found.

“What I think of your natural gifts or your abilities, in this age or in this state;
“to give glory to GOD, and to win honour to yourself, if you employ the talents
“you have received to the best use, I will not now tell you. It sufficeth, that when I
“was farthest of all times from dissembling, I spoke freely, and had witnesses enough.
“But these things only I will put your lordship in mind of; first, that you have
“nothing, which you have not receiv'd: secondly, that you possess them, not as a
“lord over them, but an accountant for them: thirdly, if you employ them to
“serve this world, or your own worldly delights, which the prince of this world

^a The true copy in substance of the late earl of Essex's behaviour, &c.

^c CAMDEN, p. 804, 805.

^b Letter to mr. WINWOOD, 7 March 1600, Memorials, vol. I. p. 301.

^d By the rev^d dr HOWARD in his collection of letters, p. 521.

“ will seek to entertain you with, it is ingratitude, it is injustice, yea, it is per-
 “ fidious treachery. For what would you think of such a servant of yours, that
 “ should convert your goods, committed to his charge, to the advantage or service
 “ of your greatest enemies? And what do you do less than this with God, since you
 “ have all from him, and know, that the world and the prince thereof are at con-
 “ tinual enmity with him? If ever therefore the admonition of your truest friend
 “ shall be heard by you, or if your country, which you may serve in so great and so
 “ many things, be dear unto you, your God, whom you must, if you deal truly
 “ with yourself, acknowledge to be powerful over all, and just in all, should be
 “ feared by you. Yea, if you be dear to yourself, and prefer an everlasting hap-
 “ piness before a pleasant dream, which you must shortly awake out of, then repent
 “ in the bitterness of your soul, if any of these things be regarded by you; then,
 “ I say, call yourself to account for what is past, cancel all leagues you have made
 “ without the warrant of a religious conscience, make a resolute covenant with your
 “ God, to serve him with all your natural and spiritual, inward and outward gifts
 “ and abilities; and then he, that is faithful and cannot lie, has promised to honour
 “ them, that honour him. He will give you the inward peace of soul and true joy of
 “ heart, which till you have, you shall never rest, and which when you have, you
 “ can never be shaken; and which you can never attain to by any other way than
 “ this, that I have shewed unto you.

“ I know your lordship, when you read this, may say unto yourself, and object
 “ to me, this is but a vapour of melancholy, the style of a prisoner; and that I was
 “ far enough from it, when I lived in the world, as you do now, and may be so
 “ again, when my fetters are taken from me. I answer, tho’ your lordship should
 “ think so, yet I cannot distrust that goodness of my God, that his mercy will
 “ fail me, or his grace will forsake me. I have so deeply engaged myself, as I
 “ should be one of the miserablest apostates, that ever was. I have so avowed my
 “ profession, and called so many from time to time to witness it, and to be watch-
 “ men over me, as I should be the hollowest hypocrite, that ever lived, and the
 “ most detested atheist, that ever was born. But tho’ I should perish in my own
 “ sin, or draw upon myself mine own condemnation, should not you take hold of
 “ the grace and mercy of God, that is offered you, and make your profit by my
 “ wretched and fearful example? I was longer a slave and servant to the world and
 “ the corruption of it, than you have been; and therefore could hardly be drawn
 “ from it. I had many callings, and answered some of them, thinking a soft pace
 “ fast enough to come to Christ, and myself forward enough, when I saw the end
 “ of my journey, tho’ I arrived not at it; and therefore I have been, by God’s
 “ providence, violently pulled, haled, and dragged to the marriage feast, as all
 “ the world have seen. It was just with God to afflict me in this world, that he
 “ might give me joy in another: I had too much knowledge, while I perform’d so
 “ little, and was therefore to be beaten with double stripes. God grant your lord-
 “ ship may quickly feel the comfort I now enjoy in my unfeigned conversion, but
 “ that you may never feel the torment I have suffered for my long delaying it. I
 “ had none but deceivers to call upon me, to whom I said, if my ambition could
 “ have entered into their narrow breasts, they would not have been so humble; or
 “ if my delights had been once tasted by them, they would not have been so pre-
 “ cise.

“ cife. But your lordship hath one to call upon you, that knoweth what it is you
 “ now enjoy, and what the greatest fruit and end is of all contentment, that this
 “ world can afford. Think therefore, dear earl, that I have staked and buoyed
 “ all the ways of pleasure unto you, and left them as sea-marks for you to keep the
 “ channel of religious virtue. For shut your eyes never so long, they must
 “ be open at the last; and then you must say with me, *There is no peace to the*
 “ *ungodly.*

“ I will make a covenant with my soul not to suffer my eyes to sleep in the
 “ night, or my thoughts to attend the first business of the day, till I have prayed
 “ my God, that your lordship may believe and make profit of this my plain and
 “ faithful admonition: and then I know your country and friends shall be happy in
 “ you, and all you take in hand; which shall be an unspeakable comfort to

“ Your lordship’s cousin and true friend, whom no

“ worldly cause can divide from you,

“ ROBERT ESSEX.”

The earl was but in his thirty fourth year, at his death. His person was tall and strong, but he bent a little in the neck, tho’ rather forwards than downwards; and he was so far from being a good dancer, that even his manner of walking was not graceful. His hands were remarkable for their fairness and fine shape. His countenance had an air of reserve and thoughtfulness, to the latter of which he naturally inclin’d, and never more so than at meals, when others are generally least so; so that he used to make his observations of himself, that to solve any knotty business, which perplex’d his mind, his best hours were, when he had check’d his appetite with two or three morsels; after which he sat usually for a good while silent. Yet he would play well and willingly at some games of greatest attention; which shew’d, that, when he pleas’d, he could dismiss his thoughts ^b.

As he grew more and more attentive to business, he became less curious of his dress; so that those about him had a conceit, that sometimes when he went up to the queen, he scarce knew what he had on. For his manner of dressing was this: his chamber being commonly fill’d with friends or suitors of one kind or other; when he was up, he gave his legs, arms, and breast to his ordinary servants to button and dress him, with little heed; his head and face to his barber, his eyes to his letters, his ears to petitioners, and many times all at once. Then the gentleman of his robes throwing a cloke over his shoulders, he would make a step into his closet, and, after a short prayer, he was gone: only in his baths he was somewhat delicate ^c.

He was much more eminent for his temperance and sobriety, than his con-

^b Reliq. WOTTON. p. 170, 171.

^c Ibid. p. 172, 173.

tinency^a; and had particularly by mrs. SOUTHWELL, one of his mistresses, a natural son named WALTER^b.

He was very acute and sound speaker, when he intended it; and for his writings beyond example, especially in his familiar letters and subjects of amusements at court, as in his impresses and inventions of entertainments, and above all in his favourite piece of *Love and Self-love*. His style was distinguish'd by an elegant perspicuity, "rich of phrase, says mr. HENRY WOTTON^c, but seldom any bold metaphors, and so far from tumour, that it rather wanted a little elevation." His poetical talents would appear, if his poems still extant in manuscript, particularly in the Ashmolean-library^d, were made public. His *Apology* address'd to mr. ANTHONY BACON was several times printed, and his excellent letter of *Advice* to ROGER earl of Rutland in his travels, publish'd at London 1633 in 8^{vo}. in a book intitled, *Profitable Instructions describing what special Observations are to be taken by Travellers in all Nations*.

His liberality was great, particularly towards men of genius and learning, and divines eminent in their profession; and he prefer'd always a kind of filial respect towards dr. WHITGIFT, both before and after he was archbishop; at the same time shewing a regard and affection for mr. THOMAS CARTWRIGHT, the head of the puritans, "tho' with large distinction, says sir HENRY WOTTON^e, between the persons and the causes, however he was taxed with other ends in respecting that party." Of the poets of that age SPENSER was his favourite, and enjoy'd his patronage, and dying in 1598 or 1599^f, in very necessitous circumstances^g, was interr'd in Westminster Abbey at his lordship's expence. That incomparable poet had shewn his esteem of the earl in the following sonnet sent to him with the first three books of his *Fairy Queen*, printed in 1590:

Magnific lord, whose virtues excellent
Do merit a most famous poet's wit

^a Reliq. WOTTON. p. 183.

^b CAMDEN, p. 806.

^c Ibid. p. 174.

^d N^o 6957, 6958, 6959. See Catalogi Librorum MSS. Angliæ & Hiberniæ, p. 320. Edit. Oxon. 1697, and WOOD, Fasti. Oxon, Vol. I. col. 136.

^e Reliqu. WOTTON. p. 174.

^f See the life of SPENSER, p. xxix prefix'd to his *Fairy Queen*, Vol. I. Edit. London 1751 in 4^{to}.

^g A new proof of this great poet's poverty before his death will not be improper to be given the public here, from a dramatic piece of that age, scarce now to be found except in the valuable collection of old plays in the possession of DAVID GARRICK, Esq; It was printed at London in 1606, and intitled, *The Returne from Parnassus: or the Scourge of Simony: Publickely acted by the Students in St. John's college in Cambridge*. In the signature B verso is the following passage:

A swiften * swan then ever song in Poe,
A shriller nightingale then ever blest
The prouder groves of selfe-admiring Rome.
Blith was each vally, and each sheapheard proud,
While he did chaunt his rurall minstrelsie,
Attentive was full many a dainty eare.
Nay hearers hung upon his melting tong,
While sweetly of his Faiery Queene he song,
While to the waters fall he tun'd for fame,
And in each barke engrav'd ELIZA's name.
And yet for all, this unregarding soile
Unlac't the line of his desired life,
Denying maintenance for his deare reliefe,
Carelesse care to prevent his exequy
Scarce deigning to shut up his dying eye.
ING. Pitty it is, that gentler witts should breed,
Where thick skin chuffes laugh at a schollers need:
But softly may our honour's ashes rest,
That lie by mery CHAUCER's noble chest.

* Sweeter,

To be thy living praises instrument ;
 Yet do not 'sdeign to let thy name be writ
 In this base poem for thee far unfit.
 Nought is thy worth disparaged thereby :
 But when my muse, whose feathers, nothing flit,
 Do yet but flag, and lowly learn to fly,
 With bolder wing shall dare aloft to fly
 To the last praises of this Fairy Queen,
 Then shall it make more famous memory
 Of thine heroic parts, such as they been.
 Till then vouchsafe thy noble countenance
 To these first labours needed furtherance.

In his *Prothalamion* likewise he pays a beautiful compliment to his lordship on the success of his expedition against Cadiz, upon mentioning the house built by ROBERT DUDLEY earl of Leicester, and left by him to his son-in-law the earl of Essex.

Yet therein now doth lodge a worthy peer,
 Great England's glory, and the world's wide wonder,
 Whose dreadful name late thro' all Spain did thunder,
 And Hercules' two pillars standing near
 Did make to quake and fear :
 Fair branch of honour, flower of chivalry,
 That fillest England with the triumph's fame,
 Joy have thou of thy noble victory,
 And endless happiness of thine own name,
 That promiset the same ;
 That thro' thy prowess and victorious arms
 Thy country may be freed from foreign harms,
 And great ELIZA's glorious name may ring
 Thro' all the world, fill'd with thy wide alarms,
 Which some brave muse may sing
 To ages following.

Our other great poet of that age, SHAKESPEARE, introduced likewise into the *chorus* in the end of the fourth act of his HENRY V, a prophecy of the expected success of the earl's administration of Ireland :

Were now the general of our gracious empress
 (As in good time he may) from Ireland coming,
 Bringing rebellion broached on his sword,
 How many would the peaceful city quit
 To welcome him ?

The earl's magnificence appear'd in his hospitality rather in his houses, of which he neither built nor adorn'd any ; the queen spending his time, and himself his

his fortune in a manner more adapted to popularity^f; tho' he had received from her majesty, besides the fees of his offices and the disposition of great sums in her armies, no less than three hundred thousand pounds in pure gifts for his own use, if we credit a computation made by the lord treasurer BUCKHURST about the time of the earl's arraignment, when his faults were aggravated by the favours conferr'd upon him^g. But the grant of so enormous a sum is scarce reconcilable with the known frugality of the queen, or the state of her exchequer, or the almost constant necessities, under which his lordship laboured; nor is so extraordinary a fact to be hastily received upon the unsupported testimony of a nobleman acknowledged not to be *well affected to him*^{*}.

He was courteous and affable in his behaviour to all persons, and not at all disposed to detract openly from any^h, tho' he hath been falsely accused of it in the common histories, and particularly by CAMDENⁱ. Only he had against one man, HENRY lord Cobham, forsworne patience, calling him *the sycophant* even to the queen herself, tho' that lord was of no small insinuation with her; and he had a great aversion to one lady, whom he used to term the spider of the court. He was likewise a great resenter and a weak dissembler of the least disgrace, in which respect, as well as others, he was no good pupil of his father-in-law the earl of Leicester, whose custom it was to put all his passions in his pocket^k.

The violence of his courses with the queen was grounded upon a settled opinion of his, that she would be brought to nothing but by a kind of necessity and authority: and when by this means he had gained any point, which he wanted, he would ask mr. FRANCIS BACON, *Now, sir, whose principles are true?* For that gentleman was always of opinion, that the only method of proceeding with her majesty was by obsequiousness and observance; which if his lordship would constantly pursue, and express this temper in proper circumstances, she would be brought in time to AHASUERUS's question, What should be done to the man, whom the king would honour? Upon which occasions mr. FRANCIS BACON used to say to him, "My lord, these violent courses be like to hot waters; they will help at a pang; but if you use them, you spoil the stomach, and you will be fain still to make them stronger and stronger; and yet in the end they will lose their operation." He vehemently dissuaded his lordship likewise from seeking greatness by a military dependence, or a popular one, as what would breed in the queen jealousy, in himself presumption, and in the state perturbation; and he usually compared them to ICARUS's two wings, which were joined on with wax, and would make him venture to soar too high, and then fail him at the height. And he would farther say, "My lord, stand upon two feet, and fly not upon two wings. The two feet are the two kinds of justice, commutative and distributive.—Use your greatness for advancing of merit and virtue, and relieving wrongs and burthens. You shall need no other art or finesse." But the earl would answer, that this opinion came not from mr. FRANCIS BACON's mind, but from his robe. However the latter still persisted in endeavouring to divert his lordship by all means possible from

^f Ibid.^{*} Ibid.^g Ibid. p. 175.

VOL. II.

^h Ibid. p. 174.ⁱ P. 806.^k Reliqu. WOTTON, p. 174, 175.

courses of war and popularity, seeing plainly, that, if the queen lived, the times would be as in the declination of an old prince; and if she died, they would be as in the beginning of a new; and that if his lordship rose too fast in these courses, the times might be dangerous for him, and he for them*.

His character was attempted by the earl of Clarendon in his younger years in a piece entitled, *The difference and disparity between the estates and conditions of GEORGE duke of Buckingham and ROBERT earl of Essex*, written by way of contrast to sir HENRY WOTTON's *parallel*, and published first in 1672 among the *Remains* of sir HENRY. In this discourse the earl of Clarendon stiles both the earl of Essex and the duke *virtuous and great persons*; but observes, that the former out of his proper orb of military affairs was neither of much business, as a man, towards whom the queen had directed some rays of affection, than of much dexterity above other men: that he was by no means built or furnished for a courtier, nor was inclined to or desired the reputation of one, besides the preservation of himself, and the queen's affection, which yet he endeavoured rather to master than win: that his correspondencies abroad, which he rather maintained out of state, than contrived out of skill, were always with an eye upon actions; and his intelligences had ever some hint of tumult and commotion; as if the king of Spain was loud or frantic at his devotions, as when he vowed at mass, that he would be revenged on England, tho' he sold all those candlesticks upon the altar; which information † was given the earl: that all his actions had glorious ends or glorious intentions; and the incumbrances, which he had to wrestle withal, were fewer than ever any great man met with, and his advantages more in number and weight; tho' he was rivalled by a strong and subtle faction, which cared and consulted for his ruin, as a foundation to build upon for themselves, and were intent to betray him abroad, and misinterpret him at home. Yet his danger from them was thus lessened, that they were all his public and professed enemies, and so known to the queen, that they durst never impertinently urge any thing against him, since they were sure their malice was concluded, when the reason of their objection might perhaps not be considered. That the queen's remarkable grace endeared him to the regard of the people, which he quickly improved to a more tender estimation; neither was this affection of theirs ever any objection against him, till himself took too much notice of it, nor was the queen ever offended, if he was the darling of their eyes, till she suspected, that he inclined to be the darling of their hearts: that he was so fortunate in his friendships, that tho' he contracted with antient enemies, and such as he had disobliged by some unkindness, as grievous or injurious, it is not known, that ever he was betrayed in his trust, or had ever his secrets derived unhand-somely to any ears, for which they were not intended; and this, if he had not planted himself upon such, whose zeal to his service was more remarkable than their abilities, would have preserved him from so prodigious a fate: that he had so strong an harbour in the queen's breast, that notwithstanding those dangerous indiscretions of committing himself in his recreations and shooting matches to the public view of so many thousand citizens, who usually flock'd to see him, and made within

* BACON's letter to the earl of Devonshire, count of this information, as will appear from *Scrinia Ceciliana*, p. 90, 91. comparing it with that inserted above from a letter

† The earl of Clarendon is mistaken in his account of dr. HAWKYNs, p. 117.

the reach of his own ears large acclamations in his praise; notwithstanding his receiving into his troop of attendance, and under that shadow bringing into the court, divers persons not liked by the queen, and some, who had been in prison for suspicion of treason, as capt. WAINMAN; and then his glorious feather-triumph, when he caused two thousand orange-tawny feathers, in despite of sir WALTER RALEGH, to be worn in the Tilt-yard, even before her majesty's own face; yet neither these, nor any whispers, that were distilled into the queen's ears ever lessen'd him in her regard, till he committed such strange mistakes, as ever have been prosecuted with most exemplary punishments by the laws themselves. That if, towards his period, the queen grew a less merciful interpreter of his failings and successes, it was when she believed, that he grew too familiar, and in love with his passions, and had a mind not to be satisfied but upon his conditions, and too insensible of his own errors. That his carriage towards her majesty was very strange, and his usual converse upon too bold a course, which from the beginning he fancied, and continued even to his end. That if ever that uncooth speech fell from him to the queen, which is delivered by one, who was much conversant in the secrets of the court, that she was as crooked in her disposition as in her carcase, his destruction is not at all wonderful. But the earl of Clarendon confesses himself "nothing satisfied with
 "that loose report, which hath crept, *says he*, into our discourse, that shortly after
 "his miserable end (which indeed deserved compassion from all hearts) I know not
 "upon what unseasonable delivery of a ring or jewel by some lady of the court, the
 "queen expressed much reluctancy for his death." But he concludes this remark with affirming, that no discovery, no expression either to the earl of Essex's memory, friends, or dependents, can weigh down the indignity of dr. BARLOW's sermon at St. Paul's, set out by command, or of mr. FRANCIS BACON's discourse of his lordship's treasons so carefully commended abroad, "which
 "were two of the most pestilent libels against his fame, that any age hath
 "seen published against any malefactor, and could not with that deliberation
 "have been contrived and justified by authority, had not there been some
 "sparks of indignation in the queen, that were unquenched even with his
 "blood."

Mr. FRANCIS OSBORNE, who thought sir HENRY WOTTON's *parallel* of the earl with the duke of Buckingham unjust to the superior merits of the former, has given some remarks on the character of his lordship in a small piece, printed in 1659, and inserted afterwards in his works, under the title of *Deductions from the history of the earl of Essex*. The chief facts or observations of that writer are, that the parliament were no ill-willers to him, nor the greatest families then in rebellion in Ireland less obedient to him than his respective officers: and if these advantages had been too little to have set the crown upon his head, after the decease of his mistress, he might have had any men or money from the king of Spain, who would have advanced his designs, or any natural English subject's else, who should but oppose the Scots succession: but that his lordship had religion and fidelity inherent in his nature, and incompatible with such ambition, tho' it is uncertain, how he might have behaved in an absolute power, notwithstanding his first design might extend no farther than to the removing of secretary CECIL and his other declared enemies, under the notion

of evil counsellors: that it was the universal opinion, that his ambition did, like the great earl of Warwick's, terminate in a desire to bring in king JAMES on his own score: that one cause of his presumption was the fond opinion, which he entertained, that the queen would not rob her eyes of the great delight, which she took in his person: that those, who wonder'd, how she durst bring him to the scaffold for fear of her own honour, are not thoroughly studied either in the boldness of princes, hardened by flattery putting a gloss on their worst actions, or in the compunctions of dying men, who desire rather to clear themselves towards God and the world, than impertinently to accuse others: besides which, a hope of pardon, not to be cut off but with his head, was a sufficient reason to restrain him from breaking out into any intemperate ranting against his prince: that not only those, who, in the people's opinion, contributed to his murder, (as many called it) but even the queen herself, were exposed to some public affronts, the spectators, when she passed thro' any town or city, especially London, becoming much less numerous and more silent, than they used formerly to be: that she did not apprehend, till it was too late, the wound given to her own power by his death, not being able ever after to moderate the insolency of those, who now affected to slight her: that this blow not only ruined his lordship's friends, but extended to the disadvantage of some of his enemies themselves, and particularly of sir WALTER RALEGH, who wanting strength, tho' not parts, to be secretary CECIL's rival, perished because he had not humility enough to be his servant; and was often heard to say, that he had never apprehended the prejudice, which the earl's death might be of to himself, till he came in a boat from his lordship's execution, which the hangman could scarce be hired to perform.

The earl by his countess, FRANCES, daughter of sir FRANCIS WALSINGHAM, and widow of sir PHILIP SIDNEY, a lady of great virtues, but who afterwards changed her religion for that of Rome^a, left one son and two daughters, restored in blood in the first year of king JAMES I. ROBERT, born at Essex-house in 1592, afterwards general of the long parliament; and FRANCES, married to WILLIAM earl and marquis of Hereford, and afterwards duke of Somerset; and DOROTHY, married first to sir HENRY SHIRLEY of Stanton-Harold in Leicestershire, and afterwards to WILLIAM STAFFORD, esq;

His punishment was soon followed by that of several of his accomplices. Sir CHARLES DAVERS, sir CHRISTOPHER BLOUNTE, sir JOHN DAVIS, sir GILLY MERICKE, and mr. HENRY CUFFE, were tried and condemned in Westminster-hall on the 5th of March. BLOUNTE being urged on his trial with the earl's own confession, charging him as the instigator to his crime, and finding it signed by his lordship, was deeply confounded, and desired to speak with the lord admiral and secretary in another place upon that subject, but said openly with a sigh and his eyes lifted up, O God! *thou knowest from what designs I dissuaded the earl.* After that the confession of capt. THOMAS LEIGH was read, who own'd, that he had with the permission of BLOUNTE, who was marshal, gone to TYRONE; from whom he had received an answer by JAMES KNOWD, a confidant of TYRONE, that if the earl

^a Reliq. WOTTON, p. 183.

would

would be guided by him, he would make him the greatest man in England. LEE had likewise deposed, that he knew, that the earl, TYRONE and BLOUNTE were all one, and held one course. Nor did BLOUNTE deny his having by the earl's order given leave to LEIGH to send and go to TYRONE. Other informations sent from Ireland were also produced to prove an association between the earl and TYRONE°. MERICKE and CUFFE were hang'd at Tyburn on the 13th of March; and on the 18th sir CHARLES DAVERS, who had offered 10,000*l.* for his life, but met with no favour on account of his obstinate denials till he had seen the confessions of others under their hands, and sir CHRISTOPHER BLOUNTE were beheaded on Tower-hill. Sir CHARLES died with great resolution and appearance of devotion, asking pardon, not only of God and the queen, but likewise of the lord GREY, to whom he had professed himself a bitter enemy, not for any injury received from his lordship, but from his own friendship with the earl of Southampton, with whom that lord was upon ill terms. Sir CHRISTOPHER BLOUNTE on the scaffold acknowledged, that the first time of his discovering any dangerous discontentment in the earl of Essex was about three years before at Wansted, upon his lordship's coming one day from Greenwich, when he spoke many things to sir CHRISTOPHER, but descended into no particulars; after which time he never broke with that gentleman in any matter tending to the alteration of the state till he went into Ireland, other than that sir CHRISTOPHER might conceive, that he was of an ambitious and discontented mind. But when sir CHRISTOPHER was brought wounded from Reban to Dublin, and lodged in the castle, his lordship in a visit to him with the earl of Southampton, told him of his intention of transporting a choice part of the army of Ireland into England, and landing them in Wales at Milford or thereabouts; and that having thus secured his descent, he would gather such other forces, as would enable him to march to London; that upon his, BLOUNTE's, desiring a night's consideration of it, the two earls came to him again the next day, when he told them, that such an enterprize, as it was most dangerous, would cost much blood, so that he could not like it; but advised the earl of Essex to go over himself to England with a good train, and make sure of the court, and then make his own conditions: and that tho' they never resolved to hurt her majesty's person, yet he knew, and must confess, that if they had failed of their ends, they should rather than have been disappointed, even drawn blood from herself. That the earl, after he was set at liberty, and returned to his house, began to discourse again with him upon these designs, tho' without coming to any fixed resolution; but afterwards sent for him out of the country about ten days before the insurrection. He then referr'd to his confession to the lord admiral and the secretary, to whom he desired sir WALTER RALEGH to commend him for their honourable and charitable dealing.

The earl of Southampton continued for some time doubtful of his life; for tho' he had been drawn into the action by his love for the earl of Essex, “ yet in respect, “ *says secretary CECIL in a letter to sir GEORGE CAREW of the 4th of March, 1601,* “ that most of the conspiracies were at Drury-house, where he was always chief, “ and where sir CHARLES DAVERS lay, those, that would deal for him (of which “ number, I protest to God, I am one, as far as I dare) are much disadvantaged

° Declaration of the treasons of ROBERT earl of Essex. || Speech of sir CHRISTOPHER BLOUNTE.

“ of arguments to save him. And yet when I consider how penitent he is, and
 “ how merciful the queen is, and that never in thought or deed but in this conspi-
 “ racy he offended, as I cannot write in despair, so I dare not flatter myself with
 “ hope.” He was confined to the Tower during the rest of queen ELIZABETH’s
 reign; but upon her death was much visited there*, till he was released on the
 10th of April following^b, and was soon after restored in blood, and on the 2d
 of July installed knight of the garter. But in the latter end of June, 1604, he
 was seized late in the night by order of the king upon a charge of some Roman
 catholics, that his lordship, in conjunction with the lord DAVERS, sir HENRY
 NEVILLE, sir WILLIAM LEE, MAURICE BERKLEY, and other friends of the earl,
 had formed a design against the court. But the council finding no ground for the
 accusation, advised his majesty immediately to set the earl at liberty, which was
 accordingly done*. However his majesty could not be prevailed upon to name
 his lordship’s accusers†, and it was thought, that the true cause of his proceeding
 in that manner against the earl was from a jealousy of him and the queen‡. He
 was afterwards appointed captain of the Isle of Wight and of Carisbrooke castle,
 and sworn of the privy-council. He died in the Netherlands on the 10th of Nov.
 1624. By his lady ELIZABETH, daughter of JOHN VERNON of Hodnet in Shrop-
 shire, and sister of sir ROBERT VERNON, knt. he had two sons, JAMES, who died
 likewise in the Netherlands in the life-time of his father, and THOMAS, lord high
 treasurer from the restoration to his death in 1667, and three daughters.

The sheriff SMITH, who was afterwards knighted by king JAMES I. was detained
 in prison; and others of the conspirators fined, tho’ few paid their fines^c.

Sir JOHN DAVIS, after a year’s imprisonment, obtained a pardon from the
 queen on the 5th of February, 160 $\frac{1}{2}$, and having purchased an estate at Pang-
 bourne in Berkshire, lived there in retirement till his death on the 14th of May,
 1625^d.

Sir HENRY NEVILLE was confined in the Tower for having been made acquainted
 with all the circumstances of the plot by mr. CUFFE and sir CHARLES DAVERS, and
 not revealing it, according to the account of secretary CECIL^e. But the fact, as re-
 presented by sir HENRY himself in his own case^f, was this, that he had been intreated
 by mr. CUFFE, in the earl of Essex’s name, to meet the earl of Southampton and sir
 CHARLES DAVERS, by them to understand some project, which his lordship had in
 consultation touching his own good, and that of the state, and to give his advice

* Letter of mr. FRANCIS BACON to mr. ROBERT KEMPE, on the death of queen ELIZABETH.

^b CAMDENI Annales Regis JACOBI, p. 1.

* Letter of the count DE BEAUMONT to HENRY IV. July 8, 1604, N. S. Despatches MSS. de comte DE BEAUMONT, Vol. V. fol. 239—241, in the possession of the hon. PHILIP YORKE, esq;

† Ibid. fol. 241 and 253.

‡ Letter of the 11th of July, N. S. Ibid. fol. 252.

^c CAMDENI ELIZ. p. 814.

^d WOOD, Athen. Oxon, Vol. I. col. 444.

^e Original letter to sir GEORGE CAREW, March 14, 160 $\frac{1}{2}$. See likewise a letter of the secretary to mr. WINWOOD, May 9, 1601, in WINWOOD’s memorials, Vol. I. p. 325.

^f WINWOOD p. 302—304.

in it, with assurance, that nothing should be proposed, which he might not hear with due respect to his allegiance, as the words of the messenger imported. After some ten days delay and frequent sollicitation he went to Drury-house on Candlemas-day, and met with them; where the project being opened to him, he objected both to the nature and difficulties of it, and gave no approbation of it, or promise of partaking in it, but only said, that he would advise of it. After which he never spake with them, nor heard from them; and when mr. CUFFE came soon after to him, he utterly refused to have any part or hand in the matter. And being requested to come and speak with the earl of Essex himself about the third day after, he refused it, because he would have nothing to do with his lordship, finding, that he had such conceits working in his mind; after which refusal CUFFE never came to him again. And he imagined afterwards, that this refusal, and perhaps a suspicion of his having revealed the design, occasioned the earl to deal unequally, not to say uncharitably, with him in his confession, in which he delivered matters to charge sir HENRY, but nothing to discharge him, tho' both alike known to him, and added some things not at all pertinent to the subject, and apparently design'd only to aggravate. Sir HENRY continued in the Tower till the 10th of April after the queen's death, when he was set at liberty; and under king JAMES I. his abilities were expected to have raised him to some considerable post, and particularly to that of secretary of state, for which he stood in August, 1612^a, and was thought design'd for it in April the year following by CAR lord viscount Rochester, the king's favourite; but met with no promotion till his death on the 13th of July, 1615, on account of his majesty's disinclination to him^b.

Mr. JOHN LYTTTELTON of Frankley in Worcestershire, a man of great parts and courage, and knight of that shire in the parliament held in 1585, had been engaged in the conspiracy by sir CHARLES DAVERS, and present at the consultation at Drury-house on Candlemas-day. When he was first seized, he wrote a letter to his wife, beginning thus: "Be not discomfited with the appearance of my present misfortunes. I have done no act, that can burthen my conscience; I have committed no offence, that may justly bring scandal to my reputation; I have conceived no disloyal thought towards my country. My fault is my folly (if it may be term'd a folly) to have been over-zealous and affectionate to the friends I professed to love and follow. If the sway of the times, and the power of great persons, will make other interpretations, and wrest private actions to the offence of the public quiet, then must I, as well as others, be subject to that general and fatal imputation. I carry notwithstanding, and ever will bear about me, a clear sincere heart and an unspotted conscience, upon which arches I do support my mind, and with these pillars stay up myself against all adversity, that men or fortune can lay upon me. I find no cause to despair of mine own safety, my offence being not in any nature capital, and my friends giving daily hopes to those, that sollicit for me this business. But I build no strong walls upon these

^a Historical view, p. 350.

^b Ibid. p. 374.

^c From a copy in his own hand writing in the possession of his descendant, the reverend and learned CHARLES LYTTTELTON, LL. D. dean of Exeter.

“ frail foundations: my principal trust is in him only, that is able to help me. If
 “ he find it meet I must perish, that my sins and the sins of my house do require
 “ this sacrifice to purge it, welcome be his will; and I hope he will make it
 “ unto me none other than as a bridge to pass over from a base, vile, contemptible
 “ world, into a kingdom replenished with all bliss and happiness. Whether I live
 “ or die, I humbly beseech him, I may be his; and then it little signifieth, whether
 “ now or at what other time I take my journey towards him. And howsoever it
 “ shall please him in his wisdom to dispose of me, I hope in his mercy and goodness
 “ he will give me grace so to live, and with constancy so to die, as you shall not
 “ be after ashamed to term me your husband, nor your children blush to avow me
 “ for their father.” He was arraigned on the 20th of February, the day after the
 earl of Essex’s trial, together with sir ROBERT VERNON, sir WILLIAM CONSTABLE,
 sir EDWARD BAINHAM, mr. HENRY CUFFE, capt. WHITELOCKE, JOHN and
 CHRISTOPHER WRIGHT, and ORELL, an old soldier. None of these except mr.
 LYTTTELTON and mr. CUFFE having been of the earl’s first juncto, as soon as they
 had held up their hands, a letter came from the queen, in which she (who had been
 informed by sir FULK GREVILL, that most of them had been drawn imprudently
 into the design) ordered, that only mr. LYTTTELTON, who was then very dangerously
 ill, BAINHAM, who had entered into the conspiracy thro’ wantonness and a contempt
 of the government, and ORELL, should be brought upon their trial, and the rest to be
 remanded to prison. Mr. LYTTTELTON was convicted upon the evidence of sir
 CHARLES DAVERS; nor could he deny, but that he had been present at the consulta-
 tion at Drury-house. When, amongst other heads of the accusation against him, he
 was charged to have designed some mischief and sedition by the great number
 of horses and quantity of arms, which he had at that time in the inn; he
 answered, that his estate was able to maintain good store of horses, and that he always
 delighted in arms and horses. Being condemned with the two others, he said no
 more, but lifting up his eyes towards heaven, repeated this sentence of the *Te Deum*,
We praise thee, O God, we acknowledge thee to be the Lord. Yet were all their lives
 spared, BAINHAM redeeming his with a sum of money paid to sir WALTER RA-
 LEGH^d, to whom likewise mr. LYTTTELTON wrote from Newgate the day after his
 condemnation the following letter^e.

“ Sir,

“ It is not worthy the virtue and honour you profess to persecute persons fallen
 “ into misfortune. If heretofore you have borne me causeless displeasure, now of
 “ all others is the time least seasonable to shew it. Remember, sir, what it is to
 “ be truly noble, and how it agreeth not with generous hearts to delight to trample
 “ upon dejected fortunes. It is now in your power to do me good or ill offices.
 “ If you do me ill, you shall wrong your own reputation: if you do me good, you
 “ will give me cause to be thankful. There is already between your son and me
 “ one tie in blood and nature. I could be content you did double the knot with
 “ offices of love and friendship. To beg your favour in the state I stand, were too
 “ much baseness; to refuse it, were arrogancy and indiscretion; but to require you
 “ to do me no harm is but justice; and that every gentleman oweth of right one

^d CAMDEN, p. 801.

^e From a copy in his own hand.

“ to another. What construction you will make of this, or what is now meet to
 “ be done, I must refer to your own judgment; and so I end.

JOHN LYTTLETON.”

But this letter alone did not succeed in procuring sir WALTER's interest, which mr. LYTTLETON was obliged to purchase with ten thousand pounds for obtaining the queen's pardon with regard to his life, tho' his estate, which was about seven thousand pounds a year, was confiscated. He was removed from Newgate on the 25th of April, 1601, to the King's Bench in Southwark, where he died on Wednesday the 25th of July following, and was interred in the church of St. George. His widow petitioned king JAMES I. at Doncaster in his progress from Scotland towards London for his forfeited estate, which his majesty readily granted to her by his letters patents, and an act passed in the first year of his reign for the reversing the attainder of mr. LYTTLETON, and restoring the blood of his children.

The lord Montjoy, lord deputy of Ireland, who had been charged with being, and actually was, privy to the earl of Essex's designs, having on the 22d of February, 1600, received a packet out of England of his lordship's commitment to the Tower for treason, was greatly alarmed, and took all possible measures for his safety. He began now to court secretary CECIL, and estranged himself from two of his nearest friends on account of the open declaration, which they had made of their dependence on the earl; and the next day took the most secret papers out of the hands of his chief secretary, mr. FYNES MORYSON, into his own custody, because he was brother to sir RICHARD MORYSON, governor of Dundalke, a friend of the earl. And tho' he continued his former importunities for leave to come to England, yet he had a quite contrary intention, if he should be sent for, of transporting himself into France with his friends, who secretly furnished themselves with money and necessaries for that purpose. For tho' his lordship had not been dangerously engaged in the earl's projects, he was, as he privately professed, fully resolved not to put his neck under the file of her majesty's attorney general's tongue. But his former services and success in his government, and the necessity of his future employment, so strengthen'd him, that without great ingratitude and popular obloquy, he could not have been questioned upon the weak grounds of the imputations cast upon him. And the queen herself in her letter to him giving an account of the earl's death, professed, that, in regard of his approved fidelity and love, it was some alleviation of her grief to ejaculate the same to him. She then required him to look well in general upon the dispositions of his captains, some of whom, being preferred by the earl, might perhaps have hollow hearts towards her service; for, as she was pleased to pardon those, who by his popular fashion and outward profession of his sincerity had been seduced and blindly led by him; so she was careful to sever the chaff from the corn, and to deprive the malicious of means to prejudice her service. She wished, that since the Spanish ships had not yet passed the narrow seas, he would conceal his desire of returning for a time, promising to call him home the next winter, and use his service near her person*.

* MORYSON's Itinerary, Part II. p. 89, 90.

The situation of mr. BACON after his removal from Essex-house, when the earl was permitted to return thither on the 20th of March, 1599, does not appear; but that he was then so distressed in his circumstances, that it was apprehended, he would be obliged to sell his estate of Gorhambury, is evident from a letter of his brother to the queen, written on the 13th of that very month, printed by mr. BLACKBOURNE in his *Collections* † before his edition of lord BACON's works in 1730, but omitted in the two subsequent ones of 1740 and 1753, and therefore inserted here.

“ Most gracious sovereign,

“ I think I should rest senseless of that, wherein others have sense restless, and
 “ that is of my particular estate and fortune; were it not, that the overthrow
 “ of my fortune includeth in it a cutting off that thread, which is so fastly wreathed
 “ with the thread of my life, that I know they will end together; I mean the thread
 “ of my hopes to do your majesty farther and better service. Which consideration
 “ only or chiefly constraineth me to make now this motion to your majesty for the
 “ help of my estate; a motion, wherein nevertheless I will keep this stay, that I
 “ will not incur the common precedent of being suitor to your majesty for a value,
 “ whereby the best of your possessions useth to be pucelled and deflowered, but in
 “ three parcels only, wherein I am informed, arising to the total of eighty and one
 “ pounds, and in all respects ordinary land; which if your majesty shall be pleased
 “ of your benignity and love towards me to confer upon me in the richest manner,
 “ which is fee simple, I can say no more, but that your majesty shall in one make
 “ me a freeman and a bondman, free to all the world, and only bound to
 “ yourself. And I will plainly express unto your sacred majesty the three thorns,
 “ the compunction whereof instanted me to make this motion at this time; holding
 “ otherwise all the services, which I have done, or can do, more than rewarded in
 “ your majesty's only gracious respect. First my love to my mother, whose health
 “ being worn, I do infinitely desire she might carry this comfort to the grave, not
 “ to leave my estate troubled and engaged: secondly, these perpetuities being now
 “ overthrown, I have just fear my brother will endeavour to put away Gorhambury;
 “ which, if your majesty enable me by this gift, I know I shall be able to get into
 “ mine own hands; where I do figure to myself, that one day I may have the
 “ honour and comfort to bid your majesty welcome, and to trim and dress the
 “ grounds for your majesty's solace. Thirdly, your majesty may by this redemp-
 “ tion (for so I may truly call it) free me from the contempt of the contemptible,
 “ that measure a man by his estate; which I daily find a weakening of me both in
 “ courage and mean to do your majesty service.

“ Thus, madam, your majesty seeth, tho' I am an ill beggar in person, yet I
 “ would make no proctor; for I never received so much contentment of any man,
 “ as I could find it in my mind to make him an author or mediator of my fortune.
 “ Only I have used an antient friend and a man of ordinary access to your majesty,

† P. 57, 58.

“ for the delivery of these lines. And so most humbly craving pardon, I leave all
 “ to your majesty’s goodness, and yourself to the daily preservation of the divine
 “ Majesty.

“ Your majesty’s most humble and entirely devoted

“ From my tub not yet hallowed by your
 “ sacred majesty*, March 13, 1599.

“ subject and servant,

“ FR. BACON.”

The time and place of mr. BACON’s death have not yet been discovered by the strictest enquiry §, that I have been able, having in vain searched the register of the church of St. Michael at St. Albans, where his mother and brother were interred †. He survived indeed the earl of Essex, as we find by the letter to him of the 30th of May, 1601, cited above, concerning his lordship’s confession; but he did not live till the accession of king JAMES to the throne. For he is mentioned in a grant of his majesty to mr. FRANCIS BACON of an annual pension of sixty pounds, dated the 25th of August, 1603, as then dead, but with an acknowledgment of his *good, faithful, and acceptable service* to that king ||; to whom mr. FRANCIS BACON had before represented in a letter his brother’s *infinite devotion and incessant endeavours, beyond the strength of his body, and the nature of the times, towards his majesty’s service*.

Mr. FRANCIS BACON’s behaviour towards the earl at his trial was perhaps less exceptionable than his submitting to any share in it, which he afterwards endeavour’d to excuse in his *Apology* addressed to the earl of Devonshire, and first published in 1604, alledging, that he had never moved the queen, nor any other person, to be employed in the service, either of evidence or examination, but that it was merely laid upon him with the rest of his fellows: and that during the time, which passed between his lordship’s arraignment and suffering, he was but once with the queen; when, tho’ he durst not deal directly for his lordship, as things then stood, yet generally he commended her majesty’s mercy, terming it to her an excellent balm, which continually distilled from her sovereign hands, and made an excellent odour in the scents of her people; and he took the hardiness to extenuate, not the fact (for that he durst not) but the danger, telling her, that if some base or cruel-minded persons had entered into such an action, it might have caused much blood and combustion; but that it appeared well, that they were such, as knew not how to play the malefactors. And with regard to the rest of his carriage in that service, the next day after the earl’s arraignment, by his diligence and information touching the quality and nature of the offenders, six of nine were saved from being attainted, he bringing a letter from the lords of the council for stopping their trials, after the jury

* The queen had a design to dine at his lodging in Twickenham park. See his letter to the earl of Devonshire.

§ A large book of pedigrees of families in the county of Suffolk, begun in the reign of queen ELIZABETH and continued to that of CHARLES I. in the possession of mr. THOMAS MARTIN of

Palgrave in that county, and fellow of the society of antiquaries, London, mentions, p. 163, that mr. ANTHONY BACON died at Essex-house, but not the time of his death.

† Dr. RAWLEY’s life of lord BACON, prefix’d to his *Resuscitatio*. Edit. Lond. 1657.

|| RYMER, Vol. XVI. p. 597.

was sworn to pass upon them. He lent his pen indeed for the drawing up *the declaration of the practices and treasons attempted and committed by the earl and his accomplices*; but this he likewise justifies by the queen's command to him, and that never any secretary had more particular and express directions and instructions in every point, how to guide his hand in it: and that after he had made a first draught, and propounded it to certain principal counsellors, it was by her majesty's appointment perused, weighed, censured, altered, and made almost a new writing, according to their lordships better consideration, himself only furnishing words and form of style in pursuing their directions. And after it had passed their allowance, it was again exactly perused by the queen herself, and some alterations made by her appointment; and even after it was printed, her majesty, who, as she was excellent in great matters, was exquisite in small, noted, that he could not forget his antient respect to the earl, in terming him *my lord of Essex* in almost every page, which she thought not fit, but would have it made *Essex*, or *the late earl of Essex*: upon which it was printed anew, and the first copies suppress'd by her express orders. After her death, he was very early in his applications to those *, whose interest he thought would be of advantage to him with the new king, to whom he pleaded his brother ANTHONY's merits as well as his own. And tho' he had been council against the earl of Southampton upon his trial, yet he now wrote to his lordship to assure him, that how little soever it might seem credible to him at first, it was as true, as a thing, that God knoweth, that this great change of the queen's death and the king's accession had wrought in himself no other change towards his lordship than this, that he might safely be that to him now, which he was truly before. He obtained soon after of the king a patent for being king's council with a salary of forty pounds, and likewise an annual pension of sixty pounds †; and on the 25th of June, 1607, was sworn into the office of solicitor general, on the removal of sir JOHN DODDERIDGE to be the king's serjeant, and on the 27th of October, 1613, was appointed attorney general. He was advanced to be lord keeper of the great seal on the 7th of March, 1616, and lord chancellor on the 4th of January, 1618, being created lord Verulam on the 11th of July, 1619, a title, which he exchanged the year following for that of viscount St. Alban. But in May, 1621, he was sentenced by his peers for bribery and corruption to pay a fine of 40,000*l.* to be imprison'd in the Tower during the king's pleasure, and rendered incapable of any office, place, or employment in the state, or assisting in parliament, or coming within the verge of the court. But he was soon restored to his liberty, and had his fine remitted, and was summoned to the first parliament of king CHARLES. He died at the earl of Arundel's house at Highgate on Easter-day, April 9, 1626, aged sixty-five years, and was interr'd in St. Michael's church at St. Albans.

The lord WILLOUGHBY of Eresby was at his government of Berwick, at the time of the earl of Essex's insurrection and death; of which incidents the queen, in a letter to that lord from Whitehall on the 21st of March 1607, took a slight notice in the following words at the close of it §: “ And now by the way we will only touch this “ much of that, whereof we are sure an angel of heaven could hardly have made you

* See his letters to mr. FOULIS and others.

† RYMER's *Fœdera*, Vol. XVI. p. 596, 597.

§ From a copy of it among the MS. collections of dr. FORBES.

“ a believer, that it appeareth now by one’s example more bound than all or any others, how little faith there was in Israel.” His lordship did not long survive his friend the earl, dying in 1601, leaving by his wife MARY, daughter of JOHN VERE, earl of Oxford, five sons, the eldest of whom, ROBERT, was created in the second year of king CHARLES I. earl of Lindsey, and one daughter, married to sir LEWIS WATSON, afterwards lord Rockingham.

The earl of Essex’s great friend, the lord HENRY HOWARD, not escaped being involved in his misfortunes, but was soon admitted into the confidence of secretary CECIL, whose correspondencies with the king of Scots passed thro’ his hands. This eminent person, who has been so often mentioned in these memoirs, deserves to have some other circumstances of his history added here. He was grandson of THOMAS duke of Norfolk, and second son of HENRY earl of Surrey, eminent for his poetical as well as other talents, and beheaded in the last year of HENRY VIII.’s reign. He was educated at first in King’s college, and afterwards in Trinity-hall in Cambridge, where he took the degree of master of arts, in which he was incorporated at Oxford, April 19, 1568^a, and improved himself greatly by his travels in foreign parts, residing for some time both in Rome and Florence. His father dying in his infancy, a sufficient provision was not made for him; and after the execution of his brother THOMAS duke of Norfolk in June, 1572, his circumstances were much reduced^b. Nor had he any opportunity of improving them, not having for a long time the good fortune to stand well in the queen’s opinion^c, tho’ he at last gain’d it, and was admitted to a great degree of her favour about September, 1600, her majesty taking much pleasure in his conversation^d, as did likewise her successor. His lordship’s known attachment to the Roman catholic religion did not prevent him from being advanced by that king to titles and offices of importance; for in May, 1603, he was made privy counsellor, in January following lord warden of the cinque ports, in March baron of Marnhill and earl of Northampton, and in April, 1608, lord privy seal, being honoured with the order of the garter. In 1609 he succeeded JOHN lord Lumley as high steward of the university of Oxford, as he did ROBERT earl of Salisbury in 1612 in the chancellorship of that of Cambridge. He died in a very advanced age on the 15th of June, 1614, and was interred in the chapel of Dover castle. He was eminent for his magnificence, hospitality, and charity; and founded three several hospitals, one at Rife in Norfolk for twelve poor women, another at Clin in Shropshire for twelve poor men, and a third at Greenwich for twenty. He was a man of very considerable parts and learning, as appears from his *defensative against the poison of supposed prophecies*, dedicated to sir FRANCIS WALSINGHAM, and printed at London in 1583 in 4to, and reprinted there in folio in 1620. Besides which he wrote an *Apology for the government of women*, never published, but extant in manuscript in the Bodleian library. He is represented by monf. DE BEAUMONT^e, the French ambassador, as one of the greatest flatterers and calumniators, who ever lived; and his memory is disgraced by the share, which he had in the murder of sir THOMAS OVERBURY.

^a WOOD, Fasti Oxon, Vol. I. col. 102.

^b LLOYD’s State worthies, p. 780.

^c WOOD, *ubi supra*.

^d SIDNEY papers, Vol. II. p. 215.

^e Letter of the 13th of January, 1603. Lettres DE BEAUMONT, Vol. V. fol. 38.

Sir ANTHONY STANDEN's situation and circumstances for some time before the misfortunes of his patron the earl of Essex, as well as after his lordship's death till that of the queen, do not appear; nor do I find any other mention of him, except that about February, 1597, the earl favoured his suit to a rich widow SHELLY, in which he had for his competitor sir THOMAS SMITH, who had been knighted at Cadiz, and was now countenanced in his pretensions of marriage by the lord BUCKHURST^a. But the history of him after the accession of king JAMES to the crown of England is a very singular one, and deserves to be given at large. Being sent by that king to the duke of Lorraine, the state of Venice, and the grand duke, and passing thro' France in July, 1603, he affirmed at that court, that his commission related to matters of importance, shewing, or seeming ready to shew, that king's letters for that purpose^b. He was introduced to the French king and queen by monf. GONDY, with whom he had been acquainted at Florence, when he was in the service of duke FRANCIS, that queen's father; and had several conferences with that king upon public affairs, professing himself a Roman catholic; but appeared to be a busy, intermeddling man, who had many fantastic schemes in his head. This was the account, which monf. DE VILLEROY had from others, not having himself seen sir ANTHONY, whom he could scarce think to be dispatched from king JAMES to visit the princes abovementioned, to assure them of his friendship, and to treat with them, before they had sent to that king. Monf. DE VILLEROY was told by one person, that sir ANTHONY was sent over by some merchants for their business rather than the service of the king, whose embassador, sir THOMAS PARRY, was displeased, that sir ANTHONY was introduced to the French king by any other means than his. That king having heard him, answered him with great discretion and reserve. Monf. DE VILLEROY did not know, whether STANDEN had written any thing to England, but gave it as his opinion to the French embassador, that whatever he might write was not to be regarded. Monf. DE BEAUMONT in his answer of the 13th of August, N. S.^c takes notice, that sir ANTHONY's journey had been resolved upon, while monf. DE ROSNY, afterwards duke de Sully, was in England as embassador extraordinary from France in June and July preceding; and that monf. DE VILLEROY had formed a right judgment of sir ANTHONY, who was, as far as he could learn, *un esprit fort léger*, and to whom, it was doubtful whether any such commission, as he pretended, had been granted, since he was a catholic, and a great talker, in order to give the Italians a better opinion of king JAMES, and hopes of his conversion, or at least of his favourable disposition towards the catholics.

After sir ANTHONY had left France, and was gone to Lorraine and Italy, the French king was informed, and complained of it in a letter to monf. DE BEAUMONT of the 28th of September, 1603, N. S.^d that he had published every where, that the king his master was no more a Frenchman than a Spaniard, and had declared to the embassador of the states general, that he considered them as rebels; that himself had

^a SIDNEY papers. Vol. II. p. 90.

^b Letter of monf. DE VILLEROY to the count DE BEAUMONT, the French embassador in England, July 31, 1603, among the MS. *Dépêches de monf. le comte DE BEAUMONT*, tom. III. fol.

378, in the possession of the honourable PHILIP YORKE, esq;

^c Ibid. Vol. IV. fol. 19.

^d Ibid. fol. 104.

received orders to demand of France a million of gold, which he said was due from that kingdom to England: that monf. DE BBAUMONT had by command from his court done him ill offices immediately after the decease of queen ELIZABETH: and that monf. DE ROSNY had used all his efforts to engage king JAMES in a war with Spain, offering him the assistance and maintenance of 6000 foot and 2000 horse. HENRY IV. justly considered this as an indiscretion unworthy of a servant and minister of a prince, who made such professions of friendship to him; but did not think it proper to complain of it by his embassador to king JAMES, and only directed him to mention what sir ANTHONY had said, as written to himself from Italy. The French king added, that sir ANTHONY took great pains to convince every body, that neither the archdukes nor any of their servants had had the least intelligence with the prisoners, BROOKE lord COBHAM, lord GREY, and sir WALTER RALEGH, &c. charged with a plot against king JAMES.

Monf. DE BEAUMONT in his answer to HENRY IV. of the 10th of October N. S. mentions his having been told by king JAMES of sir ANTHONY's having written to him, that the princes of Italy were alarmed at his treaty of peace with the king of Spain, and apprehensive lest the war should be turned against them, as more convenient and easy for that king; and that several had asked him, upon what terms of friendship England and France stood, being doubtful of a good understanding between them. Upon which the French embassador took occasion to represent to king JAMES what his master had written to him in his letter of the 28th of September concerning sir ANTHONY, with which that king declared himself highly displeased, promising to enquire into it at sir ANTHONY's return, which on this account he would hasten, and disavowing his proceedings, as contrary to the instructions given, and prejudicial to the reputation and interest of his, the king's, affairs.

Sir ANTHONY in his return from Italy denied at the French court, where he was in the latter end of November 1603, that he had talked in the manner, which had been reported of him: but monf. DE VILLEROY in his letter to monf. DE BEAUMONT of the 7th of December, 1603, N. S.^e took notice, that he had brought beads and other presents of devotion from the pope for the queen of England, which he desired that the French king and queen would convey to her thro' the hands of monf. DE BEAUMONT: but they excused themselves from doing this, and sent those presents back to the pope's nuncio at Paris, who, it was thought, would find means of sending them over to that queen, their majesties having received no request from the pope to that purpose. For it was the great duke, who had procured that commission to be given sir ANTHONY by the pope.

Sir ANTHONY being returned to England in January, 160 $\frac{3}{4}$, was committed to prison by the king's order, upon the discovery of some letters, which he had written to persons at Rome against his majesty; and monf. DE BEAUMONT adds in his letter to monf. DE VILLEROY of the 28th of that month N. S.^f that he was said to have in his hands the beads sent by the pope to the queen. Monf. DE BEAUMONT in his letter of the 3d of February N. S.^g observes, that sir ANTHONY upon his examina-

^d Ibid. fol. 122.

^e Ibid. fol. 266.

^f Vol. V. fol. 97.

^g Fol. 123.

tion had confessed many things of importance, which gave king JAMES great uneasiness; particularly, that while he was at Florence, he had corresponded with the cardinals ALDOBRANDINO, MARCELLO, and BORGHESE, and received letters from them by means of cavalier VINTA, who engaged him in that correspondence, in order to maintain the king his master in the pope's good opinion. But it appeared likewise, that sir ANTHONY had been prevailed upon by these cardinals, in hopes of a cardinal's hat, to open a correspondence between them and the queen, and to undertake to persuade her secretly to be reconciled to the church of Rome, and for that purpose to introduce jesuits to her, who might assist her in her conversion. And in a letter, which he wrote from Paris to father PARSONS, and which was stopped by an Englishman, who pretended to go to Rome with it, he wrote, that he had good hopes of being serviceable to the pope on this occasion, describing the genius and temper both of her and the king in colours suitable to his own imagination, and promising to advertise cardinal ALDOBRANDINO of every thing, that should pass in their court.

King JAMES himself soon after gave monf. DE BEAUMONT* a long account of this affair of sir ANTHONY to the effect abovementioned, with this addition, that he had brought over instructions from the pope or at least cardinal ALDOBRANDINO, by which, among other things, he was directed to thank the queen for refusing on the day of her coronation to communicate with heretics, and to desire her to use all means for the conversion of the king to the catholic faith.

The king took notice to monf. DE BEAUMONT^h, that his brother HENRY IV. was now amply revenged of sir ANTHONY for his discourses concerning him in Italy, which had induced himself to make a stricter enquiry into his conduct: that he had found sir ANTHONY a bad man; and would from this instance be careful for the rest of his life to make a better choice of those, whom he should employ: that sir ANTHONY had promised to carry on a secret correspondence with father PARSONS, as appeared from his letter, as he had done with the cardinals ALDOBRANDINO, MARCELLO, and BORGHESE, by means of cavalier VINTA, and with the privity of the grand duke, and brought over assurances of a cardinal's hat and bulls of pardon for two thousand years, with beads and pictures for the queen, and secret instructions for his proceedings, particularly with regard to her. Her majesty on the other hand was extremely concerned for his imprisonment and the discovery of his papers and the presents brought by him for her; and she retained in her mind a deep resentment against the lord CECIL, whom she thought to be the cause.

Sir ANTHONY was strictly confined, and was thought to be in some danger of his life, as monf. DE BEAUMONT wrote to monf. DE VILLEROY in a letter of the 23d of February N. S.ⁱ in which he inclosed a copy of the instructions found upon him. And in his next letter of the 29th^k he mentions, that the lord BURLEY of Scotland was appointed by king JAMES to attend the count DE MONTECUCOLI, the grand duke's ambassador, in his return to Florence, in order to satisfy the pope by means

* Lettre de BEAUMONT au VILLEROY 10 Mars, fol. 126, 127.

^h Lettre au roy HENRY IV. fol. 142.

ⁱ Fol. 192.

^k Fol. 208.

of that duke with relation to the imprisonment of sir ANTHONY, and to prevent his taking umbrage at it.

The pope's nuncio at Paris expressed to monf. DE VILLEROY on the 5th of March N. S.^y great dissatisfaction with sir ANTHONY's conduct, blaming him for not following his advice, and carrying to England the presents of devotion, and corresponding with father PARSONS. The nuncio added, that the English ambassador had never made the least mention to him of this affair; but monf. DE VILLEROY was of opinion, that they negotiated together by the intervention of a third person, to avoid scandal.

Sir ANTHONY continued in the Tower till about November, 1604, when he was released from thence^z; after which I have not been able to trace his history any farther.

Monf. DE BOISSISE, the French ambassador in England, who had written to monf. DE ROHAN a letter concerning the earl's trial, full of invectives against secretary CECIL and his party, tho' he afterwards disowned it^a, and who in that letter had stiled his lordship the greatest friend to France in all England^b, interceded with the queen for him in his master's name with great discretion and modesty^c; but her majesty shewed herself offended with that application^d. And after the earl's execution HENRY IV. expressed great admiration of her magnanimity in that proceeding, wishing that his predecessor HENRY III. had had but part of her spirit to have quelled the insolencies of the duke of Guise in his attempt of the barricadoes; and he said many times in the presence of his nobles, that she only was a king, and only knew how to rule; and that reason of state, the dignity of her crown, and the repose and weal of her subjects required the course, which she had taken, and admitted no mean^{*}.

But in the beginning of June the year following her majesty, in a conversation with count DE BEAUMONT^e, successor to monf. DE BOISSISE as ambassador to her from France, after owning herself to be weary of life, with sighs and tears in her eyes, touched upon the subject of the earl's death, and said, that having been apprehensive from the impetuosity of his temper, and his ambition, that he would precipitate himself into destruction by some ill design, she had advised him above two years before to content himself with pleasing her on all occasions, and not to shew such an insolent contempt for her, as he did; but to take care not to touch her sceptre, lest she should be obliged to punish him according to the laws of England, and not according to her own, which he had found too mild and favourable for him to fear any suffering from them: but that her advices, however salutary and affectionate, could not prevent his ruin.

^y Lettre DE VILLEROY, 6 Mars, fol. 241.

^z WINWOOD's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 36.

^a WINWOOD's Memorials, Vol. I. p. 296, 315, 316, 317.

^b Ibid. p. 299.

^c Lettre DE monf. DE VILLEROY au monf. le comte DE BEAUMONT, pendant son ambassade
VOL. II.

d'Angleterre, 2 Janvier, 1603, in the possession of the hon. PHILIP YORKE, esq; Vol. II. fol. 266 verso.

^d Monf. DE BEAUMONT au roy, 23 Janvier, 1603. Ibid. fol. 319. verso, & 320.

^{*} WINWOOD, p. 316.

^e Lettres MSS. Vol. II. fol. 275.

The impression of melancholy, which the earl's death made upon her majesty some time before her own, as related in another work †, receives new confirmation by the following passage in a letter to a Scots nobleman in the king's confidence from a correspondent of his in England §. "Our queen is troubled with a rheum in her arm, which vexeth her very much, besides the grief she hath conceived for my lord of Essex's death. She sleepeth not so much by day as she used, neither taketh rest by night. Her delight is to sit in the dark, and sometimes with shedding tears to bewail Essex." But the circumstances of her last illness will be best described from the MS. letters of the French ambassador. In that of the 13th of March, 160²₃, N. S. ^f to monf. DE VILLEROY he observes, that having received on the 8th the French king's letter of the 26th of February, and immediately requested an audience of the queen, she had desired to be excused for some days on account of the death of the countess of Nottingham, for which she had wept extremely, and shewn an uncommon concern.

On the 19th of March N. S. he wrote to the king^g, that she had been very much indisposed for fourteen days past, having slept scarce at all during that time, and eat much less than usual, being seized with such a restlessness, that tho' she had no formed fever, she felt a great heat in her stomach, and a continual thirst, which obliged her every moment to take something to abate it, and to prevent the hard and dry phlegm, with which she was sometimes oppressed, from choaking her. Some ascribed her disorder to her uneasiness with regard to lady ARABELLA STUART*; others to her having been in a manner forced by the council to grant a pardon to TYRONE: many were of opinion, that the distress of mind was occasioned by the death of the earl of Essex: but all agreed, that before her illness grew considerable, she discovered an unusual melancholy both in her countenance and behaviour. She had been obstinate in refusing every thing prescribed by her physicians during her sickness. In this letter the ambassador remarked, that he thought, that the succession of the king of Scots would meet with no difficulty. But what opinion HENRY IV. had of that king, appears from a letter of his to monf. DE BEAUMONT of the 13th of March, N. S. ^h in answer to one of that ambassador of February 22, N. S. ⁱ who had inform'd him of the embroiling and sanguinary temper of the queen of Scots, and the danger, to which her husband's life was exposed from her ambition to govern during the minority of her eldest son. The French king in his answer, declares himself of the same opinion with his ambassador, that the situation of king JAMES deserved great consideration; for if it were true, that his queen had sworn

† Historical View, p. 206, 207.

§ The original of this letter is in the Advocates library at Edinburgh, A. 1, 34. N. 35, and a copy of it among the MSS. of dr. FORBES.

^f Lettres du comte DE BEAUMONT, Vol. II. fol. 392.

^g Ibid. fol. 414.

* This lady, as appears from several letters of monf. DE BEAUMONT of the 22d, 23d, and 26th of February, and 6th of March, 160²₃, had written a letter to the earl of Hertford, said to con-

tain an offer of marrying his grandson, as she afterwards did in 1610, and was imprisoned for it in the Tower till her death in 1615. Besides which the death of her chaplain and preceptor, who hang'd himself, and a paper, which he left behind him full of her praises, increased the suspicion, which had been, for some time, entertain'd of them.

^h Ibid. fol. 403, verso.

ⁱ Ibid. fol. 368, verso. 369.

his death, it would be difficult for him to escape it, unless by preventing her. He then observes with regard to that king's character and conduct, that he shewed so much levity and inconsiderateness in the whole of it, that no solid foundation could be laid upon his words and actions. "He practises, *adds* HENRY IV. at Rome, "in Spain, and every where else, as he doth with me, without attaching himself "to any either openly or secretly, and is easily mov'd and carry'd away by the "first hopes raised in him by those about him, without the least regard to merit or "truth. So that I foresee, that he will suffer himself to be surpris'd on all oc- "casions." The embassador on the 22d of March N. S. ^e, wrote, that the queen of England had been the day before much better, but was that day worse, and so full of chagrin, and so weary of life, that notwithstanding all the importunities of her counsellors and physicians to consent to the use of proper remedies for her relief, she would not take one. In his letter of the 24th of March N. S. ^f, he informs the king, that three days before she was thought to be dead, but the day following began to grow better, and to repose herself, and since the 15th had lain in her bed. Her principal courtiers, particularly the archbishop of Canterbury and secretary CECIL intreated her to receive help; but she was angry with them for it, and said, that she knew her own strength and constitution better than they; and that she was not in so much danger as they imagin'd.

The embassador wrote again to his master on the 28th of March N. S. ^g, that the queen continued to grow worse, and appear'd already in a manner insensible, not speaking sometimes for two or three hours, and within the last two days not for above four and twenty, holding her finger almost continually in her mouth, with her eyes open and fix'd upon the ground, where she sat upon cushions without rising or resting herself, and was greatly emaciated by her long watching and fasting.

In his next letter, of the 1st of April N. S. ^h, he informs monf. VILLEROY, that the queen was drawing to her end, and had been abandon'd the day before by all her physicians, but was now forced in a manner into bed, after having sat ten days upon cushions, refusing to repose herself on it except for one hour, and that in her cloaths. She seem'd once to be so much better, calling for broth, that those about her entertain'd some hopes of her; but soon after began to lose her speech, and from that time eat nothing, but lay on one side on the day of the date of this letter, without speaking or looking upon any person, tho' the day before she had directed some meditations to be read to her, and among others those of monf. DU PLESSIS.

On the 5th of April N. S. ⁱ, the French embassador acquainted HENRY IV. with the death of the queen, two days before, who expir'd very easily at three in the morning, having begun to grow speechless the day before, and slept for five hours before she resigned her breath; upon which her council and servants proclaim'd her successor king JAMES at Richmond, as they did at London at ten that morning,

^e Ibid. fol. 418, verso.

^f Ibid. fol. 419, verso.

^g Vol. III. fol. 11.

^h Fol. 17.

ⁱ Fol. 20, verso, and 21.

her majesty some days before her death having declar'd to the earl of Nottingham, lord admiral, and secretary CECIL, that she acknowledged no other successor than that king, and did not desire, that her kingdom should fall into the hands of *rascals*, which was her own word: and afterwards when her speech fail'd her, and they requested her in the presence of others of the council, to make some sign to confirm what she had said to them, she put her hand to her head, to shew her approbation of it¹.

The connexion between the earl of Essex and the king of Scots, and the disappointment, which the latter had by the ruin of the former, may be in some measure judg'd of from several papers, which have never yet been laid before the public. Among these are the following extracts of original letters partly in cypher to secretary CECIL from mr. GEORGE NICOLSON, agent from queen ELIZABETH to that king. In one of them dated the 14th of February 1600-1, mr. NICOLSON writes thus:

“ We have sorrowful news of some stirs to be made by my lord of Essex and
 “ others, of which, if it be true, as mr. JAMES HAMILTON writes it is, the
 “ speeches here of late was unhappy prophecy. Mr. EDWARD BRUCE was then the
 “ author of it to the king, as I have heard. The king would never take know-
 “ ledge of it. I do hear, that mr. LEIGH gives out, that as he is come away, so
 “ will many more come hither before Whitsunday. There is too great need of an
 “ embassador, yet only of such a one, as will be as true to her majesty, as to their
 “ own soul, for that will also need here.”

“ This, *added mr. NICOLSON in a letter the next day*, I wrote, but forgot to in-
 “ close in my last yesterday. Now by your honour's this day, and by the other
 “ letters of others, this I perceive your honour is so embarked in the matter, as
 “ now in case you out it not, you will fall with it. NICOLSON, tho' he ever wished
 “ the best between them, yet is quietly advertised to be in the same case; and if
 “ he were not, yet will he, if the world were his, serve and venture, nor give all
 “ in your honour's cause. If your honour love yourself, NICOLSON would have you
 “ very wary, and go strong, he says. The king and the court here are in dumps
 “ with the matter of your honour's advertisement. God grant Scotland have no
 “ oar in the boat. Lord WILLOUGHBY hath many errands in Scotland, that
 “ NICOLSON knows not. NICOLSON doubts not but your honour knows them;
 “ else it is not well NICOLSON conjectures. It is judged, that this will force sundry
 “ English to come hither, and some embassador will then be more than needful,
 “ 15 Feb. 1600.

He wrote likewise the same day, Feb. 15, as follows.

“ This day I receiv'd your honour's of the 6th and 9th hereof; and because that
 “ by Scots letters and a Scotsman's report comes hither this day and yesternight
 “ to the king of the matter of the earl of Essex, and that it pleased your honour to

¹ The lord admiral and the secretary inform'd VILLEROY in a letter of the 14th of April the embassador of this, who wrote it to monf. 1603, N. S. Fol. 58.

“advertise me thereof, to stop untrue reports, if any should be, I used mr.
 “ASTON’s help for my convoy to the king, which was given in the cabinet, the
 “duke, secretary, sir GEORGE HUME, and mr. ASTON being there only with
 “the king, who having often asked to hear, if I heard any thing of it, I imparted
 “the matter to him in the words of your letter, which I read, and found him, as
 “I judged by his countenance, to seem to marvel at it, and to inquire curiously the
 “date of the letter, asking me, how it could be they meant to ransom the city,
 “and where they should then have lived, as if it had been either unlikely or folly
 “in them, drawing therewith from me. Whereupon I moved his return by shew-
 “ing her majesty’s pleasure anent PURY OGLEBY, wherewith he said he was con-
 “tent he should try him, praying me, for that, upon this matter of the earl of
 “Essex, he was to stay his ambassadors some days, I would advertise him what
 “farther word I got thereof; and so left the cabinet and me. I do see this matter
 “is of rare moment, and wants no information in the earl’s favour, drawing with
 “some distrust, that it should not be as I advertise it, but urged upon the earl &c.”

In another letter of the 5th of March he wrote :

“Yesterday mr. JAMES HAMILTON came hither to the king with full and very
 “honest reports of the arraignment and execution of my lord of Essex, and of the
 “quietness of that state. And the day before THOMAS TYRRE returned with like
 “declaration of the settled quietness of the state of England, to the clearing of
 “the truth, and dashing down of innumerable false reports going here before.”

He wrote again on the 8th of that month :

“This day I receiv’d your honour’s letter of the last of February, being glad to
 “understand the quietness of the country, faithfulness and loyalty of the city, and
 “penitent and godly end of the earl; all which, according to the contents of your
 “honour’s said letter, I shall make known here, as shall appertain to the discredit
 “of the contrary, mr. HAMILTON having made good report near to the effects of
 “your honour’s in many things. Mr. ASTON defended and had much *plenige* for
 “her majesty and your honour anent the matter of Essex; and therefore deserves
 “good thanks for it; for it doth him no good here. The king was curious to
 “know, if his name was in question or no, and glad it was not.”

The king of Scots, whom the earl had desir’d some time before his insurrection to
 send an embassy to England to insist upon a declaration of his succession to the
 crown of that kingdom^a, having appointed the earl of Mar his ambassador thither,
 in conjunction with mr. EDWARD BRUCE abbot of Kinloss, they did not arrive at
 court till the 6th of March 1600-1, about ten days after his lordship’s execution.
 Their public errand was to congratulate the queen upon her delivery from the late
 conspiracy, and to treat of border causes and other accidents between the two king-
 doms^b; to clear the king from the imputation cast upon him for dealing with the
 pope and the king of Spain, especially for suffering the subjects of Scotland to carry

^a CAMDEN, p. 781.

^b WINWOOD’S Memorials, vol. I. p. 302.

provisions to the rebels in Ireland; to procure favour for sir WILLIAM EURE, imprison'd for secretly going to see that king, which he afterwards denied on his oath; and to request her majesty to add a greater sum to that pension, which she had long before assign'd him yearly by way of gratuity^c. But that king JAMES had some other design, when he sent these ambassadors, will appear from the following instructions under his own hand^d.

“ Notes for my ambassadours anent this accident.

“ 1. If turnes be remediable, and that my friendis thinke it the best appearance
“ for thaire safetie, that I lye still, and that ye kythe not followe thaire advice, but
“ bevaire to be prævented or ye looke for it.

“ 2. But gif thay thinke youre kything in it maye doe goode, stande not then
“ upon termis, and I fall avow you bravelie.

“ 3. And gif thay be resolvit, that they lakke nothing bot a heade to enter in
“ plaine action with it, assure thame I fall be as willing and readdie to supplie that
“ place, as thay can be to desyre me, onelie with that aulde reservation of the safe-
“ tie of the quenis personne, quhilke ye man take thaim suorne to.

“ 4. Bot gif, as God forbidde, it be past redding or ye come thaire, use then
“ all the meanis ye can to gett me a pairtie thaire, and assure thame, that I can
“ nather with honoure nor suretie disguyse myself any longer.

“ 5. And gif quhen ye cum to Bervicke, ye finde any perrell of praventing
“ youre cuming poste up with all speed two and your self, and be not a bleate
“ ambassadoure, bot remember of little Comini.

JAMES R.

He wrote likewise on the 8th of April, 1601, to them the following letter^f:

“ Mi lorde and youre fellow labouraire,

“ According to your desyre in your last letter I have considerrit upon youre
“ three doubtis, and has thocht goode heirby to sende you a resolution thair of un-
“ der my owin hande.

“ As for the first then hou to valke fairle betuixt thaise tua præcipices of the
“ quene and the people, quho nou appearis to be in sa contraire termis, the only
“ richt outgait thairin is to be veill and fuirlye informed of the peoplis present dif-
“ position and inclination, and to conforme youre behavioure accordingle; that
“ is, to know with quhiche of tua fortis of discontentement the people are pre-
“ sentlie possessid, quhidder it be only against the present reularis in the court,
“ keeping allwayes that deu reservation of love and reverence to the quene,

^c Ibid. p. 324, 325.

^d In the advocates library of Edinburgh, A. I. 342. N^o 6.

^e Ibid. A. I. 34. N^o 40.

“ quhiche thay vaire ever vonte to doe; or gif the discontentement be grown to
 “ that heicht, that thay are not able any longer to comporte ether with prince or
 “ state, quhiche I can hardelie beleve, having tint, gif they had bene so myndit,
 “ so many faire occasions, as have at this tyme been ofred unto thaim. For if
 “ thaire discontentement be after the first forte, then vill thay be content, and
 “ allou, that ye keepe you in good termis with the quene, and dalie with the pre-
 “ sent gyduires, building in the meane tyme the suretie of your hoapes upon the
 “ pillaris of thaire hairtelie devotion. And gif it be after the last, then are ye to
 “ be resolved of thaire course thairin, and by quhat means they are able to
 “ effectuate the same: upon the knouledge quhair of I shall then determinate quhat
 “ youre pairt shall be. For above all ye must in this earande learne to be vell
 “ fenfid; the chief propertie quhair of is to take the tyme richt, quhiche vill make
 “ you to escheu the tuo extremities, ather by præcipation to marre all for lakke
 “ of goode bakking; or ellis by starting too laite (if they grone so under the bur-
 “ dein, that they are lyke to fainte) to give the people a grounde of excuse, that
 “ by suffering thaim to be overthrouin for not declairing myself in tyme, thay
 “ vaire forcid to sue to other faintis for shunning of thaire present overthrow. But
 “ in this last point bevaire with the facilitie of the people and the craft of the
 “ counfall; for I know they concludit, before that ever thay saw you, to denye
 “ you quhatevir ye craved, thairby to force me to kythe in my owin cullouris, as
 “ thay call it.

“ As to youre next doubte, it touchis the maine grounde of youre comission,
 “ quhiche if you deeplie consider, ye cannot misbehave youreselfis thairin. For at
 “ the tyme of your dispatche thingis vaire so miscarried by that unfortunate acci-
 “ dent, as I was out of all hoape, that ye coulde cum any spede at the quene and
 “ counsaillis hande anent the maine point: and thairfore youre quhole com-
 “ mission was devydit in tuo pairtis, to vit, to deale with the quene and present
 “ gydares; and to deale with the people: with the first publiclie, and for the pre-
 “ sent tyme; with the next privatelie, and for the future tyme: with the first, to
 “ obtain a suretie for holding of of evil, since thaire was small appearance of the
 “ graunte of any goode: with the next, to obtaine a certaine assurance for the
 “ furtherance of future hoaps. And thairfore the particulaire pointis, that he was
 “ to crave of the quene and counfall, vaire first to release or give juste punishment
 “ for knouin and proved offences to all such, as are detained only for speaking
 “ with me, and especiallie for poore IVRES^s. The next is to give out a plaine de-
 “ clairatoure, quhiche must be enacted in her ouin recordis, that I am untouchid
 “ in any action of practice, that ever hath bene intendit against her, especiallie in
 “ this last, quhairin I vonder, that, according to youre former letre, ye have
 “ writtin nothing in this last. The thirdde is, that hereafter a difference be putt
 “ betuixt suche honest men of her subjectis, as shall be knowin to love and deale
 “ with me, and those, that practises with her greatestt ennemies or rebellis. The
 “ fourthe is, that she vould liberallie consider of my necessities, holding forth in
 “ that point youre sute allreaddie begunn for the landis of my grandmother.
 “ And the last and of most importance is, that it volde please her to reneu her olde

^s Sir WILLIAM EURE.

“ promise, that nothing shall be done by her in her tyme in præjudice of my
 “ future richt; nor no checce under cure reservid against me, excepted allwayis,
 “ if she be not to endure as long als the sunne and the moone. In theise heads ye
 “ must so deale with maister secretarie and hir principall gydairis, as ye maye assure
 “ thaim, that as I fynde my requestis ansourid in thes pointis, I vill make ac-
 “ ccount of thaire affections towardis me accordinglie; and gif in these pointis
 “ I be satisfied, that ye have powaire to give thaim full assurance of my favoure,
 “ especiallie to maister secretarie, quho is king thair in effect.

“ And as to your doubte in quhat forte to leave thaire, it must be according to
 “ the ansouris ye shall receive to these former demandis. For if ye be vell satisf-
 “ fied thairin, then must ye have a sueit and kynde pairting. But if ye gett
 “ nothing but a flatte and obstinate denyall, quhiche I doe surely locke for, then
 “ are ye in both the partis of youre commission to behave youreselfis thus: First,
 “ ye must be the more cairful, since ye come so litle speide in youre publique em-
 “ ployment with the quene, to sett forthvart so much the more youre private nego-
 “ tiation with the countrey: and if ye see, that the people be not in the hiest point
 “ of discontentment (quhair of I alreddie spake) then must ye by youre labouris
 “ with thaim make youre voiage at least not all utterlie inprofitable, quhiche doth
 “ consist in these pointis: First, to obtaine all the certaintie ye can of the toun
 “ of Londone, that in the dew tyme thay vill favoure the richt. Next, to renew
 “ and confirme youre acquaintance with the lieutenant of the Tower. Thirdlie, to
 “ obtaine as great a certaintie, as ye can, for the fleete, by the means of 3^f
 “ nephew, and of som sea-portis. Fourthlie, to secure the hairtis of as many
 “ noblemen and knichtes, as ye can gett dealing with, and to be resolvid quhat
 “ everie one of thaire partis shall be at that great day. Fyftlie, to forsee anent
 “ armoure for everie shyre, that againis that daye my ennemies have not the quhole
 “ commandement of the armoure, and my freindis only be unarmid. Sextlie,
 “ that, as ye have vritten, ye maye distribute goode seminories throuch everie
 “ shyre, that maye never leave working in the harvest, quhill the daye of reaping
 “ cum; and generallie to leave all thingis in suche certaintie and ordoure, as the
 “ ennemies be not able in the mean tyme to laye such barres in my vaye, as shall
 “ make things remedieles, quhen the tyme shall cum.

“ Now as to the termes ye shall leave in with the quene, in kaice of the forsaide
 “ flatte denyall, let youre behavioure evir be with all honoure, respect, and love to
 “ her persone: but at youre pairting ye shall plainlie declare unto her, that she
 “ cannot use me so hardlie, as it shall be able to make me to forget any part of
 “ that love and respect, that I owe to her, as to my nearest kinswoman; and that
 “ the greatest revenge, that ever I shall take of her, shall be to praye to God to
 “ open her eyes, and to lett her see, hou farre she is vrongid by suche base instru-
 “ mentis about her, as abusis her eare: and that althoch I will never geve her oc-
 “ casion of greife in her tyme, yet the daye maye cum, quhen I will crave ac-
 “ count at thaim of thaire presumption, quhen thaire vill be no barre betuixt
 “ me and thaim. And ye shall plainlie declare to maister secretarie and his fol-

^f Probably the Lord HENRY HOWARD, whose nephew was the lord THOMAS HOWARD.

“louaires, that since nou quhen thay are in thaire kingdome, thay vill thus mis-
 “knou me, quhen the chance shall turne, I shall caste a deafe eare to thaire
 “requestis. And quhairas now I colde have bene content to have geuen thaim
 “by youre meanes a full assurance of my favoure, if at this tyme thay had preast
 “to deserve the fame; so now thay contemning it maye be assured never hereafter
 “to be hearde, but all the quenis harde usage of me to be hereafter craved at thair
 “handes. And thus shall ye pairte without any iuste offence to the quene, please
 “the humoure of the people, and use no greater threatnings than such as I shall be
 “verrie able to performe in the owin tyme. But above all ye must not forgett to
 “deale as earnestlie as ye can for obtaining of yone declairattoure, that I am cleare
 “and untouchid in any of those practises. Quiche if by no meanes ye can gett
 “grantid unto you, then must ye desyre to be publiclie hearde before the nobilitie
 “and quhole counfall, and, if it can be possible, in the Starre-chalmer, quhair
 “having delairid how many vyle and untreu calumnies have from tyme to tyme
 “bene spredde of me, that I shoulde have bene upon the counfall of dyvers
 “practisis against the quene’s person and staite, notwithstanding of my ever upright
 “and honorable dealing vith her, that ye are cum thaire to declare unto thaim,
 “how in my name ye have earnestlie craved of the quene and counfall, that I
 “micht now be cleared of all these imputations; quiche being denyed unto yow,
 “ye coulde doe no lesse than publicquellie thaire to proteste ye are and ever was
 “readdie to anseure, in kaice she volde have accused you of suche practisis. Other-
 “vayes if nothing be laid to my charge during youre presence, that ye proteste,
 “that I shall be accountid cleare of any suche imputations for all tymes hereafter:
 “and this for fear of after checcis; and that ye desyre this protestation be enacted
 “in thaire recordis. And this *ex jure gentium* cannot vell be refused unto you.

“Ye see now here youre doubtis obscurelie proponid without making me par-
 “ticularlie acquaintid, how maitters goes, hath forcid me, against my nature, to
 “vryte rather in a historicall then logicall style. I vishe ye may be as fore veared
 “in reading, as I was in vriting heirof. But I must conlude now vith giving
 “you a checche, that ye are so haistie to returne, as ye beginne to counte the daye
 “thaireof before ye see the ende of youre earande, quiche is of that veicht, that
 “I, as maister, and ye, as servauntis, must sett oure quhole restis upon the vell
 “going thairof, respecting not *quam cito*, but *quam bene*, ye maye putte ane ende of
 “yourre affaires thaire. It shall not also be amisse, that ye impaire such pairtis of
 “this letre to suche known and trustie fraindis, as ye know shall have a simpa-
 “thie vith thaire humouris, making ende vith my hairtie vishes to God, that he
 “maye so prosper youre labouris, as the fructis thairof maye yeilde contentement to
 “me, a securitie to that afflicted estaite and cuntrey, and honoure to your selfis,
 “that are employed ministeris thairin. And thus I bidde you hairtelie fairveill.
 “From Linlithcou the viii.

“ of April [1601].

“ JAMES R.

The two Scots embassadors return’d to Scotland about the middle of May 1601, having been well treated by the queen, and obtain’d 2000*l.* a year augmentation of the king’s pension, with a promise to continue it, as long as he should make it appear to the world, that he was willing to deserve her extraordinary care and kindness to-

wards him *. While they were in England, they work'd so with the principal noblemen and counsellors there, that they gain'd them to be the king's friends, and at their return gave him assurance of a peaceable reception of that crown after the decease of the queen, which was in less than two years really perform'd ^b. Among these was secretary CECIL, who does not appear to have had any correspondence with king JAMES till after the death of the earl of Essex, and the arrival of these Scots embassadors; but after their departure he carried on one with his majesty and the earl of Mar, by means of the lord HENRY HOWARD, who was before in that king's interest, and of whom many letters to that purpose are still extant ^c written in cypher, and decypher'd by the earl. In these letters, in which the lord HENRY styles himself 3, the secretary 10. king JAMES 30, and the earl of Mar 20, he gives particular accounts of the state of the court of England, always endeavouring to draw the king's whole dependence upon the secretary, and to prejudice him against others of that court, as no friends to his majesty's accession, and particularly the earl of Northumberland, the lord COBHAM, and sir WALTER RALEGH, the first of whom he treats as a very contemptible man, and all three of them as persons of no principles in morals or religion, calling them a *Triplicity, that deny the trinity*. He observes, that in the late unlucky tragedies many of the earl of Essex's friends had been willing, that he should rather break his neck by desperate attempts suitable to their own honours, than be sav'd and redeem'd by the faith and industry of the secretary, who above all men living, in case he had found *subiectum benè dispositum*, would have dealt best with and perfected the work of his deliverance. He mentions in the same letter, that the earl of Northumberland, who had but lately been reconcil'd to his lady, the earl of Essex's sister, after abstaining from her bed above two years, told her, that he had rather, that the king of Scots were buried than crowned; and that both he and all his friends would end their lives, before her brother's great God should reign in this element. The countess's answer was, that rather than any other than that king should ever reign in England, she would eat their hearts in salt, tho' she were brought to the gallows immediately. The earl replied, that the secretary had too much wit ever to live under a man, who had a foreign stroke, having been so fortunate under a woman, who was tractable and to be counselled. The countess then told him, that he need not long triumph upon her poor brother's mishap; for if he kept in this mind, she could expect no better end of him than the same or a worse destiny.

It appears from several of these letters, that the secretary had the utmost solicitude to conceal from the queen his intercourse with Scotland, from an apprehension of his ruin, if it should come to her knowledge. For which reason about a year before her majesty's death he discharg'd from his service SIMON WILLIS, his under secretary, lest he might discover his correspondence with the king of Scots, which he afterwards justified by the consideration of its importance to her preservation. "For what, *said he*, ^d could more quiet the expectation of a successor so

* WINWOOD's Memorials, vol. I. p. 325. See SPOTSWOOD, l. VI. p. 463.

^b SPOTSWOOD, Ibid.

^c Among the archives of the family of the earl of Mar. The transcripts of them by dr. FORBES.

are among his papers in the possession of the honourable mr. YORKE.

^d See his letter to sir. HENRY WOTTON, 29 March 1608. SIDNEY letters, vol. II. p. 326.

" many

“ many ways invited to jealousy, than when he saw her ministry, that were most
 “ inward with her, wholly bent to accommodate the present actions of state for his
 “ future safety, when God should see his time ? ” But his inclination to that king
 was a secret to count DE BEAUMONT sent ambassador from the French to the
 English court, in January 1601-2, about the same time that another French
 ambassador was dispatch’d to Scotland, both of them under the colour of ob-
 structing the designs of Spain, but in effect to observe the strength and affection
 of the two nations. The former brought from HENRY IV. a letter of infinite
 kindness to secretary CECIL; to whom he one day open’d himself upon the
 miseries of England, when the queen should die, and the loss, which the secretary
 would sustain by such an event, and the situation, to which he would be reduced
 upon the succession of king JAMES, which, in his opinion, would be worse than that
 of any other, being likely to suffer for the offences of his father, on account of the
 execution of that king’s mother, and the other courses suppos’d to have been pur-
 sued by him since his father’s death. The secretary knowing, that the ambassador
 did but sound him in order to make some other project, answer’d, “ That this
 “ was the reward of unspotted duty, when ministers regarded only the service of
 “ their sovereigns, without respect of their own particular. And that for himself,
 “ he should never grieve to endure trouble for so just a cause, the same being to a
 “ man, who valued his credit more than his security, a kind of martyrdom. How-
 “ ever he suppos’d, that things past would not be called to mind; but, if it should
 “ prove otherwise, and he should see his case desperate, he would flee to another city,
 “ and take the benefit of the French king’s royal offer.” The ambassador upon this
 answer made a proper retreat, saying, that in case the king of Scots should carry
 himself towards the king of France with the respect, which was due, he was not
 purpos’d to impeach his interest. To which the secretary replying, that it was a
 wise resolution, which his master had taken; the ambassador ceas’d to tempt him
 any farther in the business. The king of Scots was advertised of this by a letter
 from the secretary, who assur’d his majesty of his true and honest service,
 when occasion requir’d; tho’ he would not, as some others had done, needlessly
 hazard his fortune and reputation before the time. The king in his answer thank’d
 him for his plain and honest offer, and “ assure yourself, *said he*, that it would do
 “ me no pleasure, that you should hazard either your fortune or reputation, since
 “ the loss of either of these would make you the less available to me. No, I love
 “ not to feed upon such fantastical humours, altho’ I cannot let busy bodies to live
 “ upon their own imaginations. But for my part I hold it the office of a king, as
 “ sitting upon the throne of God, to imitate the *primum mobile*, and by his
 “ steady and ever constant course to govern all the other changeable and uncertain
 “ motions of the inferior plants. And I protest in God’s presence, that for your
 “ constant and honest behaviour in your sovereign’s service, I loved your virtues
 “ long before I could be certain, that you would deserve at my hand the love of
 “ your person. Wherefore go on, and serve her truly, that reigneth, as you have
 “ done; for he, that is false to the present, will never be true to the future *.”

Upon that king’s accession to the throne of England, secretary CECIL was im-

* SPOTSWOOD. p. 470.

mediately intrusted with the chief management of public affairs, but soon found the difference of executing that important post under that king from what it had been under the deceas'd queen. For when he was congratulated, about August 1603, upon his not being oblig'd to speak to his majesty on his knees, as he had used to do to the queen, he answer'd, "I wish to God, that I spoke still on my knees^a". Nor indeed could any honest and able minister but meet with great chagrin in the service of such a prince as JAMES I. whose character and conduct would receive new disgrace, if the letters of COUNT DE BEAUMONT, the French ambassador at his court, from the beginning of his reign till October 1605, were publish'd, as those of mons. DE LA BODERIE, his successor, have lately been^b. From these letters of count DE BEAUMONT it appears, that the king soon became very odious to the English nation. For in his journey from Scotland to England he profess'd openly a great contempt for the female sex, not only suffering the ladies to present themselves to him on their knees, but even publicly condemning any passion for them, and reflecting at his own table fill'd with company upon HENRY IV. of France, for his indulgence of that passion. This discourse highly exasperated the women in general, and open'd their mouths against his majesty^c. He shew'd great impatience at the concourse of people, who flock'd to see him, when he was hunting, cursing all, who came in his way, and threatening to leave England, if they would not let him enjoy his diversions in quiet^d. And when he visited his fleet at Chatham, in July 1604, he took so little notice of it, that not only the seamen, but likewise persons of all ranks, were much offended, and said, that he lov'd stags more than ships, and the sound of hunting-horns more than that of cannon^e. This contempt of him was increas'd by his aversion to public business, his mean and weak behaviour in private life, and the necessities, into which he plung'd himself and his government by a confused and imprudent prodigality, rather than a true and well-directed generosity, so that he was not able to maintain his household, but oblig'd to borrow money of all the rich men in his kingdom, and refus'd by many of them^f. In short, it is evident from these letters, and many other most authentic memorials, which have not yet been produced to the public light, that the reign of this king was a very unsuitable sequel to that of his illustrious predecessor; and that the real facts of it are an unanswerable confutation of that gross flattery, which was offer'd him with so much profusion during his life.

^a MS. letter of count DE BEAUMONT to mons. DE VILLEROY, 21 August 1603. Lettres DE BEAUMONT, vol. IV. fol. 42. MSS. in the possession of the honourable PHILIP YORKE, Esq; transcribed from the originals in the library of the French king at Paris.

^b At Paris 1750, in five volumes in 8^{vo}.

^c Letter of count DE BEAUMONT to mons. DE

VILLEROY, August 12, 1603. Vol. III. fol. 117.

^d Letter of the 12th of September 1603. Vol. IV. fol. 75.

^e Letter of July 18, 1604. Vol. VI. fol. 277.

^f Letter to HENRY IV. 22 October, 1604. Vol. VII. fol. 223. See likewise the letter to mons. DE VILLEROY, June 7, 1604. Vol. VI. fol. 138.

F I N I S.

T H E

T H E I N D E X.

The Numerals refer to the Volumes, and the Figures to the Pages of each Volume.

A.

ALABASTER (mr.) chaplain to the earl of Essex in the expedition to Cadiz, ii. 17
ALAN (cardinal) esteem'd at Rome, i. 81.
ALASCO (ALBERT) a polish count, comes to England, i. 30. Character of him, *ibid.* and 31.
ALBERT (cardinal) at Luxembourg, i. 394. State of his army, 398. Provides eight regiments extraordinary, ii. 202. His bills of exchange protested, 215. Letters of his to the king of Spain intercepted, 231. Ill supplied with money, 232. Receives a great sum of money from Spain, 331
ALEYN (GODFREY) recommended by mr. BACON to the earl of Essex to attend ANTONIO PEREZ to France, i. 270. His letters to mr. BACON, *ibid.* and 283, 298, 316. To his father, 317. Sends to mr. BOWES three letters of ANTONIO PEREZ to the earl of Essex, *ibid.* His letter to mr. THOMAS HAROLD, *ibid.* His treachery detected, 344, 346. His letter to his father, 345. Returns to England, and committed to the Clink prison, 347. His confession, *ibid.* and 366. His letter to the earl of Essex, 348. To mr. BACON, 349. Releas'd upon conditions, *ibid.*
ALLEN (sir FRANCIS): his account of the conferences between the lord treasurer, and lady BACON, and himself, concerning mr. BACON, i. 55. In garrison at the Brill complains of the weak state of the cautionary towns, 78. Solicits a government in Ireland by means of the earl of Essex, 130
ANCEL (monf.) assists in making the league between England and France, ii. 1. Goes to Holland, 3. At Nuremberg, sent envoy by HENRY IV. to the German princes, 247
ANGUS (earl of) detected in a correspondence with Spain, i. 109. Escapes from Edinburg castle, 110
ANJOU (FRANCIS, duke of) in England, i. 18. Makes his entry at Antwerp, 19. Conspiracy to kill him by Salcedo, 25. Consequences of his attempt to seize Antwerp, 32. Remains at Dunkirk, without any hopes of agreement with the states-general, 39

ANNE (queen of Scotland) grows troublesome to the king her husband and his ministers, i. 227. Her character, 242. Endeavours to take her son into her own custody, *ibid.* and 243. Sick and discontented, 258. Refuses the communion on the day of her coronation, ii. 504. Beads and other presents of devotion sent her by the pope, 503.
ANTONIO, prior of Crato, claims the crown of Portugal, i. 3. At Tours, 18. Account of his expedition to Portugal, 58. Detained at Dieppe, 151. Suppos'd to have discover'd the plot of Lopez, *ibid.* Dies, 282
ARABELLA STUART, i. 411. Some account of her, *ibid.* note *. Design'd to be carried off to Spain, ii. 307. Writes a letter to the earl of Hertford, in which she was said to offer to marry his grandson, 506, note *.
ASHBY (WILLIAM) Esq; embassador from queen ELIZABETH in Scotland, i. 369. Returns from thence, 370
ASHLEY (sir ANTHONY) sent to England with an account of the taking of Cadiz, ii. 45. Made considerable advantages to himself there, 49. Knighted there, *ibid.* Commended by the lord admiral, 54. Expected at court, 79. Arrives there, 85, 95. Makes a relation of the action at Cadiz before the council, 95. Unfaithful to the earl of Essex, *ibid.* His message to his father-in-law upon being brought into trouble, 144. Offers any service against sir GILLY MERICKE or the earl of Essex, 171
ASHTON (ABDY) chaplain to the earl of Essex, his attendance desir'd by his lordship, ii. 468, 474. Attends his lordship, 475, & *seqq.*
ASTON (ROGER) some account of him, i. 187. His letters to mr. HUDSON, 228, 236, 248. Sent to hasten the queen of Scots to Stirling, *ibid.* His letter to mr. BACON, 302. To mr. HUDSON, 329, 344, 355, 391. To mr. DAVID FOULIS, ii. 25. To mr. HUDSON, 156, 183, 231, 235, 249. Arrives at London from Scotland, 279. The reasons of his journey, 280, 285. Comes to the lord WILLOUGHBY from the king of Scots, 382

BACLUGH,

B.

BACLUGH (sir WALTER SCOT, laird of) account of him, i. 187. note *v*. Apprehensive of being ruin'd by chancellor MAITLAND's sickness, *ibid*. Dislik'd by the king of Scots, 242. Order'd to appear at Edinburgh, *ibid*. and 256. Chief of the faction against the earl of Mar, 283. Desires to be reconciled to Cesford, 455. Meets the king, *ibid*. His attempts at Carlisle and the consequences of it, ii. 24, 25, 26, 27, 31, 43, 44, 67. Challeng'd by the laird of Cesford, 66, 67. Reconcil'd, 67. Refus'd his liberty, till the pleasure of queen ELIZABETH should be known, 158

BACON (lady ANNE) her character, i. 11. BEZA dedicates his meditations to her, 16. Her resentment against mr. BACON for not returning home, 54, 56. Uneasy at his intimacy with mr. STANDEN, 67, 107, 116. Much concern'd at the intimacy of ANTONIO PEREZ with her two sons, i. 143. Her severity of temper and chagrin, 173, 174. Her discourse with sir ROBERT CECIL about her two sons, 195. Warns her son ANTHONY to beware of the lord HENRY HOWARD, 227. Her character of the countess of Warwick, 270, 271. Dislikes his removing to Essex-house, 278. Writes a splenetic letter to her son ANTHONY, ii. 24. Another on sir ROBERT CECIL's being made secretary of state, 61. Answer to that letter, 65. Her letter to mr. BACON, 102. Her letter of advice to the earl of Essex, 218. Her reply to his answer, 220

BACON (ANTHONY): account of him, i. 11. & *seqq*. Corresponds with sir FRANCIS WALSINGHAM, 13, 45, 46. Esteem'd by THEODORE BEZA, 16. Goes to Montpellier, 23. At Marfeilles, 28. Recovers from a long and severe sickness, *ibid*. At Bourdeaux, 40. Transmits two letters of the duke DE MONTMORENCI to the queen and the earl of Leicester, *ibid*. Indisposed at Bourdeaux, 44. Visits the king of Navarre in Bearn, 49. His services to the protestants expose him to the resentment of the papists at Bourdeaux, *ibid*. and 50. Goes to Montauban, *ibid*. Writes sometimes to archbishop WHITGIFT, *ibid*. The archbishop's answer, *ibid*. Urg'd to return home, 43, 45, 51, 52. Incurs the resentment of madame DU PLESSIS, 54. Assisted by the bishop of Cahors, *ibid*. Removes to Bourdeaux, 61. Becomes acquainted with mr. ANTHONY STANDEN, 66, which gives offence to his mother, 67. He returns to England, 70. Receives from his cousin, sir EDWARD HOBY, an account of the queen's concern for his ill state of health, 71. His mother's resentment against him begins to sub-

side, *ibid*. He lodges with his brother FRANCIS at Gray's inn, 72. Prevented by his ill health from waiting on the queen, *ibid*. and 79. His fortune obstructed by the jealousy of the lord treasurer and sir ROBERT CECIL, *ibid*. Attach'd to the earl of Essex, *ibid*. Procures the queen's letters to CHRISTIERN IV, king of Denmark, in favour of two merchants, 76. Goes to Gorhambury, where he resides several months, 79. Returns to Gray's inn, 92. Writes to mr. STANDEN, *ibid*. Chosen member of parliament for Wallingford, 93. Dislikes the rigour of a bill in the house of commons against recusancy, 94. Press'd in his circumstances, 95. Generous to his brother FRANCIS, *ibid*. Employed by the earl of Essex in a very extensive correspondence, 99. Sends a present of the value of 20 marks to BEZA, in his mother's and his own name, i. 106. Writes to the lord treasurer, that mr. STANDEN might have access to the queen, *ibid*. Justifies to his mother his intimacy with mr. STANDEN, 113. Remits dr. MORISON thirty pounds to encourage him to continue his intelligence, 116. His continual occasions to send to, or hear from the earl, 121. Sends a letter to the lord keeper PUCKERING in favour of his brother FRANCIS, 123. Seiz'd in his journey to court by a fit of the stone, 124. Spoken very favourably of by the queen, *ibid*. Excused to her majesty by the earl of Essex for not waiting on her, *ibid*. Goes to Gorhambury, 130. His intimacy with ANTONIO PEREZ, 143. Removes to Redburne, *ibid*. Writes to the lord treasurer in favour of mr. STANDEN, 145. His return to London desir'd by the earl of Essex, 160. His concern for not having been able to wait on the queen, *ibid*. Highly esteem'd by the earl of Essex, *ibid*. and by the king of Scotland, 163, 168. Removes from Redburne to London, and takes an house in Bishop's-gate-street, 173. His letter to his mother, expostulating with her on account of her severity of temper to him and his brother FRANCIS, 174. His kindness to THOMAS WRIGHT, a jesuit, upon his coming from Spain to England, 252. Offer'd apartments in Essex-house, 278. The queen expresses some surprise at his not having been to wait upon her since his return from abroad, 307, 309. His letter to sir WILLIAM RUSSEL, lord deputy of Ireland, 308. His letter to sir WILLIAM KEITH, 311. Removes to Essex-house, 315. His letter to dr. HAWKYNs, *ibid*. 342. To mr. YATES, 401. To dr. HAWKYNs, 441. To mr. REYNOLDES, *ibid*. Sends some papers to the king of Scotland by mr. HUDSON, 442. His letter to mr. REYNOLDES, 443. To the countess of Northumberland, 455. To sir ANTHONY SHERLEY,

The I N D E X.

SHERLEY, 456. To monf. DE LA FONTAINE, 459. Letter to him from HENRY IV. 461. His letter to dr. HAWKYNs, 462. To his brother FRANCIS, 464. To dr. HAWKYNs, 467. To his mother, 468. Kind speeches of him by the queen, 468, 469. His letter to the duke DE BOUILLON, 469. To mr. BODLEY, 470. To dr. HAWKYNs, 472. His letter to fir ANTHONY SHERLEY, 473. To the earl of Effex, *ibid.* 474, 475, 476. To lady RICH, 477. To dr. HAWKYNs, 481. To the earl of Effex, 485. To his brother FRANCIS, *ibid.* 486, 489. Visited by monf. DE SANCY, *ii.* 4. Writes to him and the duke DE BOUILLON, *ibid.* His letters to dr. HAWKYNs, 7, 13. His advertisements from dr. HAWKYNs read to the queen, 14, 23, 34. His letter to dr. HAWKYNs, 23. His answer to a splenetic letter to his mother, 24. His letter to dr. HAWKYNs, 31, 34. To mr. SMITH, 38, 39. To his mother, 41. To mr. SMITH, 42. To dr. HAWKYNs, 60. To his mother, 65. To dr. HAWKYNs, 68. To his mother, inclosing fir ROBERT CECIL's letter to the lord HENRY HOWARD, 70. Desirous of procuring the enlargement of THOMAS WRIGHT, the jesuit, *ibid.* His letter to the dean of Westminster, *ibid.* To fir CHARLES DAVERS, 72. To lord WILLOUGHBY of Eresby, 74. To the lord keeper, 76, 79. To mr. REYNOLDES, 79. To dr. HAWKYNs, 85. To lady RICH, 89. To his mother, 90. To the lord keeper, *ibid.* To dr. HAWKYNs, 91. To mr. FRANCIS DAVISON, *ibid.* Confers with dr. FLETCHER, 100, 101. His letter to the earl of Effex, 100, 101. To his mother, 102. To dr. HAWKYNs, 103. To his brother FRANCIS, 105. To mr. REYNOLDES, *ibid.* 107, 108. To dr. HAWKYNs, 112. To mr. REYNOLDES, 114. To dr. HAWKYNs, 118. To his mother, 119. To dr. HAWKYNs, 121. Visited by the duke DE BOUILLON, 122. His letter to that duke, *ibid.* To his mother, *ibid.* Complains of him by the lord treasurer, 129, 132, 133. His letters to the lady dowager RUSSEL, 130, 131. His narrative of his conversation with her, 132, & *seqq.* His letter to the earl of Effex, 132. To dr. HAWKYNs, 137. To monf. DE SANCY, 143. Suspects the sincerity of mr. WOTTON, 144. His letter to dr. HAWKYNs, 145. To the earl of Effex, 149. To mr. REYNOLDES, 150. Recommends the case of the orphans of bishop FLETCHER to the earl of Effex, *ibid.* To mr. BRUCE, 151. To the earl of Effex, 152. To the lord keeper, *ibid.* To the lord WILLOUGHBY of Eresby, *ibid.* To dr. HAWKYNs, 153. To his mother, *ibid.* To a Scots lord, 158. To the earl of Effex, 162. To the lord WIL-

LOUGHBY, of Eresby, 163, 168. To his mother, 168. To dr. HAWKYNs, 169. To the earl of Effex, 171. To mr. REYNOLDES, 172. To the earl of Effex, *ibid.* Letter to him from HENRY IV. 173. To the lord WILLOUGHBY, of Eresby, *ibid.* To dr. HAWKYNs, 177. To the earl of Effex, 180. To his mother, *ibid.* To dr. HAWKYNs, 181, 183. To monf. DES REAUX, the French ambassador, 184. To the earl of Effex, 188. To mr. ROLSTON, 192. To dr. HAWKYNs, 194. To lord WILLOUGHBY of Eresby, 197. To mr. REYNOLDES, *ibid.* To the earl of Effex, 198. To monf. DES REAUX, 200. To the earl of Effex, 203. To dr. HAWKYNs, 204. His letters and advertisements laid in wait for by secretary CECIL, *ibid.* To fir CHARLES DAVERS, 207, 208. To mr. FRANCIS DAVISON, 208. To the earl of Effex, containing a letter of his mother to his lordship, 219. To mr. REYNOLDES, 223. To his mother, *ibid.* To the earl of Effex, *ibid.* and 224. To dr. HAWKYNs, 227. To the earl, *ibid.* Discourse with fir GEORGE CAREW, 228. Letter to the earl, *ibid.* To dr. HAWKYNs, 233. To the earl, *ibid.* Apprehends secretary CECIL intercepting letters from Scotland, *ibid.* His letter to dr. HAWKYNs, 234. To fir THOMAS CHALONER, *ibid.* To his mother, 241. Professions of kindness to him from secretary CECIL, *ibid.* To the earl of Effex, *ibid.* To dr. HAWKYNs, 255, 267, 273. To the earl of Effex, 275, 281, 284. To don EMANUEL, of Portugal, *ibid.* To fir THOMAS CHALONER, *ibid.* To the earl, 290, 296, 305, 325. Stil'd by ANTONIO PEREZ, *Amicorum querimoniarum receptaculum*, 326. His letter to dr. HAWKYNs, 327. To the earl of Effex, 330. To fir THOMAS CHALONER, 331. To dr. HAWKYNs, *ibid.* To the earl, 332. To secretary CECIL, 337, 338. To the earl of Effex, 338. Offer of service to him from the secretary, *ibid.* His letter to the earl, 340. To dr. HAWKYNs, 343. To the earl, *ibid.* and 348, 353. To secretary CECIL, 353. To mr. TROTT, 356. To the lord EURE, 357. Faithful to the earl of Effex, 358, 359. His letter to dr. HAWKYNs, 364. Few letters to the earl extant among his papers after 1597, 371. Justified from a story related of him by fir HENRY WOTTON, *ibid.* Order'd by the queen to quit Effex-house, 443. The earl of Effex's *Apology*, address'd to him, printed, 444. Distress'd in his circumstances, 498. His death, 499.

BACON (FRANCIS) his character, *i.* 11. Sometimes a courtier, 31. Wears his utter barrister's gown, 39. Complain'd of by his mother as too negligent of religion. 72. Attach'd to the earl

of Essex, 73. Retires to Twickenham on account of the plague in London, 79. Answers a libel of PARSONS the jesuit, 90. His character of the lord treasurer BURGHLEY and sir ROBERT CECIL, *ibid.* Chosen to represent the county of Middlesex in parliament, 93. Press'd in his circumstances, 95. His constitution not naturally firm, and weakened by his night-studies, *ibid.* Obligations to his brother ANTHONY, *ibid.* Gives offence to the queen by his speech in the house of commons on the three subsidies, 97. His letters to the lord treasurer and earl of Essex, *ibid.* Ill of a tertian ague, 103. His preferment to the post of attorney general mov'd to the queen by the earl of Essex, 113. At court, 117. Tho' still under the queen's displeasure, 120. His restoration to her favour solicited by the earl of Essex, *ibid.* That earl more like a father than a friend to him, 122. Lord keeper PUCKERING not favourable to his preferment, 123. Letter to him from the lord treasurer, *ibid.* And from sir ROBERT CECIL, 124. His preferment to the post of attorney general urged to the queen by the earl of Essex, 125. Named by the lord treasurer to her for the place of solicitor general, *ibid.* His letter to her, 126. To mr. ROBERT KEMP, 127. To the earl of Essex, questioning the sincerity of the lord keeper PUCKERING, 129. His intimacy with ANTONIO PEREZ gives great concern to his mother, 143. Goes to court, 147. About to make his first pleading in the cause of the heir of lord Cheney, 148. Pleads with great applause, 152. Conversation about his preferment between the earl of Essex and sir ROBERT CECIL, 152, 153. Visited by the earl, 153. Intends to argue another cause, 154, 155. Congratulated by the lord treasurer on his success in his pleading, 155. Present at the trial of dr. LOPEZ, 159. Draws up a report of the doctor's treasons, *ibid.* Note (w). At court, 164. Offered by sir THOMAS EGERTON his observations on the office of solicitor general, 165. Letters to him from the earl of Essex concerning his lordship's solicitations to the queen for his preferment, 166, 167. His letter to the earl, 167. His design to retire to Cambridge, 168. Promised to be admitted to the queen, 170. His letter to sir ROBERT CECIL, 171. Resolved, if he were not preferred before the next term, never to solicit it more, 173. Letter to him from mr. FULK GREVILL, 179. Employed in some business by the queen, *ibid.* Stopp'd by sickness in his journey, *ibid.* and 180. His letter to the queen, 180. Takes the degree of master of arts at Cambridge, 181. His business at court still depending, 184. His letter to his brother, 189. Letter to him from the earl of

Essex, 190. His preferment to the post of solicitor general urged to the queen by the lord treasurer, 195. Conversation about him and his brother between his mother and sir ROBERT CECIL, *ibid.* His letter to his brother, 196. His letter to sir ROBERT CECIL, 198. Letter to him from his brother, 199. Disappointed of the office of solicitor general, 271, 272. Complains of the lord keeper PUCKERING, *ibid.* and 272. His character by the earl of Essex, 272. Speech of that earl to him, when the queen refus'd to prefer him to the post of solicitor general, *ibid.* Presented by his lordship with a piece of land, *ibid.* and 273. Refused the post of solicitor general, 314. Speaks twice in a week with the queen a full hour each time, and used by her with grace and trust, 468. Desirous of being made master of the rolls, 481. His letter to the earl of Essex, *ibid.* To his brother, 486, 488. His letter to his brother from court, *ibid.* 14. His pen not used by the earl of Essex to write his letters, as has been supposed, 20. Favoured by the lord keeper EGERTON, 23. His letter of advice to the earl of Essex, 159. Conversation between him and the lord keeper, 228. Receives gracious speeches from the queen, 241. Dedicates his *Essays* to his brother ANTHONY, 275. Dissuades the earl of Essex from a military and popular dependence. 345. Intends to pay his addresses to lady HATTON, 346. Complaints of mr. TROTT against him of ill usage, 354. Writes a letter to the earl of Essex to take upon him the care of the affairs of Ireland, 381. Stiles his lordship's letter to the lord keeper *bold and presumptuous, and derogatory to her majesty*, 388. Dissuades his lordship from going to Ireland, 395. His conversation with the queen on her expressing her resentment against the earl of Essex for his ill success in Ireland, 432. Endeavours to serve the earl, 438, 439. Dissuades the queen from bringing the earl into the Star-chamber, 446. Appointed one of the council against his lordship, 447. Speech at York-house against that earl, 449. His discourse to the queen the day after the censure of the earl of Essex in York-house, 455. Said to advise her to publish a proclamation for degrading the knights made by the earl of Essex in Ireland, 456. His letter to his lordship, 457. His endeavours to serve the earl, 458. His letter to the lord HENRY HOWARD, 459, 460. Writes two letters to the queen in the name of his lordship, 458, 461. and two others, one as from his brother ANTHONY, and the other as from the earl himself, 459. His advice to the earl about his manner of treating the queen, 489. His letter to the queen, 498. His conduct towards the earl of Essex,

The INDEX.

- Essex, at and after his lordship's trial, 499, 500
- BACON (sir NICHOLAS) lord keeper, his character, i. 10
- BALANTINE (mr.) vice-chamberlain to the king of Scotland, i. 187. His letter to mr. BACON, *ibid.*
- BALCANQUAL (WALTER) exclaims against the king of Scots in a sermon at Edinburgh, ii. 235. His and mr. ROBERT BRUCE's letter to the earl of Essex, 267. And to lord Zouch, 268
- BALAGNY (monf. DE) exposes himself to contempt by seeking to marry the elder sister of the French king's mistress, i. 357, 358
- BANNATYNE (mr.) his letters to mr. HUDSON concerning the state of affairs in Scotland, i. 242, 256
- BANCROFT (dr. RICHARD) obtains his *congé d'eslire* for the bishopric of London, ii. 171
- BARLOW (dr. WILLIAM) celebrates in a sermon at St. Paul's Cross the victory at Cadiz, and the earl of Essex's share in it, ii. 97. Attends his lordship after his condemnation, 479 & *seqq.* His sermon preach'd at St. Paul's Cross the Sunday after his lordship's execution, 479 note (h)
- BARNEVELT (JOHN OLDEN) his overture, i. 330. Displeased with the English court, *ibid.* Conference with mr. BODLEY, 361—363. Character of him by mr. BODLEY, 364. Some account of him, *ibid.* Uses all means to effect somewhat, that might yield queen ELIZABETH contentment, 387. His conference with the other deputies, 388
- BARTON (EDWARD) the English ambassador at Constantinople, said by the French ambassador to employ all the queen's authority to prevent the grand signior's arming by sea, i. 247, 251
- BASADONNA (JACOMO) sends to the earl of Essex an abstract of ANTONIO PEREZ's letters to himself, i. 370
- BASKERVILLE (sir THOMAS) his letter to the earl of Essex, ii. 192. Justifies his soldiers against the complaints made of them, 232. His letter to the earl, 322
- BEAUMONT (count DE) ambassador from HENRY IV. in England; his MS. letters cited concerning sir ANTHONY STANDON, ii. 502, 503, 504, 505. Queen ELIZABETH's discourse to him concerning the earl of Essex, 505. His letters concerning the last sickness and death of that queen, 506, 507, 508. His conference with secretary CECIL, 515
- BEAUVOIR LA NOCLE (monf.) the French ambassador in England, i. 241. Desirous to return thither, *ibid.* Inveighs against monf. DE SANCY and the duke DE BOUILLON, *ibid.* Could not attend the king for want of money, 292
- BEDFORD (earl of) joins the earl of Essex in his insurrection, ii. 466
- BELLIEVRE (POMPONNE DE) president *a mortier* of the parliament of Paris, ii. 299, note (†)
- BEZA (THEODORE) has a great esteem for mr. A. BACON, i. 16. Dedicates his meditations to lady ANNE BACON, *ibid.* Sends a book to her, 106. Returns him a letter thanking him for a present, 118. Writes against FREGEVILLE, 147. His letter to monf. CASTOL, ii. 188
- BIRON (ALMAND GONTAULT DE) marshal of France, some account of him, i. 19, note (w)
- BIRON (CHARLES DE GONTAULT, duke de) i. 234. His share in the action at Fontaine-Françoise, 246. Grown insolent, 253. Marches against the enemy, and forces a pass, 260. Importunate with the king to prosecute the war in Franche-Comté, 261. Has the command of the army in Brosse left to him by the king, 289. Defeats the Spaniards, ii. 137. His incursions into Artois, 148. In great necessity to support his army, 156. Commended for annoying the enemy, 300. A friend to the English, 323. Speaks with contempt of the manner of the earl of Essex's behaviour at his death, 484. Behaves like a madman at his own, *ibid.*
- BLANTYRE (WALTER STUART, prior of) i. 111. The office of chancellor expected to be transferred from sir JOHN MAITLAND to him, 187. His letters to mr. DAVID FOULIS, ii. 44, 117
- BLOUNTE (sir CHARLES) afterwards earl of Devonshire, made governor of Portsmouth, i. 140 See MONTJOY.
- BLOUNTE (sir CHRISTOPHER) marries the countess dowager of Leicester, i. 56. His letter to the lady RICH concerning the taking of Cadiz, ii. 50, 51. His share in it, 53. His letter to the earl of Essex from Weymouth, 348. Chosen knight of the shire for the county of Stafford, 362. His letter to the earl of Essex, 381. Design'd to seize the gate at court, 464. Advises sir FERDINANDO GORGE to seize sir WALTER RALEGH, 465. Wounded and taken prisoner, 467. Try'd, condemn'd, and executed, 492, 493
- BLUNT (sir MICHAEL) remov'd from the lieutenancy of the Tower, and imprisoned there, i. 342
- BODLEY (JOSIAS) imprisoned in the inquisition, i. 318. Some account of him, *ibid.* note (g)
- BODLEY (THOMAS) expected to go chief secretary to sir EDWARD STAFFORD ambassador to France, i. 40. Account of him, 204—206. His letter to the lord treasurer, 206, 209. To the earl of Essex, 209, 214. Sends the earl of Essex copies of two intercepted letters of WILLIAM CREYTON, a Scots jesuit, 215, 216, 217. Conference between him and mr. DENNISON the Scots ambassador, 216. His letter to the earl of Essex, 217. To mr. BACON, 218. To the lord

- lord treasurer, 219. To the earl of Essex, 221. To the lord treasurer, 230. To the earl of Essex, 233. Returns to England, 236. His letter to the queen, *ibid.* His return displeases her, 244, 248. His letter to the earl of Essex, 248. Answer to him from the earl, 249. His letter to mr. BACON, *ibid.* Sent with new instructions to the states general, 288. His letter to mr. BACON, 301. To sir ROBERT CECIL, 331. To the earl of Essex, 334. Desires leave to return home, 335. His letter to the earl of Essex, 360, to the lord treasurer, 361, 368. Letter to him from mr. BACON, 470. Begins a public library at Oxford, *ii.* 58, 63. Disappointed of the post of secretary of state, 61, 62. Farther account of him, 63, 64.
- BODERIE** (ANTHONY LE FEVRE DE LA) sent to queen ELIZABETH, *i.* 275. Of the reformed religion, *ibid.* Character of him by mr. EDMONDES, 276
- BOISSISSE** (monf. DE) arrives in England as ambassador from France, *ii.* 393. His letter to mr. BACON, *ibid.* Attached to the earl of Essex more than to secretary CECIL, *ibid.* His letter to monf. DE ROHAN concerning the earl's trial, 505. Intercedes for his lordship, *ibid.*
- BONGARS** (JACQUES) resident from HENRY IV. with several states of Germany, *ii.* 247. His letter to lord WILLOUGHBY of Eresby, *ibid.*
- BOTHWELL** (FRANCIS STUART, earl of) surprizes the king of Scotland, *i.* 111. Denounced rebel, *ibid.* Arrives within two miles of Edinburgh, *i.* 170. Retires to Leith, *ibid.* A proclamation against joining with him, *ibid.* narrowly escapes, 178. Joins the papists, 186. Arrives at Paris, 235. Lives in a state of banishment in France, *ii.* 332. Threatens the life of the king of Scots, *ibid.*
- BOUILLON** (HENRY DE LA TOUR, duke de) ransom'd, *i.* 41. note (e) Sent to the queen by HENRY IV. of France, 64. Some account of him, *ibid.* note (x) Received marshal of France, 190. Expected to marry ELIZABETH daughter of WILLIAM I. prince of Orange, 191. His loss, 240. His letters to the earl of Essex, 267, 268. A letter of his drop'd by chance gives offence to the king, 357. Comes to England, 466. Endeavours to dissuade the earl of Essex from the expedition against Cadiz, *ibid.* Sick of an ague, 468. Negotiates the treaty between England and France, *ii.* 1. Returns to France, 3. His conference with mr. REYNOLDES, secretary to the earl of Essex, 4. with the queen, 5, 6. At the French court, 29. Arrives at Dover, 104. Feasted by queen ELIZABETH and the earl of Essex, 121. Visits mr. BACON, 122. Departs for Holland, *ibid.* His letter to the queen, *ibid.* His arrival in Holland, 148. His letter to monf. DE LA FONTAINE, 169. Complains of the earl of Essex's being grown more cold and reserved since his return from Cadiz, 170. Well received in Holland, 176, 199. Departing from thence, 200. Presents made to him, 201. His delay in Holland gives occasion for various conjectures about the reasons of it, 202, 203. Preparing to go to Turenne, 241. Loses great sums in play, *ibid.* His title claim'd by another, 262. Gone from Sedan towards Turenne, 273. Raises money at Sedan, and deserts it, 324
- BOURGES** (RENAUD DE BEAUNE, archbishop of) the principal instrument in reconciling HENRY IV. to the Roman Catholic religion, *i.* 119
- BOWES** (ELEANOR) wife of mr. ROBERT BOWES, ambassador in Scotland, her letter to mr. HUDSON, *ii.* 66, 67
- BOWES** (sir JEROM) ambassador to Russia, *i.* 30, 37
- BOWES** (ROBERT) ambassador from queen ELIZABETH to the king of Scotland, *i.* 33, 39. Privy to dr. MORISON's correspondence with the earl of Essex and mr. BACON, 99. Writes frequently to that earl, *ibid.* 108. His account of the state of Scotland, 137. Desires to be recalled, *ibid.* Displeased with the lord treasurer's and sir ROBERT CECIL's treatment of mr. DAVID FOULIS, 182. His letter to the earl of Essex, 425. faithfully discharges his duty, *ii.* 25. His letters to mr. DAVID FOULIS, 26, 27, 111. His letters to mr. HUDSON, 44, 66, 158, 183, 249. To the earl of Essex, 283
- BOWES** (sir WILLIAM) his letter to the lord treasurer concerning the state of the middle marches between England and Scotland, *i.* 335. Sent to Scotland, *ii.* 331
- BRISSAC** (CHARLES DE COSSE', count de) the chief contriver of delivering Paris to HENRY IV. *i.* 163. The people of Bretagne desire. that he may not be their governor, 301
- BROMLEY** (sir THOMAS) lord chancellor, his character, *i.* 4.
- BROOKE** (HENRY) reports, that the queen intended to stop the expedition design'd against Cadiz, *ii.* 5. Recommended by her to the duke DE BOUILLON to receive that duke's letters to her, 6. Prejudices the queen against the earl of Essex with respect to the victory at Cadiz, 96, 100. See COBHAM (HENRY lord)
- BRUCE** (EDWARD) of Kinloss, sent ambassador with mr. JAMES COLVIL from the king of Scotland to queen ELIZABETH, *i.* 175. Returns to Scotland, 177. Sent ambassador again to England, *ii.* 509—513.
- BRUCE** (mr.) his letters to mr. BACON from Edinburgh, *ii.* 42, 43, 138. One of the commissioners sent to the king, 235. His and mr. WALTER BALCANQUAL's letter to the earl of Essex,

The I N D E X.

Essex, 267. And to lord Zouch, 268
BRUNKARD (sir HENRY) sent ambassador by queen
 ELIZABETH to the king of Scotland, i. 420
BUCKHURST (THOMAS SACKVILLE, lord) design'd
 to be high commissioner to Ireland, ii. 227.
 Sent for by the queen on the death of the lord
 treasurer BURGHLEY, 390. Not belov'd in
 France, 392
BURGH (THOMAS, lord) governor of the Brill, i.
 283. His letter to the earl of Essex, *ibid.* Com-
 plains of the queen's resentment against him,
ibid. Obtains leave to return to England, 287.
 Account of him, 288. Design'd to be sent lord
 deputy to Ireland, ii. 227. Has his dispatch
 for Ireland, 267. His commission sign'd, 285.
 Upon the point of departing for Ireland, 331.
 Goes thither, 342. Dies, 381
BURGHLEY (THOMAS, lord) proclaims the earl of
 Essex traytor, ii. 466. Employ'd in besieging
 Essex-house, 467
BURGHLEY (WILLIAM, lord) lord treasurer: his
 character, i. 4. Directs mr. BACON to culti-
 vate an acquaintance with dr. PARRY, 12.
 Complains of mr. BACON's expences in his tra-
 vels, 55. His letters to mr. EDWARD GRIME-
 STON, 63, & *seqq.* Instructions to mr. AN-
 THONY STANDEN, sent as a spy to Spain, i. 69.
 Charg'd after the death of the earl of Leicester
 and sir FRANCIS WALSINGHAM, with the ri-
 gours practis'd towards the roman catholics in
 England, 84. Advantageous character of him
 by mr. FRANCIS BACON, 90. Justifies the
 treatment of the roman catholics in England,
 94. His letter to mr. FRANCIS BACON, 123.
 Names him to the queen only for the place of
 solicitor general, 125. Indisposed of the gout,
 128. Visited by the queen, *ibid.* Concludes a mar-
 riage between his grand-daughter and sir WILLI-
 AM HATTON, 160. His conversation with mr.
 STANDEN, 164, 165. Reproach'd by the queen
 for the ill state of affairs in Ireland, 169. His
 letter to mr. STANDEN, 188. Urges to the
 queen the preferment of mr. FRANCIS BACON,
 195. Very ill of the gout, 294, 295. Call'd
froward old fool by the queen, 448. His letter
 to the earl of Essex and the lord admiral, ii.
 74. Treats mr. DAVID FOULIS, the Scots em-
 bassador, with extraordinary courtesy, 76. His
 complaints of mr. BACON, 129, & *seqq.* His
 letter to mr. DAVID FOULIS, 146. Falls un-
 der the displeasure of the queen, 146. Two
 letters of his to the earl of Essex on that oc-
 casion, *ibid.* and 147. Is satisfied with what
 mr. BACON had said in his own justification,
 and ready to do him good, 168. His peevish
 discourse to monf. DE FOUQUEROLLES, 328.
 Declares for peace with Spain, 383. Reproaches
 the earl of Essex, 384. Dies, 390

BURNHAM (EDWARD) employ'd in secret services
 by secretary WALSINGHAM, i. 14
BUZANVAL (PAUL CHOARD DE) the French em-
 bassador to the states general, ii. 200. Return-
 ed from France to Holland, 335, 336

C.

CADIZ: expedition against it preparing, i. 468.
 List of the English troops sent against it, ii. 15,
 16, 17. Account of the taking of it, 45, &
seqq. 87, 88. An account of that victory in
 HAKLUYT's collection cancell'd, 98
CALAIS not well provided for a siege, i. 333.
 Expected to be besieged by count DE FUENTES,
ibid. and 335. Besieg'd, 459, 462, 463, 464.
 Taken, 465, 468, 470
CALVART or **CALEWART** (LÆVINUS) the Dutch
 ambassador to HENRY IV. attends the nego-
 tiation of the treaty between England and France,
 ii. 3. His letter to the states, 216
CAMBRAY surrender'd to the Spaniards, i. 300,
 301
CAMDEN (WILLIAM) encourag'd by the lord trea-
 surer BURGHLEY to write the *Annals* of queen
 ELIZABETH, i. 1. Character of those annals,
ibid.
CAMPANA (CESARE) a Venetian historian, ii. 226
CAREW (sir GEORGE) discourse between him and
 secretary CECIL concerning mr. BACON, ii.
 227. Visits mr. BACON, 241. Professes his
 intire devotion to the earl of Essex, 242. Pro-
 posed by the earl of Essex to be sent to Ireland,
 384
CARLILE (CHRISTOPHER) a great traveller, i. 34.
 Dies, 130
CARON (NOEL) the Dutch resident in England,
 ii. 77. Sends a letter of mr. GILPEN to mr.
 REYNOLDES, 79. His letter to the earl of
 Essex, 83. Professes great obligations to that
 earl on behalf of the states general, 99. Re-
 turns to Holland with a confirmation of the
 treaty with the queen, 278
CARTWRIGHT (THOMAS) the puritan, committed
 to the Fleet, i. 62
CASTOL (JOHN) minister of the French church in
 London, returns from Geneva, i. 24. Ac-
 quaints mr. BACON with his intelligence from
 abroad, 135, 148. Sends mr. BACON a MS.
 discourse of his, i. 258. Letters of natu-
 ralization solicited for him by that gentleman,
ibid. Promis'd a favour by the archbishop of
 Canterbury, *ibid.* Devoted to the earl of Essex,
 ii. 172. His denisation recommended by mr.
 BACON to the earl, *ibid.* Going to Paris, 305.
 His letter to mr. BACON from Dieppe, 322.
 From Paris, 324, 329. His letter to the earl
 of Essex, 332. To mr. BACON from Roan, 339.
 3 X 2 CASTILLE

CASTILLE (constable of) takes Vesoul, i. 239. Blames the duke of Mayenne for his not assisting in the action at Fontaine-Françoise, 246. Incamp'd at Grey, 254. Takes Rochfort and Pefme in Franche-Comté, 290

CECIL (JOHN) an English priest, employed by the Scots popish earls, i. 263. Suspected to have had correspondence with the earl of Essex and the lord treasurer, *ibid.* His report of a conference with the pope and the cardinals ALDOBRANDINO and CAJETANO, 407. Returns from Rome to the court of Spain, ii. 32. Sends intelligence to the earl of Essex, 306. & *seqq.*

CECIL (sir ROBERT) married to the daughter of the lord COBHAM, i. 56. Sheriff of Hertfordshire, 57. His character by mr. FRANCIS BACON, 90. His letter to that gentleman, 124. His conversation with mr. STANDEN, 134. Prejudices the queen against the earl of Essex's discoveries of dr. LOPEZ's plot, 150. Conversation between him and that earl about mr. FRANCIS BACON's preferment, 152, 153. His letter to sir THOMAS EGERTON, i. 165. To mr. FRANCIS BACON, 171. His anger against mr. STANDEN, 180, 181. His letter to sir RICHARD COCKBURNE, 185. To mr. LAMBERT SADIAR, 189. Conversation between him and lady BACON about her two sons, 195. Sends for mr. FRANCIS BACON, 196. Letter to him from that gentleman, 198. Endeavours to be secretary of state, 294. Stil'd ROBERT *the Devil* by ANTONIO PEREZ, 352. His letter to the earl of Essex, inclosing a private prayer of the queen, ii. 18. Sworn secretary of state, 61. His letter to the lord HENRY HOWARD, concerning the victory at Cadiz, 68, 69. To mr. DAVID FOULIS, the Scots ambassador, 73. Treats that ambassador with extraordinary courtesy, 76. Letter to him, 80. Requires sir ANTHONY ASHLEY's notes of the victory at Cadiz, 95. Delivers a slight relation of that victory to monf. DE LA FONTAINE to be translated into French, and sent to HENRY IV. 96. His letter to the earl of Essex, 102, 103. Braves that earl, 131, 137. His letter to mr. DAVID FOULIS, 149. Has a legacy left of a house at Chelsea by the lady DACRES, 169. Lays in wait for mr. BACON's letters and advertisements, 204. Finds the post of secretary harder to manage than he expected, 227. Stil'd *Roberto il Diavolo* by ANTONIO PEREZ, *ibid.* Discourse between him and sir GEORGE CAREW, concerning mr. BACON, *ibid.* Professes his readiness to serve mr. BACON, 241. In great credit with the queen, 281. A peace mediated between him and the earl of Essex by sir WALTER RALEGH, 282. His letter to mr. BACON, 337. Offer of service to that gentleman, 338. On

good terms with the earl of Essex, 341, 350. To have the chancellorship of the dutchy of Lancaster, *ibid.* His letters to mr. BACON, 349, 350, 353. On good terms with the earl of Essex, 372, 380. Sent ambassador to France, *ibid.* Goes thither, 373. Letters of him and mr. HERBERT to the lords of the council, 374. Has an audience of HENRY IV. 374, 379. Returns to England, 379, 380. Made secretary of state, 425. Said to do good offices to the earl of Essex during the disgrace of the latter, 438, 442. His speech at York-house, 452. Continues his kind offices to the earl, 456. His letter to sir GEORGE CAREW concerning the earl's insurrection, 468. His correspondence with the king of Scotland, 514, 515. Intrusted with the chief management of public affairs upon that king's accession to the throne of England, 516

CESFORD (sir ROBERT KER, laird of) account of him, i. 187, note 2. His character, 243. Chief of the faction against the earl of Mar, 283. Challenges the laird of Baclugh, ii. 66, 67. Reconcil'd, 67. Offers an extraordinary service to queen ELIZABETH, 357. Delivers his pledges, 382

CHAMPERNON (mr.) sent by the queen to the king of Navarre, i. 50

CHALONER (sir THOMAS) recommended by mr. BACON to the earl of Essex, ii. 150. His letter to mr. BACON, 182. Arrives at Venice, 226. His letters to the earl of Essex from Florence, 236, 269. To mr. BACON, 270, 304

CHASTE (chevalier DE LA) governor of Dieppe, his letter to the earl of Essex, i. 279. Goes to the French king, 310. who, it was apprehended, would take his government of Dieppe from him, *ibid.* Which would be of disadvantage to the English merchants, and those of the reformed religion there, *ibid.*

CHASTRE (monf. DE LA) submits to HENRY IV. of France, i. 148

CHESHOLME (WILLIAM) bishop of Veson in the pope's dominions, i. 319

CHEVALIER (monf.) sent to queen ELIZABETH, i. 279, and note (i), 280, 281.

CHIMAY (prince of) becomes a protestant, i. 25

CHIVERNY (PHILIP HURALT, count DE) chancellor of France, ii. 298, and note (a). Attacked by some of the parliament, 298, 299, 312

CHURCHYARD (THOMAS) his verses to the queen i. 131

CLARENDON (EDWARD, earl of) his character of the earl of Essex, ii. 490, 491

CLIFFORD (sir NICHOLAS) in the Tower, i. 169

COBHAM (sir HENRY) ambassador to the court of France: some account of him, i. 17

COBHAM (HENRY, lord) see BROOKE (HENRY) made lord warden of the Cinque ports, ii. 282, 283,

The I N D E X.

- 283, 296, 345. Charg'd by the earl of Essex with a design against his life, 465. Employ'd in besieging Essex-house, 467
- COBHAM (WILLIAM BROOKE, lord) made lord chamberlain, ii. 102. Dies, 282
- COCKBURNE (sir RICHARD) sent by the king of Scotland to England, i. 182, 185. His letter to sir ROBERT CECIL, 185. To mr. HUDSON, 241. Sent by the lord chancellor, his uncle, to the king, 295
- COKE (EDWARD) his warrant sign'd for being attorney general, i. 169. Provokes the earl of Essex, ii. 291. His intolerable insolence, *ibid.* His speech against the earl of Essex at York-house, 448
- COLVIL (JAMES) his letter to mr. BACON, i. 446, 453. Laird of Eister-Weimes, sent ambassador with mr. EDWARD BRUCE from the king of Scotland to queen ELIZABETH, i. 175. Goes to France, 177. His letters to mr. BACON from Edinburgh, ii. 67
- COLVIL (JOHN) thought to stir up the house of Mar, i. 248. Entertain'd by the earl of Mar, *ibid.*
- COLMAN (MORGAN) : letters of his from London to mr. BACON, i. 86, 87
- COMPTON (lord) employ'd in besieging Essex-house, ii. 467
- CONDÉ (HENRY II. DE BOURBON, prince de) i. 250, and note (b).
- CONSTABLE (HENRY) his letter to mr. BACON, i. 302, 303
- CONWAY (sir EDWARD) ii. 98
- CORNWALLIS (sir WILLIAM) endeavours to prejudice the queen against the earl of Essex, i. 313. An enemy of the earl of Essex, ii. 96, and note (c).
- COVENTRY (THOMAS) i. 197, and note (b).
- CROFT (sir JAMES) comptroller of the household : his character, i. 8
- CREYTTON (WILLIAM) a Scots jesuit in Spain, i. 109, 110. Two intercepted letters of his, i. 215, 216, 217
- CROMWELL (lord) sent by the earl of Essex from Ireland to England, i. 426. Sollicits to be made lord president of Munster, *ibid.* Joins the earl of Essex in his insurrection, 466
- CUFFE (HENRY) sent by the earl of Essex with his letters from Spain to England, ii. 81. His letter to mr. REYNOLDES, *ibid.* Draws up a relation of the victory at Cadiz, *ibid.* and 82. Some account of him, 82, 83. Commanded by the queen not to publish any account of that victory, 95. A great philosopher, 243. Sent by the earl of Essex from Ireland to England, 426. Dismiss'd the earl's service, but taken into it again. 462. Goes between the earl and sir CHARLES DAVERS, 472, 473. Charg'd by the earl as one of his principal instigators, 478, 479. Condemn'd and executed, 492, 493
- CUMBERLAND (earl of) his speech at York-house, ii. 435
- CYPRIAN, a Spaniard, translates ANTONIO PEREZ's relations into Latin, i. 469
- D.
- DALE (dr. VALENTINE) ambassador to HENRY III. of France, i. 114, and note (s).
- DANÆUS (LAMBERT), an eminent divine, dedicates some of his works to mr. BACON, i. 49. Some account of him, *ibid.* His letter to mr. BACON, 87
- DANVERS (sir THOMAS) committed to the Marshalsea for kissing the pope's toe, i. 144
- DAUBIGNEY (ESME STUART, baron of), favourite of king JAMES I. of Scotland, i. 4, 20, 21, 24, 26. Goes to Paris, 33. Dies, 37
- DAVERS (sir CHARLES) highly commended for his service by HENRY IV. i. 248. Intends to go to Italy, 463. His letter to mr. BACON, ii. 42. Some account of him, *ibid.* His letter to the earl of Essex, 181. One of the council form'd by the earl of Essex, 463. Design'd to seize the queen's guard and presence chamber, 464, 478. His confession, 470, & *seqq.* Condemn'd and executed, 492, 493
- DAVERS (sir HENRY) his service highly commended by HENRY IV. i. 248. Defends don MARTIN DE LA NUCA, who was kill'd in Franche-Comté, 291. Wounded, ii. 405, 407
- DAVIS (sir JOHN) surveyor of the ordnance, one of the council form'd by the earl of Essex, ii. 463. Design'd to seize the court before the palace, 464, 478. Condemn'd, 492. Pardon'd, 494
- DAVISON (FRANCIS) letter to him from the earl of Essex, i. 365. Draws up a relation of Saxony, ii. 91. His letters to mr. BACON, 139, 178. To his father, 185, 204. His relation of Saxony stolen out of the earl of Essex's chamber, 255
- DAVISON (WILLIAM) remov'd from the post of secretary of state, to which the earl of Essex importunes the queen to restore him, i. 63
- DENMARK (CHRISTERN IV. king of) his letter to queen ELIZABETH, i. 77
- DENNISON (ROBERT) consul of the Scots nation at Terveer, appointed ambassador lieger with the states general, i. 208. His conference with mr. BODLEY, 216. A creature of the chancellor of Scotland, *ibid.*
- DESMOND (GERALD FITZ-GERALD, earl of) kill'd, i. 32. note (s).
- DEVEREUX (WALTER) brother to ROBERT earl of Essex, return'd from the Portugal voyage, and going to France, i. 57
- D^o

The I N D E X.

D'O (FRANCIS) superintendent of the Finances in France, i. 192. and note (n).

DOVE (dr. THOMAS) dean of Norwich, sent to the earl of Essex by the lords of the council, ii. 475

DOUGLAS (ARCHIBALD) employ'd by the earl of Angus, i. 131. Account of him, 132, note (q). Revil'd by the king, 188. Deceiv'd, if he expected the chancellorship, 330. Writes a letter to a friend, which he desires might be shewn to the king of Scots, 444, 445. His character, by sir JOHN FORTESCU, 465. Proclaim'd traitor, ii. 164

DOUX (monf. LE) his letter to mr. BACON, i. 469. Sent abroad by the earl of Essex, ii. 38. His letter to mr. BACON, ibid.

DRAKE (sir FRANCIS) in the Portugal expedition, i. 58. Comes to court, 92. Dies, 472

DRUMMOND (EDWARD) charg'd to have carried from the king of Scotland a commission to the pope, i. 420. Confin'd to his mother's house, ibid.

DRURY (sir DREW) made lieutenant of the Tower, i. 342

DYER (sir EDWARD) return'd from the Low-countries, whither he was sent by the queen, i. 46

DYER (sir JAMES) lord chief justice of the common pleas, dies, i. 23. Some account of him, ibid. Note (k).

E.

EDMONDES (mr. THOMAS) agent in France, i. 194. Corresponds with the earl of Essex, ibid. His conference with monf. DE VILLEROY, ibid. His letter to the earl of Essex, 233. To the lord treasurer from Troyes, 238. To the earl, 240. To the lord treasurer from Dijon, giving an account of the victory at Fontaine-Françoise, 245. His letter to the earl of Essex, 248. To the lord treasurer from Dijon, 250, 253, 254, 259, 273. His conference with the French king, 274. His letter to the lord treasurer from Lyons, 289. To the earl of Essex, 291. To the lord treasurer from Paris, 299. Represents his necessities, 300. Furnish'd with money by mr. OTWELL SMITH, 310. His audience of the French king, 315. His letter to the earl of Essex, 328. Emulation between him and ANTONIO PEREZ, 345, 353. His letter to the lord treasurer, 357. To the earl of Essex, ibid. Importunes sir HENRY UNTON for leave to return to England, 437. Presents a paper from queen ELIZABETH to the French king, 451. Goes to England, 459. Suspected by ANTONIO PEREZ, 474. Sent from Roan to Paris by the English ambassadors, ii. 155.

Thought to be more attach'd to secretary CECIL than to the earl of Essex, 392

EGERTON (sir THOMAS) made master of the rolls, i. 165, 169. Offers to assist mr. FRANCIS BACON with his own observations with relation to the office of solicitor-général, 165. Letter to him from sir ROBERT CECIL on that occasion, ibid. Made lord keeper, 479. 481, 482. Some account of him, 479. His singular friendship to mr. FRANCIS BACON, ii. 23. His letters to mr. ANTHONY BACON, 77, 90. Friendship and conjunction between him and the earl of Essex, 145. Conversation between him and mr. FRANCIS BACON, 228. His letter to the earl of Essex, 384. His speeches at York-house, 452, 453, in the Star-chamber, 455. Seiz'd by the earl of Essex, and confin'd in Essex-house, 565

ELIZABETH, (queen) her reign distinguish'd by a variety of important events, i. 1. Disorders of her court, 26, 39. Her letter to the king of Spain sent by mr. WARD, 45. Sends mr. FULK GREVILL and mr. EDWARD NORREYS to visit WILLIAM prince of Orange, when wounded by JAUREQUI, 22. Her answer to dr. TOBY MATTHEW upon occasion of a sermon of his before her, complaining, that merit was not rewarded, 48. Letter to her from the king of Scots against executing his mother, 52. And another on the approach of the Spanish armada, 55. Her favour towards ROBERT earl of Essex, 74. Displeas'd with his going to the siege of Roan, and his marriage, 75. Letter to her from CHRISTIERN IV. king of Denmark, 77. She is displeased with sir EDWARD HOBY and several other members of parliament, 96. and with mr. FRANCIS BACON, 97. Sends sir THOMAS WYLKES to HENRY IV. to divert him from his resolution of reconciling himself to the Roman catholic religion, 113. Solicited by the earl of Essex in favour of mr. FRANCIS BACON, 117, 120, 125. Angry with the earl, 123. Letter to her from mr. FRANCIS BACON, 126. Prejudic'd against the earl's discoveries of dr. LOPEZ's plot, 150. Urg'd to make sir ROBERT CECIL and sir EDWARD STAFFORD secretaries, 152. Her treatment of a carter, who was overheard by her saying, that she was a woman as well as his wife, 154, 155. Excuses the connivance given to BOTHWELL, 177. Her kind speeches to the earl of Essex, 181. Her grant to ANTONIO PEREZ, 193. Displeas'd with the earl of Essex, 238. Displeas'd with mr. BODLEY's return from Holland, 244. Wishes him hang'd, ibid. Her concern for the earl of Essex in his sickness, 312. The straitness of her allowance to her ladies makes them mercenary, 355. Promises the king of Scotland assistance,

The I N D E X.

sistance, and gives him hopes of succeeding her, 417. Calls the lord treasurer BURLEIGH *a forward old fool*, 448. Alarmed at the Spaniards besieging of Calais, 459, 462. Letter to her from HENRY IV. 462. Incens'd against ANTONIO PEREZ, 472. League offensive and defensive made between her and HENRY IV. of France, ii. 1, 7. Her discourse with the duke DE BOUILLON about the earl of Essex's design'd expedition against Cadiz, 4, 5. Composes a prayer for the use of the fleet in that expedition, and a private one for her own use, 18. Letter to her from the earl of Essex, 19. Gives mr. DAVID FOULIS, the Scots ambassador, a favourable audience, 76. Quite alter'd in the next audience, 80. Her reputation raised abroad by the victory at Cadiz, 86. Takes a solemn oath to the treaty with France, 121. Angry with those, who oblig'd the earl of Essex to return without waiting for the Spanish West-India fleet, *ibid.* Writes to lord WILLOUGHBY of Eresby, 145. Orders 3000 *l.* to be paid to the king of Scots, 146. Angry with the lord treasurer, 146. Her letter to the states-general, 176. Her zeal for the earl of Essex and his success, 351. Incens'd against the earl, 361. Abandon'd in a manner by HENRY IV. at the treaty of Vervins, 383. Sends sir FRANCIS VERE to Holland, *ibid.* Sheds tears for the death of the lord treasurer BURGHLEY, 390. Her behaviour during the earl of Essex's retirement from court, 389, 390, 391. Her letter to the earl, 429. Her behaviour to him upon his return from Ireland, 433, & *seqq.* In extreme agitation of mind, and very irresolute with respect to the execution of the sentence against the earl of Essex, 481. Her letter to the lord Montjoy, 497. To the lord Willoughby of Eresby, 500. Her proceedings against the earl of Essex applauded by HENRY IV. 505. Her concern for that earl's death, *ibid.* and 506. The circumstances of her last illness and death, 506, 507, 508. Declares the king of Scotland her successor, 507, 508.

EMANUEL (son of ANTONIO king of Portugal) desires the queen's recommendation to count MAURICE and the states general, ii. 275. In very necessitous circumstances, 284. His letter to mr. BACON, *ibid.* Arrives in Holland, 319. His letter to mr. BACON, *ibid.*

ERROL (earl of) detected in a correspondence with Spain, i. 109.

ERSFIELD (A.) sent to France by the earl of Essex, 329. His letter from Paris to mr. BACON, *ibid.* To the earl, 350.

ESSEX (countess of) brought to bed of a daughter, ii. 435. Allowed to visit her husband, 441. Forbid, 442. Permitted again, *ibid.*

ESSEX (ROBERT DEVEREUX, earl of) chases mr. WALTER RALPH from the court, i. 56. His conduct in the expedition against Portugal, 59. Endeavours to restore mr. DAVISON to the exercise of his office of secretary of state, 63. An account of him, 74. Comes to court in his collar of SS. 92. Sworn of the privy council, 93. Endeavours to reconcile the queen to mr. FRANCIS BACON, who had given offence by his speech in the house of commons on the three subsidies, 97. Employs mr. BACON in carrying on a very extensive correspondence, 99. Impatient for the arrival of mr. STANDEN, 104. Apprehensive lest his taking notice of mr. STANDEN should give jealousy to the lord treasurer, 104. Presents mr. STANDEN with a chain of an hundred marks, 105. Moves the queen for mr. FRANCIS BACON's preferment to the post of attorney general, 113. Speaks to her in favour of mr. STANDEN, 114. Complains of the lord treasurer's neglect of mr. STANDEN, 115. Recommends mr. STANDEN to mr. RICHARD WESTON, 117. Sollicits the queen for mr. FRANCIS BACON, 120, 121. Resolves to send an hundred pounds more to dr. MORISON for his intelligence, 121. But lessens that sum to an hundred marks, 122. More like a father than a friend to mr. FRANCIS BACON, *ibid.* Makes a start to the isle of Wight, *ibid.* Returns to the court at Windsor, 123. Finds the queen displeased with him, *ibid.* Urges her to appoint mr. FRANCIS BACON attorney general, 125. Sollicits for sir FRANCIS ALLEN a government in Ireland, 130. Employed in preparing a tilting at Greenwich, 131. Absent from court three days, 134. These starts of his trouble his friends and followers, *ibid.* Reprimanded by the queen for his ranging abroad, 136. Speaks to her majesty in favour of mr. STANDEN, *ibid.* Departs from court, and longer absent from it than he had been some years, 138. Returns thither, *ibid.* His instructions to dr. MORISON, *ibid.* Prepares chambers in Essex-house to confer with his friends there, 144. All matters of intelligence in his hands, *ibid.* Talk'd to the queen on the Twelfth-day in a *sweet and favourable manner*, 146. Opposes those, who were for persuading the queen to stop sir ROBERT SIDNEY's employment into France, *ibid.* Sits in commission with lord Buckhurst and sir ROBERT CECIL, 147. Highly provoked by sir ROBERT CECIL, 149, 150. Unravels the plot of dr. LOPEZ, 150. Gives mr. BACON an account of it, 152. Conversation between his lordship and sir ROBERT CECIL about mr. FRANCIS BACON's preferment, 152, 153. Visits mr. FRANCIS BACON, 153. Engaged in the examination of LOPEZ, 152, 158.

160.

The I N D E X.

160. Returns to court, 160. His mildness and affability, *ibid.* Desirous of mr. BACON's return to London, *ibid.* and 163. Represents to the queen mr. BACON's concern for not having waited on her, 160. His esteem for that gentleman, 161. Whose ill health he is sorry for, *ibid.* Sends an hundred French crowns to dr. MORISON, and intends to serve him with the queen, 162. Two letters of his to mr. FRANCIS BACON, 166, 167. His zeal to serve mr. STANDEN, 168. Pursues his solicitations in favour of mr. FRANCIS BACON, 169. On *hard terms* with the queen, 170, 171. Returns to court, 171. His letters to mr. FRANCIS BACON, *ibid.* and 172. Letter to him from the king of Scotland, 175. His letter to that king, 176. Sent for by a pursuivant of the queen from Grafton, 180. The queen's kind speeches to him, and grant of 4000*l.* 181. His treatment of mr. DAVID FOULIS highly acceptable to the king of Scots, 182. And his friendship a great satisfaction to that king, 183. His letter to mr. FRANCIS BACON, 190. To mr. DAVID FOULIS, 192, 193. To the earl of Mar, 193. Conference between him and ANTONIO PEREZ, *ibid.* His zeal for the interest of ANTHONY and FRANCIS BACON, 199. Assures mr. ROLSTON of his resolution to reward him for his intelligence from Spain, 223. Ill of an ague, *ibid.* On ill terms with the queen, 238. Sends a letter to the duke DE BOUILLON, 240. Recovers the queen's favour, 245. His letter to the lord HENRY HOWARD, *ibid.* To mr. BODLEY, 249. To mons. DE SANCY, 265. To mons. DE BEAUVOIS LA NOCLE, 267. To the duke DE BOUILLON, *ibid.* To the lord keeper PUCKERING, 271. His speech to mr. FRANCIS BACON upon the latter's being disappointed of the office of solicitor general, 272. Presents him with a piece of land, *ibid.* His letter to the lord chancellor of Scotland, 276. His memorial to the queen against invasions, 292. His letters to ANTONIO PEREZ, 296, 308. His instructions to mr. ERSFIELD, 311. Sick, 312. On ill terms with the queen, 313. His device at a public tilting, 314. Sends mr. HENRY WOTTON to ANTONIO PEREZ in France, 346. His zeal for HENRY IV. 350. Letter to him from that king, *ibid.* His secret instructions to sir HENRY UNTON, 353. His letter to HENRY IV. 354. To mr. FRANCIS DAVISON, 365. To ANTONIO PEREZ, 366, 367. To the earl of Mar, 377. Letter to him from HENRY IV. 396. His answers to a paper of remembrances of mr. BACON, 406. His letter to dr. HAWKINS, 428. Travers'd in the design of his expedition against Calais, 440. Endeavours to procure the provostship of Eton college for mr.

HENRY SAVILE, 441. His instructions to mons. LE DOUX, 443. Commission to him to be lieutenant general of the navy, 453. Sent to Dover by the queen. 457, 458. His letters to sir ANTHONY SHERLEY, *ibid.* and 458. His designed expedition against Cadiz remonstrated against by the duke DE BOUILLON, 466. Goes out to sea to avoid that duke, 467. Determin'd on that expedition, *ibid.* Arrives at Plymouth, 474. His letters to mr. REYNOLDES, *ibid.* 480, and 481. To mr. BACON, 480, 484, 487. To mr. FRANCIS BACON, 487. To the lord keeper EGERTON, *ibid.* To the lord Buckhurst, 488. To sir JOHN FORTESCUE, *ibid.* Conversation of the duke DE BOUILLON about him, ii. 4. And about his design'd expedition against Cadiz by the queen, 5. His letter to mr. NAUNTON, 7. Goes to Plymouth, *ibid.* His letter to the council in justification of his intended expedition, 8, 9. His behaviour at Plymouth gives universal satisfaction there, 15. Spares no labour nor expence, *ibid.* List of the English forces in his expedition to Cadiz, *ibid.* 16, 17. His letter to the queen, 19. To the council, 20. Did not use mr. FRANCIS BACON's pen, as has been supposed, 20. His letter to his secretary REYNOLDES, 20, 21. Draws up articles for the use of the army, 21. Kindly remember'd in his absence by the queen, 23. His letter to mr. REYNOLDES, 45. His conduct in the taking of Cadiz, 46, 49, 50, 51. His letter to mr. BACON, 51. His share in advising that expedition, and his justification of it, 57. Propos'd to stay at Cadiz, 58. And to sail to the isles, 121. Has for his share of his booty at Faro OSORIO's library, a considerable part of which he gives to the Bodleian, *ibid.* Writes a *Censure* of the *Omissions* in the expedition, 59. Desirous of promoting mr. BODLEY to the post of secretary of state, 61, 62. His letter to his secretary REYNOLDES, 77. Arrives at Plymouth, 93. His letter to mr. BACON, *ibid.* Letter to him and the lord admiral from the lords of the council, *ibid.* The jealousy of his enemies with regard to the victory at Cadiz, 98. His return crosses their designs, 100, 101. Comes to court, 103. His letter to mr. BACON, 104. Visits that gentleman, 105. Writes an apology for his conduct in that expedition, 108. His letter to mr. BACON, 115. To lord HENRY HOWARD, 118. Entertains the duke DE BOUILLON, 121. The queen angry with those, who forced him to return without waiting for the Spanish West India fleet, *ibid.* Feasts the lord admiral, secretary CECIL, and divers of the nobility, 122. Improved in piety and the regularity of his morals, *ibid.* Procures a very intelligent spy in Spain, 123. His conduct at
Cadiz

The I N D E X.

Cadiz admir'd in Spain, 124, 125. A design of the Spanish court to send to treat with him, 125. His letters to mr. BACON, 131, 137, 140. Brav'd by secretary CECIL, 131, 137. His letter to ANTONIO PEREZ, 140, & *seqq.* Friendship and conjunction between him and the lord keeper EGERTON, 145. His answer to a letter of the lord treasurer, 147. His letter to mr. BACON, 150. Overcomes the effects of the envy of his rivals, and on very good terms with her majesty, 153. His letter to the lord HENRY HOWARD, 163. To mr. BACON, *ibid.* Complain'd of by the duke DE BOUILLON and monf. DE LA FONTAINE, is grown more cold and reserved since his return from Cadiz, 170. His letter to mr. BACON, 172. Letter to him from HENRY IV. 173. The new counsellors brought in by him, 176. Nothing at court can withstand his virtue, *ibid.* His letter to the duke of Tuscany, 182. To signior FUSCARINO, *ibid.* To mr. BACON, 187. Fights a duel with lord Montjoy, 191. Ill of an ague, 194. The greatest and wisest persons in Holland devoted to him, 199. His letter to sir ROBERT SIDNEY, 201. Owns himself in debt, *ibid.* Grows more pious and strict after his return from Spain, 218. tho' still suspected of relapsing into his former commerce with a court lady, *ibid.* His answer to a letter of lady BACON to him on that subject, 219. His letter to sir JOHN FORTESCU, 223. Represents to the queen the case of the orphans of bishop FLETCHER, 224. Answers several letters of ANTONIO PEREZ, 243, 244, 245. Draws up at the queen's desire his opinion of some design against Spain, 266. Indisposed thro' chagrin and opposition, 281, 282. Reconcil'd to the queen, 282. Peace mediated between him and sir ROBERT CECIL by sir WALTER RALEGH, *ibid.* Endeavours to obtain the wardenship of the cinque ports for sir ROBERT SIDNEY, 283, 296. Designs to go to Wales, 282, 289, 290. Made master of the ordnance, 296. His letter to mr. NAUNTON, 304. Receives a packet of intelligence from father CECIL, 306, & *seqq.* His letter to mr. BACON, 326. To lord EURE, *ibid.* To the lord keeper EGERTON, 339. To the merchants adventurers at Stode, 341. On good terms with secretary CECIL and sir WALTER RALEGH, *ibid.* His letter to the lord HENRY HOWARD, *ibid.* Appointed chief commander of the fleet design'd against the Spaniards, 344. His design in that expedition, *ibid.* Goes to Chatham, 345. His letters to sir THOMAS CECIL and his lady, 346, 347. Reconciles sir FRANCIS VERE and sir WALTER RALEGH, 352. The design of his expedition, *ibid.* Returns from Plymouth to court, 353. To his

secretary REYNOLDES, 357. To the queen, 358. His expedition to the Tercera islands, 360. His generosity to sir WALTER RALEGH, *ibid.* Lands at Plymouth, and returns to court, 361. Retires in discontent, *ibid.* Made earl marshal, 264, 265. On good terms with secretary CECIL, 372, 380. Obtains a gift of 7000*l.* from the queen, 380. Discovers a passion for mrs. BRIDGES, *ibid.* Diligent in attending on the queen and dispatching of all business, *ibid.* Endeavours to reconcile her majesty to his mother, *ibid.* Declares against peace with Spain, 383. Reproach'd by the lord treasurer BURGHLEY, 384. Writes his *Apology*, *ibid.* Struck by the queen, and retires in discontent, *ibid.* His letter to the lord keeper EGERTON, 386. Urg'd by sir WILLIAM KNOLLYS to return to court, 389. 390. Returns to court, 392. Appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland, 394, 396. Consults mr. FRANCIS BACON before he accepted of that post, 395. Goes to Ireland, 396. Sends two letters to the council in England, 397. Journal of his expedition into Munster, 398, & *seqq.* Returns to Dublin, 414, 419. His letter to the queen concerning the state of Ireland, 415. Complains of being undermin'd by his enemies, 417, 418. His letter to the lords of the council, 419, 420, 423, 424. To the queen, 424, 425. Angry with the queen's having made sir ROBERT CECIL secretary of state, 425. Journal of his expedition into Ulster, 427, & *seqq.* His conference with TYRONE, 429. Returns to England, 433. His reception at court, *ibid.* Confined to his chamber, 434. Committed to the custody of the lord keeper, 435. Falls sick, 436. His letter to the queen, *ibid.* The reasons of his imprisonment declared in the Star chamber, 440. Dangerously sick, 441. Writes a submissive letter to the queen, 442. Suffered to go and reside at Essex house, 443. His letter to the queen, *ibid.* 444, 445. His *Apology* addressed to mr. BACON printed, 444. Brought before the commissioners at York-house, 447. His speech there, 449. Permitted to go into the country, 456. Returns to London, 457. His answer to a letter of mr. FRANCIS BACON, *ibid.* His letter to the queen, 461, 462. Gives ear to desperate councils, 462. Takes mr. CUFFE again into his service after having discharged him, *ibid.* Forms a council, 463. His designs discover'd, 464. Sent for to council, but refuses to go, *ibid.* His insurrection, 465, & *seqq.* Surrenders, 467. Convey'd first to Lambeth, and the next day to the Tower, 468. His tryal, 473. Behaviour after his condemnation, 474, & *seqq.* His confession, 478. The story of his sending a ring to the queen confirmed,

The INDEX.

med, 481. His behaviour at his execution, 481, & *seqq.* His penitence, humility, and piety treated with contempt by marshal BIRON, 484. A serious and pathetic letter of his, *ibid.* His character, 486, & *seqq.* His death gives great concern to the queen, 505, 506. The connexion between him and the king of Scotland, 508

ESPERNON (duke DE) gives suspicion of treating with Spain, i. 250. Has a child by DIANA D'ESTREES, elder sister of the French king's mistress, 358. Wounded, 394. Sent for to court by HENRY IV. 426. Defeated by the duke of Guise, 427. Arrives at Paris, ii. 215. His advice to HENRY IV. 216. Offers with the duke DE JOYEUSE to pursue the enterprize against Arragon at their own charge, 318. Unsuccessful in a design against Arras, 322. The chief man with the king and council, 324. Refuses to come to council, because his advice was not followed, 336. Enter'd into a strict amity with the duke of Lorraine, 340

EURE (RALPH, lord) lord warden of the marches, his letters to mr. BACON, ii. 248, 280, 283. To the earl of Essex, 296. Proposes a marriage between his son and a daughter of the lord RICH, *ibid.* and 340. Weary of his wardenship of the marches, 331. His letters to mr. BACON, *ibid.* and 357

F.

FAUNT (NICHOLAS) secretary to sir FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM, contracts an intimacy with mr. ANTHONY BACON, i. 13, 16. Writes to him from Venice, 16, From Padua, *ibid.* From Pisa, 17, From Paris, *ibid.* 18, 19, 21. From London, 22, & *seqq.* Discontented with his office, 22. Dissatisfied with the disorders of the court, 26, 39. His account of the state of affairs abroad, 28. Regrets that mr. A. BACON was not resolved to return homewards, 43, 45. Recommends mr. PALMER to accompany him to Germany, 49. Marries, 50. Urges mr. BACON to return home, 51, 54. Highly esteemed by lady BACON, 71, 72. Letters to mr. BACON, 79, 91, 92. Sent to Dover to meet mr. STANDEN, 100. Writes thence to mr. BACON, *ibid.* And to mr. STANDEN, 101. His account of dr. LOPEZ's plot, 155, 158. His conversation with and character of ANTONIO PEREZ, 156, 157. His letter to mr. BACON, ii. 102

FENELON (mons. LA MoTHE) sent ambassador from France to England and Scotland, i. 27, 33

FENNER (mr.) a puritan minister, committed to the clink, i. 62

FENNER (mr.) in the service of the king of Na-

varre, admitted upon his return from France to frequent conferences with the queen, i. 50, 51

FENNER (capt. WILLIAM) his account of the Portugal voyage, i. 58

FENTON (capt. EDWARD) his voyage to the East-Indies, i. 38

FERRERA (STEPHANO) his memorial to the earl of Essex, i. 268

FIENNES (sir RICHARD) ii. 205

FLEMING (THOMAS) a competitor of mr. FRANCIS BACON for the office of solicitor general, i. 271. Preferr'd to it, 227. His speech at York-house against the earl of Essex, ii. 449

FLETCHER (dr. GILES) a civilian, some account of him, ii. 78. Goes with a proposition from the city of London to the lord treasurer, 100, 101. His memorial to the queen in favour of the orphans of his deceased brother the bishop of London, 113. His devotion to the earl of Essex, 150. Process against him from the exchequer for his brother's debts, 223

FLETCHER (dr. RICHARD) bishop of London, dies, ii. 34. Leaves his family in very necessitous circumstances. 113. The case of his orphans recommended by mr. BACON to the earl of Essex, 150. That case represented to the queen by his lordship, 224

FOULIS (DAVID) account of him, i. 162. Procures mr. BACON the good opinion and favour of the king of Scotland, 163, 178. His letters to mr. BACON, 178. Justifies that king, *ibid.* Return'd to Scotland, 181. Gives satisfaction to the king by his service in England, *ibid.* His letters to mr. BACON, 184, 186. His letter to the earl of Essex, 186. Attends the king of Scotland to the North, 192. His letter to mr. BACON, *ibid.* Letter to him from the earl of Essex, 193. His letter to the earl, 299. Carries a message for the disgrace of the earl of Mar, 343. Sent to England by the king of Scots, 462. Imparts to mr. BACON a letter to himself from Scotland, ii. 24. His letter to secretary CECIL, 73. Treated by the lord treasurer and secretary CECIL with extraordinary courtesy, 76. Has an audience of the queen, *ibid.* Finds her quite altered in the next audience, 80. Refuses to carry a letter of her's to the king his master, *ibid.* Letter to him from secretary CECIL, *ibid.* Desired by the lord treasurer BURGHLEY to come and receive 3000*l.* for the king of Scots, 146. Denied audience of the queen, 149. Writes to her, *ibid.* Departing for Scotland, 162. Discontented with his treatment at the court of England, *ibid.* and 170. Return'd to Scotland, 183. His negotiation in England not so profitable as had been expected, *ibid.* His sincerity questioned, 207

FOULIS

The I N D E X.

FOULIS (THOMAS) poor and without credit, ii. 207
 FONTAINE (monf. DE LA) minister of the French church in London, sent over to France, i. 151, 152. Letter to him from monf. DE VILLEROY, 392. His remonstrance to the lords of the council, 395. Narrowly escapes being drown'd, ii. 6. His answers to several questions concerning France, 35—38. Letter to him from HENRY IV. 39, 40. Receives from mr. REYNOLDES a relation in French of the victory at Cadiz, 96. and a slight one from secretary CECIL, *ibid.* His discourse with mr. REYNOLDES, 99. With mr. BACON, 170, 171. Makes a discovery of ANTONIO PEREZ to the French king, 212. Conversation with mr. BACON, 228
 FORTESCU (sir JOHN) his letter to mr. BACON, i. 464, 465
 FOUQUEROLLES (monf. DE) sent by the French king to the court of England, ii. 215. His conversation with GIL DE MESA, *ibid.* 317, 318. His audience of queen ELIZABETH, 327. Dissatisfied with a conference with the lord treasurer, 328. Sent to England to deceive the court there, 329
 FREGYVILLE (monf.) writing against BEZA, i. 147
 FRESNES (PHILIP DE CANAYE, fleur du) coming from HENRY IV. to queen ELIZABETH, i. 159
 FUENTES (count DE) lays siege to the citadel of Cambray, i. 282, 283. Some account of him, 315. note (w). Suspected to intend the siege of Calais, 333

G.

GABRIELLE D'ESTREES, mistress to HENRY IV. with child, i. 169. Account of her, *ibid.* note (e). Brought to bed of a daughter at Lyons, 292. Comes to Roan, ii. 154. The king's fondness for her, 193. Her daughter by the king baptiz'd with royal magnificence, 233. Uses her interest with the parliament of Paris in favour of the chancellor DE CHIVERNY, 312. Escapes some danger at court, 335
 GARDINER (sir ROBERT) letters of him and sir HENRY WALLOP, i. 379, 382, 385. Chiefjustice of Ireland, sent by the lord deputy and council of that kingdom to the queen and council, ii. 226. Arrives at the court of England, 234
 GARNET (HENRY) the jesuit, his letter to mr. THO. WRIGHT, i. 358
 GILBERT (sir HUMPHREY) his second voyage to Newfoundland, i. 34
 GILPIN (GEORGE) resident for queen ELIZABETH in Holland, his letters to the earl of Essex, i. 356, 387. His letter to the earl of Essex, ii.

148, Jealous of his charge, and discontented on account of the insufficiency of his stipend, 199. His letter to the earl of Essex, 277, 278. To mr. BACON, 334
 GOAD (capt. FRANCIS) gives an account of the defeat of the English troops in Bretagne, i. 88. His letters to mr. BACON from Dieppe, 99, 113
 GONZAGA (bishop of Mantua) design'd to be left nuncio in France, ii. 31
 GORGE (sir FERDINANDO) one of the council formed by the earl of Essex, ii. 463, 464. Advised by sir CHRISTOPHER BLOUNTE to seize sir WALTER RALEGH, 465. Persuades the earl to depute him to set the lord keeper and other counsellors free, 466, 467
 GORDON (JAMES) a jesuit, taken in Scotland, i. 182
 GORDON (father) intercepted letters of his, i. 221
 GOSNOLD (HENRY) his account of Ireland, i. 184
 GRAND DUKE of Tuscany sends an agent to HENRY IV. 239. His offers to that king, 240
 GREVILLE (FULK) account of him, i. 178. His letter to mr. FRANCIS BACON. 179. Sent by the queen to the two generals at Plymouth, 486. Arrives at Plymouth, ii. 11. Besieges Essex-house, 467
 GREY (ARTHUR lord) lord deputy of Ireland, his character, i. 4
 GREY (THOMAS lord, of Wilton) at Venice, i. 377. Goes to Vienna, 428. A determined enemy of the earl of Essex, ii. 433. Assaults the earl of Southampton, 463. Committed to the Fleet on that account, *ibid.* Employed in besieging Essex-house, 467
 GRILLON (LOUIS DE BERTON, sign.) his speech to the duchess DE MONTPENSIER, i. 191, 192
 GRIMESTON (EDWARD) sent to France, i. 48. Some account of him, 62, 63. Letters to him from the lord treasurer BURGHLEY, 63, & *seqq.*
 GRINDAL (EDMOND) archbishop of Canterbury, short account of him, i. 5. Desirous to resign his see, 34
 GUICCIARDIN (signior) a correspondent of the earl of Essex, i. 157. His letter to his lordship from Florence, 215
 GUISE (CHARLES DE LORRAINES duke of) refuses the title of king of France, i. 119. Inrich'd by some shipwrecks on the coast of Provence, ii. 336

H.

HARBORNE (WILLIAM) ambassador at Constantinople, i. 36
 HARRISON (JOHN) master of St. Paul's school, i. 156
 note (e).

HATTON (fir CHRISTOPHER) lord chancellor, his character, i. 8. Dances at fir WILLIAM HATTON's marriage, 56

HAWKYNs (dr. HENRY) a civilian, sent to Italy by the earl of Essex, i. 312. His letter to mr. BACON from Stode, *ibid.* From Venice, 341. To the earl of Essex, 352. To mr. BACON, *ibid.* 360, 377, 428. Letter to him from the earl of Essex, 428. To mr. BACON, 453, 469, 475, 484. His letters to mr. BACON, ii. 11, 21. A letter to him from an English catholic at Milan, 22, 23. His advertisements read to the queen, 14, 23, 31. His letters to mr. BACON, 26, 29, 30, 33. His advertisements commended by mr. BACON, 39. His letters to mr. BACON, 59, 85, 86, 90, 112, 117, 120, 140. His letter of congratulation to the earl of Essex upon his lordship's return from Cadiz, 145. His letters to mr. BACON, 150, 151. Drawing up a relation of Ferrara, *ibid.* and 195. His letters to mr. BACON, 177, 180, 194, 204, 206, 222, 226, 255, 277, 297, 305, 327, 330.

HAWKYNs (fir JOHN) dies, i. 472

HAYWARDE (dr. JOHN) imprison'd for his dedication of his first part of the life and reign of king HENRY IV. to the earl of Essex, ii. 439, 447

HENEAGE (fir THOMAS) vice-chamberlain, promises to serve mr. FRANCIS BACON, i. 167. On hard terms with the queen, 170, 171. Dies, 315

HENRY III. (king of France) character of him, i. Goes on pilgrimage to Chartres with his queen to procure a son, 18

HENRY IV. (king of France) reconciles himself to the Roman catholic religion, i. 113, 116, 118. His declaration concerning the causes of his returning to arms satisfactory to the English court, 154. His success, 159. Enters Paris, 164. Obligated to raise the siege of Laon, 180. That report contradicted, 181. Hurt, and in danger, 190. His saying about the financiers, 192. and to the first president DE HARLAY, *ibid.* Sends queen ELIZABETH several intercepted letters, 221. at Troyes in his way towards Lyons, 238. His victory at Fontaine-Françoise, 245, 246. Miraculously preserv'd in that action, 248. Acquaints mr. EDMONDES with the duke DE MAYENNE's answer, 255. Press'd to relieve Picardy, 256. Perplex'd by different counsels, 261. Writes to the states general for the assistance of twelve or fifteen hundred men, *ibid.* His discourse with mr. EDMONDES, 274. Comes to Lyons, 280. Finds his mistake in going on the expedition to Franche-Comté, 291, 292. Arrives at Paris, 300. His absolution granted by the pope, *ibid.* His

letter to the earl of Essex, 328. Dissatisfied with the answer brought from the English court by monf. DE LOMENIE, *ibid.* His conference with ANTONIO PEREZ, 339, 340. His regard for the earl of Essex, 350. His letter to the earl, *ibid.* Character of him by mr. ERSFIELD, *ibid.* Jealous, 374. His conversation with ANTONIO PEREZ, *ibid.* and 375. His audience of fir HENRY UNTON, 392. His letter to the earl of Essex, 396. Asks kindly of fir HENRY UNTON about that earl, 398. Inclined to visit England, but diverted from it, 422. Earnest to have queen ELIZABETH comprehended in his treaty with Spain, *ibid.* Gives audience to fir HENRY UNTON, 436. His account of the reduction of Marseilles, 438. His principal courtiers said to be pensioners of Spain, 452. Writes to the earl of Essex, 458. His letter to queen ELIZABETH, 459. To mr. BACON, 461. Angry with the queen's proposal of having Calais put into her hands, 465. His letter to her, *ibid.* League offensive and defensive made between him and queen ELIZABETH, ii. 1. Character of him by mr. TYNDALE in a letter to the earl of Essex, 12, 13. Writes a kind letter to the queen, 34. His letter to monf. DE LA FONTAINE, 39, 40. Complains of the conduct of some of the reformed religion, 40. His discourse with monf. DE FAYE, one of the ministers of that religion, 90. Factions growing in his court, 118. Unwilling to hear of any truce with Spain without comprehending queen ELIZABETH and the states, 140. Inwardly discontented with England, 169. His letter to mr. BACON, 173. To the earl of Essex, *ibid.* Writes to the queen in favour of fir CHARLES DAVERS, 181. Glad of the arrival of the English forces under fir THOMAS BASKERVILLE, 192. Factions in his court, 193. His fondness for his mistress, *ibid.* Conversation between him and ANTONIO PEREZ, 210. Plied by the pope's legate, which gives jealousy to England, 227. Troubled with a quartan ague, 231. Delivers to fir ANTHONY MILD MAY, the English ambassador, the intercepted letters of cardinal ALBERT to the king of Spain, *ibid.* Resolves to conceal nothing of importance from the queen, *ibid.* Loves and honours her, and declares himself obliged to her, 232. His daughter by madame DE MONCEAUX baptiz'd with royal magnificence, 233. Uneasy with the protracting of the assembly at Roan, 261. Desirous to marry his mistress, 263, 264. Solicited by the pope's legate to agree to a truce with Spain, 265. His answer, *ibid.* Longs to be gone from Roan, 266. Dislikes fir ANTHONY

The I N D E X.

- THONY MILD MAY**, 271, 272. His letter to the earl of Essex, *ibid.* Grows reserved to ANTONIO PEREZ, 286, 287. Extraordinarily melancholy for two or three days, 287. Goes to Beauvais upon the Spaniards having surpriz'd Amiens, 289, 292. To Montdidier, 295. At Picquiny, 300. The ill situation of his affairs, 301, 313. His discourse to sir ANTHONY MILD MAY, 302. Highly displeased with him, 303, 305. Resolved to make a new application to queen ELIZABETH for succours, 315. Fails in a design against Arras, 322, 323. At Beauvais with his mistress, 324. His distress, 327, 329. Reflected on by the lord treasurer BURGHLEY, 328. Vows to recover Amiens, or to lay his bones before it, 331. Infinitely troubled, 335. His conference with sir ANTHONY MILD MAY, 340. Negotiations for a peace between him and the king of Spain reviv'd, 367. Gives audience to secretary CECIL and mr. HERBERT, 374. Angry with sir ANTHONY STANDEN, 503. Approves of the queen's proceedings against the earl of Essex, 505. His opinion of the king of Scotland, 506.
- HERBERT** (dr. JOHN) sent to the king of Denmark, i. 31. One of the commissioners sent by queen ELIZABETH to HENRY IV. ii. 372. Letter of him and secretary CECIL to the lords of the council, 374. He returns to England, 379. Sent to the earl of Essex to summon him to come to the council, 464.
- HESKET** (RICHARD) employed to excite the earl of Derby to rebellion, i. 145.
- HEYLIN** (dr. PETER) a passage in his *History of the Presbyterians* animadverted upon, ii. 463. note (||).
- HIGGONS** (RICHARD) his letter to mr. FRANCIS BACON from Venice, ii. 92.
- HILLIERE** (mons. DE LA) governor of Bayonne, his letter to the earl of Essex, i. 406.
- HOBY** (sir EDWARD) some account of him, i. 71. Sends mr. BACON an account of the queen's concern for his ill state of health, *ibid.* Set at liberty, but reflected on by the queen in her speech to the parliament, 96.
- HOHENLO** (count) character of him by mr. BODLEY, i. 390, 391.
- HOWARD** (CHARLES lord) lord admiral, goes to Chatham to put the navy in order, i. 270. Commission to him to be lieutenant-general of the navy, 453. His share in the victory at Cadiz, ii. 46. His letter to the lord chamberlain concerning it, 52, 53, 54, 55, 96. Declares for returning home, 59. Arrives at Plymouth, 92. Letter to him and the earl of Essex from the lords of the council, 93, 94. Dissuaded by sir WALTER RALEGH from joining with the earl of Essex in a resolution not to return without doing something farther against the Spaniards, 121. Created earl of Nottingham, 361. Resigns his staff of lord steward, 365. Invests Essex-house, 467. Refuses to grant the terms demanded for the surrender of it, *ibid.*
- HOWARD** (ELIZABETH) wife of lord THOMAS HOWARD, her letter to the earl of Essex, ii. 114, 115.
- HOWARD** (lord HENRY) ill character of him by lady BACON, i. 227. Letter to him from the earl of Essex, 245. Letter to him from sir ROBERT CECIL, ii. 68, 69. He carries that letter to mr. BACON, 70. His advantageous manner of relating his own actions, 132. No friend to sir GEORGE CAREW, 242. His letter to the earl of Essex, 245. To the lord treasurer, 246. To archbishop WHITGIFT, 325. Resents his being twice denied access to the earl of Essex, 325. His letters to that earl, 358, 363, 365, 418. His letter to mr. FRANCIS BACON, 460. Manages secretary CECIL's secret correspondence with the king of Scots, 501. Some account of him, *ibid.* Manages the correspondence between the king of Scotland and secretary CECIL, 514. His letters to that king and the earl of Mar, *ibid.*
- HOWARD** (lord THOMAS) his share in the victory at Cadiz, ii. 49, 53, 54. A servant of his arrives from the fleet at court, 79, 80. Gains little profit by the expedition to Cadiz, 115. Had declared for sailing to the isles, to wait for the Spanish West-India fleet, 121. Commands a squadron of ships sent against the Spaniards, 344. Employed in besieging Essex-house, 467.
- HUDSON** (JAMES) agent for the king of Scotland, i. 128. Sends to mr. BACON a letter from sir WILLIAM KEITH to himself, 161. His letters read to the king of Scots, *ibid.* His advice approved of by that king, *ibid.* Propounds a suit for the laird of Loggie, 226. His letter to mr. BACON concerning the lord Sanquhar's arrival in Scotland from England, 262. His letters to mr. BACON, 277, 285, 312, 399. To his wife, 424. To mr. BACON, 430, 442. To the earl of Essex, 444. To mr. BACON, 446, 454, 491. His letters to mr. BACON, 110, 196. Two letters to him from Edinburgh, 229. His letters to mr. BACON, 279, 285, 332, 333. Sent to Scotland, 332. Returned from thence, 343.
- HUME** (lord) a Scots papist, a favourite of the king of Scotland, i. 131. In great credit with that king, 145.
- HUME** (sir GEORGE) the most confident friend of the

the laird of Baclugh, i. 188
 HUNGERFORD (GEORGE) his letter to the earl of
 Essex from Strasburgh, ii. 351
 HUNSDON (GEORGE, lord) made lord chamberlain,
 ii. 282
 HUNSDON (HENRY lord) lord chamberlain, dying,
 ii. 68. Dies, 85. Passionate and a swearer,
 164
 HUNTLEY (lady) in great favour with the queen of
 Scotland, ii. 229
 HUNTLEY (earl of) detected in a correspondence
 with Spain, i. 109. His friends kill the earl
 of Murray, 110. Offers to make his sub-
 mission, 112. In high credit with the king of
 Scotland, 145. Will never be trusted by queen
 ELIZABETH, 148. Receives 50,000 crowns in
 Spain, 313. Ill received at the court of Brus-
 sels, 342. His offers in order to be restored,
 ii. 157, 158
 HUTTON (dr. MATTHEW) archbishop of York,
 his letter to the earl of Essex, i. 307. A con-
 ference between him and mr. WRIGHT a jesuit,
 309

I.

JACKSON (ARTHUR) sends mr. BACON an account
 of the fleet sent against Cadiz, ii. 41
 JACKSON (JOSEPH) his letter to mr. BACON, ii.
 152. Recommended by that gentleman to the
 earl of Essex, ibid.
 JAMES IV. king of Scotland, and afterwards of
 England, i. 4. His letter to queen ELIZA-
 BETH against executing the sentence against his
 mother, 52. Another to her on the approach
 of the Spanish armada in 1588, 55. Favours
 the popish earls, 137. Writes to queen ELIZA-
 BETH most humble and submissive letters, 139.
 His dread of ANTONIO PEREZ's return to Eng-
 land, 141, 142. His son HENRY born, 159.
 Thinks himself hardly used by queen ELIZA-
 BETH, or at least her council, 162. His con-
 duct commended by sir WILLIAM KEITH, ibid.
 Sends JAMES COLVIL and EDWARD BRUCE em-
 bassadors to queen ELIZABETH, 175. His
 letter to the earl of Essex, ibid. To his two
 ambassadors, 176. His esteem for and confi-
 dence in mr. BACON, 163, 178. Justified by
 mr. D. FOULIS, 178. Sends sir RICHARD
 COCKBURN to queen ELIZABETH, 182. Ex-
 tremely glad of the earl of Essex's friendship,
 183. Promises to hear nothing from the popish
 earls till they should quit Scotland, 186. Marches
 to the north of Scotland against them, 189.
 Sends sir WILLIAM STUART to the states ge-
 neral, 204. Desirous of quiet, that he might
 hawk and hunt in security, 236. Designs to
 reconcile the lord chancellor and earl of Mar,

285. Writes an epitaph on the lord chancellor,
 295. Gains much on his queen, 299. Re-
 ceives little or no contentment from the money
 brought him by mr. FOULIS from England,
 ibid. Sends a person to Avignon, 319. Some
 of the popish faction still about him, ibid. Col.
 SEMPLE sent to him from the king of Spain,
 321. His speech to his council, 329. Carries
 himself honourably towards England, 330.
 Chooses three good men, and well affected to
 England, to be his chief counsellors, 331. Pro-
 fesses great zeal for queen ELIZABETH, 385.
 Becomes a new man, ibid. and 399. Continues
 the reformation of his state, 391, 392, 399.
 His letter to the earl of Mar and the abbot of
 Kinlofs, 420. Affirms his fidelity to queen ELI-
 ZABETH, 424. Writes a kind letter to that
 queen, 430. Designs to go to the borders,
 ibid. Highly commended by mr. HUDSON,
 443, 454. Speaks kindly of the earl of Essex,
 ibid. His letter to queen ELIZABETH, ii. 110.
 Great dealings for him in Spain, 126. Three
 thousand pounds ordered by queen ELIZABETH
 to be paid him, 146. That sum less than he
 look'd for, 157. Jealousy between him and
 the ministers, 184. He is highly incens'd
 against them, 205. Led by the Spanish faction,
 ibid. Contending with the ministers, 229, 231.
 Does nothing but what is prescribed by the earl
 of Huntley's advice, 230. Promises to make
 the peace of the popish noblemen, ibid. Ex-
 asperated against the lord treasurer BURGHLEY,
 ibid. In danger, 231. Dispute between him
 and the ministers, 235, 248, 249, 250, 251.
 No man left with him but papists and atheists,
 251. His proceedings against the ministers of
 Edinburgh, 285. Makes himself every day
 better obeyed by his subjects, 331. His life
 threaten'd by the earl of Bothwell, 332. Sub-
 mission of the ministers to him, 333, 334. Sends
 mr. ASTON to the lord WILLOUGHBY of Eresby,
 382. Charg'd by VALENTINE THOMAS with
 ill designs against queen ELIZABETH, 389, note
 (e). Character of him by HENRY IV. 507.
 The connexions between him and the king of
 Scots, 508, & seq. Sends the earl of Mar and
 mr. EDWARD BRUCE ambassadors to England,
 509. Instructions and letter to them, 510—
 513. An augmentation of his pension from
 queen ELIZABETH, 513. Correspondence be-
 tween him and secretary CECIL, 514, 515. His
 conduct soon after his accession to the throne of
 England, 516
 IDIAQUES (JUAN) made president of the orders,
 i. 35. His credit with the king of Spain, 80.
 Hated by the nobility of Spain, 201. Cha-
 racter, 202. In disgrace, ii. 91, 156. Li-
 belled, 126

The INDEX.

JONES (EDWARD) secretary to the lord keeper
PUCKERING, i. 87. Letters of his to mr. BACON from London, *ibid.* 90, 91. From Paris, 118. Made one of the secretaries of the earl of Essex, ii. 107
JOYEUSE (cardinal) sent from Rome to France, i. 394, 397, 398. Arrives at the French court, 437
ISABELLA (CLARA EUGENIA) infanta of Spain, account of her, i. 80, 81, 83, 202

K.

KEIR (GEORGE) letters of his intercepted, i. 319
KEITH (sir WILLIAM) his letter to mr. HUDSON, i. 227, 228. Departing from Scotland to England, 302. Arrives in England, 311. Brings a letter from the king to the earl of Essex, *ibid.* Visits mr. BACON, *ibid.* His letter to mr. BACON, 338. Leaves England in haste, *ibid.* At Venice, 417
KNOLLYS (sir FRANCIS) treasurer of the household, his character, i. 7, 8
KNOLLYS (sir WILLIAM) made comptroller of the household, ii. 119, 121. His letters to the earl of Essex, 350, 351, 388, 399. Propos'd by the queen as the fittest person to be sent to Ireland, 384. Sent to the earl of Essex, and made prisoner by him, 465

L.

LADYLAND (BERKLEY, laird of) one of the Scots agents at Rome, i. 407. Entertain'd at the court of Spain, 429
LA FERRE taken, i. 471
LAKE (THOMAS) made clerk of the signet, i. 57
LAWSON (THOMAS) a servant of mr. BACON, kept ten months in prison by means of the lord treasurer BURGHLEY, i. 4. Returning from Spain, 85. Detain'd there by an ague, 88. Patent of an annuity to him, 154. Attends the earl of Essex to Cadiz, ii. 19. Sent by his lordship from Ireland to the queen, 432
LECT. (monf. DE) writes a letter to mr. BACON, i. 118
LEICESTER (LETTICE, countess dowager of) marries sir CHRISTOPHER BLOUNTE, i. 56. Her letters to her son the earl of Essex, ii. 362, 363, 386. Reconcil'd to the queen, 380. Comes to London, and petitions, that the earl, her son, may be removed to a better air, 441
LEICESTER (ROBERT DUDLEY, earl of) his character, i. 6. His letter to mr. A. BACON, 40. Sick, 46
LEIGH (HENRY) sent by the lord Montjoy to Scotland, ii. 470
LEIGH (THOMAS) his desperate proposal to sir

HENRY NEVILLE, ii. 469. Executed, 470
LESDIGUIERES (monf. DE) i. 234. Offers of a truce made to him by the duke of Savoy, 255. His letter to the earl of Essex, ii. 179. Contentends with the marshal d'ORNANO for the lieutenancy of Dauphiné, 274
LINCOLN (EDWARD CLINTON, earl of) his character, i. 7. Prepares to go from the queen to the landgrave of Hesse, ii. 35. Departs, 60. Return'd to England, 178
LINDSEY (WALTER) returning from Spain to Scotland, whither he had been sent by the Scots popish earls, i. 199, 200, 225, 226. Highly entertained in Spain, 330. At Rome, 407. Advertisements of his sent to the king of Spain, 417
LOGGIE (JAMES WEEMES, laird of) has no commission from the king or queen of Scots, i. 161. Expected to be banished, 186. His character by sir ROBERT SIDNEY, ii. 176. His plot discovered, and himself seiz'd, 216. Executed, 217
LOMENIE (monf. DE) returns from England to France, i. 327, 328. His letter to the earl of Essex, 327
LOPEZ (dr.) entertain'd at the house of mr. ALLINGTON, i. 93. His plot against the queen, 149, 150, 151, 152, 155, 158, 159, 160
LYLLE' (mr.) His character by mr. REYNOLDES, ii. 233. His letter to the earl of Essex, 335
LYTTELTON (JOHN) one of the council formed by the earl of Essex, ii. 463. Letters to his lady, 495, 496. Condemn'd, 496. His letter to sir WALTER RALEGH after his condemnation, *ibid.* His death, 497

M.

MAILLET (monf.) deputed by the city of Geneva to England, to request a loan of money, i. 26, 34
MAISSE (monf DU HURAUULT fleur de) sent to the Duke of Florence, i. 240. The French ambassador at Venice departs from thence, ii. 150. Comes to England ambassador, 364, 372.
MAITLAND (sir JOHN) of Thirlstane, chancellor of Scotland, i. 111. Absents himself from court, *ibid.* note (f) offers to guard the king. 183. Sick, 187. His letter to Mr. HUDSON, 244. On ill terms with the earl of Mar, 248. His intrigues against that earl, 257. His letter to the earl of Essex, 262. Answer to it from the earl, 276. Design of the king to reconcile him with the earl of Mar, 283. Mortal sick, 294, 295, 299, 302. Dies, 295. His character, *ibid.* His intention to be reconciled to the earl of Mar on his recovery. 299
MAITLAND (JAMES) nephew of the chancellor of Scotland.

- Scotland. Letters of his intercepted, i. 319
- MANSFELD (count CHARLES) enters France, i. 164. made a prince by the emperor, 247. Dies, *ibid.* note (p) Besieges Strigonium, 258.
- MAR (earl) his letter to the earl of Essex, i. 225. Designs against him by the queen of Scotland, 242. Entertains mr. JOHN COLVIL, 248. Factions against him, 257. Visits the queen, 258. Design of the king to reconcile him and the lord chancellor of Scotland, 285. His letter to the earl of Essex, i. 342. Summons a convention, 344. On ill terms with the queens of Scots, *ibid.* Letter to him from the earl of Essex, 377. Sent ambassador to England, 420. His letter to the earl, 445. His letter to the earl of Essex, ii. 137, 138. Sent ambassador to England, 509—513
- MARENCO (JACOMO) letters of his to ANTONIO PEREZ, i. 371, 373. At Venice, 469. Made Consul for the French at Genoa, *ibid.* Returns to Genoa from Venice, 475. Solicits the consulship of the French nation at Genoa, ii. 181. In France, 204, 222. Discontented, because he had heard, that queen ELIZABETH had spoken of his letters as consisting of trifles, 248. Desirous of going to England, *ibid.* & 259. In England, 290. Receives several presents from the earl of Essex, 295. Makes two requests, 296. Arriv'd at Roan, 316. At Paris, 318
- MARKHAM (sir GRIFFIN) desires to be acquainted with Mr. BACON, i. 158. Some account of him, *ibid.* Committed prisoner to the inquisition at Rome, 318, 453. Comes to Venice, 453 at Venice and Padua, ii. 22. Letter to him from an English catholic at Rome, 26. Returning from Roan to England, 212, 221. Upon his return thither confin'd to his lodging, 227
- MARSEILLES, delivered up to the Duke of Guise, i. 426, 427, 438.
- MARSOLLIER, (monf) enlarges and imbellishes an account taken from Thuanus, i. 466, 467.
- MATIGNON (JACQUES GOYON seigneur DE) marshal of France, protects mr. BACON, at Bourdeaux, i. 50.
- MATTHEW (Dr. TOBY) Dean of Durham, complains in a sermon at court, that merit was not rewarded, i. 48.
- MATTHEW (Mr. TOBY) performs the part of an esquire in an entertainment at court, i. 314. Changes his religion, *ibid.*
- MARY, queen of Scots, denies any woman to wife, i. 68.
- MAURICE DE NASSAU (count) a marriage proposed between him and a sister of the queen of Scotland, i. 184. Follows the enemy and marches towards Bergen, ii. 83, 84. Dispute between him and count HILLOCK, 201. Defeats the forces of archduke ALBERT at Turnhout, 252, 253. His letter to the cardinal, 254. Some account of him, i. 19. note (u) & 91. note (t).
- MAYENNE (duke DE) Reduc'd to extreme necessity, i. 191. His treaty with the king prosecuted by his friends, 234. His assistance at the action of Fontaine Françoise would have cut off the king and his followers, 246. Accused by the constable of Castile on that account, *ibid.* Renews his treaty with the king, 250, 252. Leaves the constable of Castille, and comes to Chalons, 253. Commissioners sent by the king to treat with him, *ibid.* 255, 259, 262, 274, 289. The treaty concluded, 281, 291. Published at Lyons, 300. Waits upon HENRY IV. at Monceaux, 398, 401. Excuses his not attending the French king at his entry into Roan, ii. 154.
- MAURIER (monf. DU) his letter to mr. EDMONDES, ii. 273. Desires him to renew his offers of service to the earl of Essex, 274
- MAYNARD (HENRY) secretary to the lord treasurer BURGHLEY, i. 106. & note (o)
- MEDICIS (cardinal DE) arrives in France legate from the Pope, ii. 40. His propositions make a great stir in the French court, 104. His management, 262. Attempts to seduce the king's sister to the church of Rome, 263. Endeavours to procure the king to agree to a four years truce with Spain, 265. Ill effects done him by GONZAGA bishop of Mantua, 301. Writes to cardinal ALBERT, *ibid.*
- MENDOZA (BERNARDINO DI) returning to Spain from England, i. 37. His disgrace, and abandoned by every body, ii. 28
- MERBURY (CHARLES) an eminent traveller, writer and courtier, i. 42. His letters to mr. A. BACON, *ibid.* & 44
- MERCOEUR (PHILIP EMANUEL DE LORRAINE, Duke of) account of him, i. 82. On ill terms with the Spaniards, 234. His reconciliation with the French king broken off, ii. 207. Will not agree to any terms of submission, 232. Continues his truce, 274
- MERICKE (sir GILLY) keeps open house for all, who were disgusted with the queen or her ministers, ii. 463. Left by the earl to defend Essex-house, 466. Condemned and executed, 492, 493.
- MILDMAY (Sir ANTHONY) sent ambassador to France, ii. 121. Some account of him, *ibid.* Lands at Dieppe, 151. Observ'd not to be well affected to the earl of Essex, 243. Not agreeable to the court of France, 270, 271. His letters to the earl of Essex, 281, 292. His Discourse with the French king, 302, 303. Offends that king, 305. His letter to the earl of

The I N D E X.

- of Essex, 340. His conference with the French king, *ibid.*
- MILDMAY (sir WALTER) his character, i. 9.
- MONTAGNE (MICHAEL DE) his friendship with mr. BACON and death, i. 88.
- MONTEAGLE (lord) goes to the earl of Essex, and joins him, ii. 465.
- MONTFORD (Dr. THOMAS) attends the earl of Essex, after his lordship's condemnation, ii. 479.
- MONTJOY (CHARLES BLOUNT, lord) his letter to secretary CECIL, ii. 189. Account of him, 190, 191, 192. His letter to the earl of Essex, 195. Nam'd lord deputy of Ireland, but the resolution of sending him thither changed, 394. Design'd to be sent to Ireland as lord deputy, 437. Sends HENRY LEIGH to Scotland, 470. Apprehensive of his own safety after the insurrection of the earl of Essex, 497. But reassured by the queen, *ibid.*
- MONTMORENCI (HENRY duke DE) commits to mr. A. BACON's care two letters of his to queen ELIZABETH and the earl of Liecester, i. 40. Arrives at Dijon, and well received by HENRY IV. i. 254. His letter to the earl of Essex, ii. 179. His faction growing, 240.
- MONTPENSIER (CATHARINE DE LORRAINE, duchesse DE) 191 & note (n)
- MONTPENSIER (HENRY DE BOURBON, duke of) expected to marry HENRY IV's sister, i. 120. Entertain'd by the French king with hopes of marrying his sister, 405. solicits the marriage of HENRY IV's sister, ii. 10. Meets the English ambassadors, 155. Receives very gracious letters from queen ELIZABETH, 340.
- MORISON (Dr.) sends intelligence from Scotland to the earl of Essex, i. 99. Gains a great interest in the earl of Huntley, 109. Thirty pounds remitted to him by Mr. Bacon to encourage him to continue his intelligence, 116. An hundred pounds designed to be sent him by the earl of Essex, 121. But only an hundred marks ordered, which mr. BACON objects to as too little, 122. Instructions to him from the earl of Essex, 138. An hundred French crowns sent him by that earl, who intends to serve him with the queen, 163. His letter to mr. Bacon, 224.
- MORO (CHRISTOPHER DI) his order with the king of Spain, i. 80. His employment at the court of Spain, 201. Character, 202. In disgrace, ii. 91, 110, 156. Libelled, 126.
- MORRICE (Mr.) attorney of the court of wards, i. 126.
- MORTON (JOHN) a Jesuit, seized in Scotland, i. 223, 224, 225.
- MURRAY, (earl of) kill'd by the friends of the earl of Huntley, i. 110.
- MYLY (ANTHONY) his letter from Padua to the earl of Essex, i. 318.
- N.
- NANI (signor) the Venetian ambassador in Spain, an indignity offered him there, ii. 297, 302, 306.
- NAVNTON (ROBERT) sent to France by the earl of Essex, i. 367, 368. Some account of him, 369, 370. His letter to mr. BACON, 399. To the earl of Essex, *ibid.* 402, 432, 448. To mr. BACON, 450. Takes care of the earl's letters to sir HENRY UNTON on the death of the latter, 459. Returns to England, ii. 7. Letter to him from the earl of Essex, *ibid.* His letters to the earl, 198, 201. Arrives at Roan, 210. Desires to be excused following the duke DE BOUILLON, 212. His letter to the earl of Essex, 221. Uneasy in his situation, *ibid.* His letters to the earl, 237, 248, 256, 260. His account of the proceedings of the assembly *des notables* at Roan, 260, & *seqq.* His letters to the earl of Essex, 286. His conversation with ANTONIO PEREZ, *ibid.* His letter to the earl, 292. His letters preferred by mr. REYNOLDES to those of ANTONIO PEREZ, 295. His letters to the earl, 298, 302. His letters approv'd of by the queen and the earl, 304. His letters to the earl, 311, 314, 367, 369. Desirous of leaving France, and pursuing his travels, 367, 368, 370.
- NEPER (JOHN) baron of Marcheston: inventions of his, ii. 28, 29.
- NEVERS (LEWIS DE GONZAGA, duke of) sent from HENRY IV. to Rome, i. 119.
- NEVILLE (sir HENRY) at Paris, i. 25. Discovers a desperate proposal made to him by sir THOMAS LEIGH, ii. 469. Accused by the earl as privy to his designs, 479. His own account of his case, 494, 495. Set at liberty by king JAMES, 495.
- NICOLSON (GEORGE) his letter to mr. HUDSON from Edinburgh, ii. 43. To secretary CECIL, 508, 509.
- NORTHUMBERLAND (DIANA, countess of) letter to her from mr. BACON, i. 455. Brought to bed of a son, ii. 42. Her jointure endeavour'd to be set aside by the attorney-general COKE, 291. likely to be established, 295. Her letters to the earl of Essex, 391, 392. Comes to Essex-house upon some difference with her husband, 436. Reconcil'd to him, 514.
- NORTHUMBERLAND (earl of) nominated to go ambassador to France, ii. 60, 68. Excuses himself from that service, 76. Quarrels with the earl of Southampton, 274. His letter to mr. BACON on that subject, *ibid.* To the earl of

The I N D E X.

of Essex, 382, 391. Spoken of as a very contemptible man by the lord HENRY HOWARD, 514. His conversation with his lady, *ibid.*
 NORREYS (sir EDWARD) in the Portugal expedition, i. 58. At court, 146
 NORREYS (sir JOHN) expected in England out of Flanders, i. 37. Return'd to England, 47. His letter to mr. BACON, 57. His conduct in France applauded, 65. Departs to Bretagne, 87. In Bretagne, 157. Grants a truce to the earl of Tyrone, 326. The credit of all things in Ireland given to him, 327. His conduct complained of by the lord deputy RUSSEL, ii. 225
 NORREYS (sir THOMAS) lord president of Munster, ii. 402. Dies, 426
 NORTH (lord) made treasurer of the household, ii. 119, 121
 NOSTRADAMUS'S (MICHAEL) prophecies against England, ii. 265
 NOUE (FRANCIS DE LA); account of him, i. 41. note (d)

O.

OGLEBY (JOHN) baron of Pury, a Scot's agent in Spain, and at Rome, i. 407, & *seqq.* Imprisoned in Edinburgh castle, 410. Arrived at Rome, ii. 22
 ORANGE (PHILIP prince of) sent to the pope, i. 318
 ORANGE (WILLIAM prince of) chosen governor of Flanders, i. 3. Wounded by JAUREGUI a *Biscayan*, 22. Recovered, 23. Conspiracy to kill him by SALCEDO, 25. Suspected by the States General, 37. Murdered, 49
 ORMONDE (THOMAS earl of) marries, i. 27. Some account of him, *ibid.* note (f). His success as governor of Munster, 32
 OSBORNE (FRANCIS) confirms the story of the ring sent by the earl of Essex to the queen, but stopt by the countess of Nottingham, ii. 481. His character of that earl, 491, 492
 OSORIUS (JEROM) bishop of Sylvas and of Algarva; his library brought away from Faro by the earl of Essex, ii. 58
 OWEN (HUGH) some time secretary to FITZ-ALAN, earl of Arundel, i. 203. His credit in Spain, *ibid.*
 OXFORD (EDWARD VERE, earl of) wounded in a fray by mr. THOMAS KNEVET, i. 22. Has a son born, who dies soon, 31. Restored to the queen's favour, 37

P.

PAGET (WILLIAM lord) obtains the office of lord privy seal from queen MARY, through the mediation of king PHILIP, ii. 62. Some account of him, *ibid.*

PALMER (EDMUND) employed to send intelligence from St. John de Luz, i. 94. Writes to mr. BACON, *ibid.* and 95. Complains, that the lord treasurer had made him no allowance, 95
 PALMER (sir HENRY) sent by the queen to serve on the coast of Bretagne, i. 66
 PARMA (ALEXANDER FARNESE, prince of) his character, i. 3. Takes Oudenarde and Liere, 25. Enters Picardy, 91. Dies suddenly, 99
 PARRY (dr. WILLIAM) executed for treason, i. 12. Some account of him, *ibid.* His acquaintance cultivated by mr. A. BACON. by direction of the lord treasurer BURLEIGH, *ibid.* and 13. Returning from England to Paris, 25
 PARSONS (ROBERT) the jesuit, libel of his published, i. 90. Answered by mr. FRANCIS BACON, *ibid.* Esteemed for his learning and abilities, 202, 203. Publishes a *conference about the succession*, 313. In great favour with the king of Spain, 322. His book of the *succession*, ii. 338
 PAULET (sir AMIAS) ambassador to the court of France; some account of him, i. 18, note (o). Expected to be made secretary of state, 18, 20
 PEREZ (ANTONIO) restor'd to his office of secretary by the king of Spain, i. 35. Going into France, 133. Visited by the earl of Essex at Sunbury, 140. Account of him, *ibid.*—143. His intimacy with mr. ANTHONY and mr. FRANCIS BACON gives great concern to their mother, 143. A design to murder him, 156. Lodged at the house of mr. HARRISON, master of St. Paul's school, *ibid.* Conference between him and the earl of Essex, 193. Grant to him from the queen, *ibid.* A remark of his, 199. Goes to court with the earl of Essex, 229. His letter to the earl, 237. To mr. BACON just before his departure, 245. Unwilling to leave England, from his esteem of the earl of Essex, 256. His letter to his lordship, *ibid.* Ready to leave England, 265. Recommended by the earl to monsieur du SANCY, *ibid.* His memorial to the queen, *ibid.* Leaves England, 270. His letters to the earl of Essex, 279, 281, 282. His life practised against by signor de la PINILLA, 282. His arrival at Dieppe, 270. At Roan, 283, 284. Grows melancholy, 284. Directed by Henry IV. to wait his return from Lyons, either at Paris or Roan, 291. Arrives at Paris, 295, 298. His letters to the earl of Essex, *ibid.* 297, 298. Visits the king's sister, 298, 299. Melancholy, 299. His letter to mr. BACON, 308. His letter to the earl of Essex, i. 315. Favours done him by HENRY IV. 316. Attends that king to La Fere, *ibid.* Dislikes France, *ibid.* and 317. His letter to the earl of Essex, *ibid.* Dear to the French king, 328. His letters to the earl of Essex, 338, 339. His con-

The INDEX.

conference with HENRY IV. 339. Not loved by monsieur de VILLEROY, 340. Emulation between him and mr. EDMONDES, 345, 353. Writes to the earl of Essex, that mr. EDMONDES may be recalled from France, 345. Endeavours to unite queen ELIZABETH and HENRY IV. against Spain, *ibid.* Exceedingly melancholy, *ibid.* His letters to the earl of Essex, 346, 352. Stiles sir ROBERT CECIL *Robert the Devil*, 352. His letters to the earl of Essex, 366. To JACOMO BASSADONNA, 370, 371. To the earl of Essex, 371, 372, 373, 374, 376. His conversations with mr. NAUNTON, 400. Indisposed by a fall, 401, 402. Discontented with the earl of Essex's short and seldom writing to him, 422. Is of no service to sir HENRY UNTON, *ibid.* Advertised of a design against his life, 432. Apprehensive of his safety in France, *ibid.* and 433. Uneasy to receive no letter of comfort or encouragement from queen ELIZABETH, 434. Discontented, 448, 449. Busy in conferences with the French king and monsieur de VILLEROY, 450. Accompanies the duke de BOUILLON to England, 466, 467. Finds the queen highly incensed against him, 472. His letter to the duke de BOUILLON, 473. His friends in England weary of him, *ibid.* Suspects mr. EDMONDES, 474. His letter to mr. BACON, 485. Departs for France, 486. Returns from England to France utterly discontented, *ii.* 13, 23. His dutiful protestations to the queen, 42. His advantageous manner of relating his own actions, 132. His letter to the earl of Essex, 143. Jealous of his letters being seen, 203. Conversation between him and HENRY IV. 210. Discovery made of him to that king by monsieur de la FONTAINE, 212. Desires an answer from the earl of Essex, relating to the offers made to himself in France, *ibid.* Subject to jealousy and misinterpretation of the actions of his friends with respect to himself, 223. Calls sir ROBERT CECIL *Roberto il Diavolo*, 227. His demands of the French court, 238. His offer, 239. Several letters of his to the earl of Essex, 243. His demands granted by the French court, 256. Desires to live and die in England, *ibid.* 257, 258. Apprehensive that his letters had been sent to France, or intercepted, 257. Sworn of the French king's council, 266. Resolves to study the French tongue, *ibid.* Desires a faithful Englishman to be sent over to him by the earl of Essex, *ibid.* And that he may be satisfied by his lordship of the burning of his letters, *ibid.* & 288. His conversation with mr. NAUNTON, 286. With mons. DE SANCY, 292. Jealous of his letters being seen, 295. Affrighted with the French king's misfortunes, 314. His conversation with mons. DU SANCY, 316. With mr.

NAUNTON, 318, 319, 320. Charg'd by mons. D'INCARVILLE with misdemeaning himself by writing into England, 367. Resolved to accept of the best conditions which he could obtain in France, 369. Visits secretary CECIL at Paris, 373. PERRON (JACQUES DAVI DU) departing from Rome, *i.* 235. From Troyes, 240. Well received at Rome, 275, 276. Receives the king's absolution, 300. On his way from Rome to court, 437. PERROT (sir JOHN) lord deputy of Ireland, *i.* 27. and note (o). Committed to the Tower, 62. Dies, 90. PERROT (sir THOMAS) marries DOROTHY, sister to the earl of Essex, *i.* 148. PETIT (JACQUES) servant to mr. BACON, his letters to his master, *ii.* 145, 150, 255. PHILIP II. (king of Spain) character of him, *i.* 3. Account of him, 80. Recovers from an indisposition, 90. Sick, *ii.* 11. Recover'd, 32. His resentment for his loss at Cadiz, 156. Promises to assist the English papists, 213. Remonstrances to him by the States, 215. Procures a bull from the pope, prohibiting all catholics to traffic where the free use of the mass was not allowed, 270. The merchants in Italy ruin'd by his bankruptcy, *ibid.* Desirous of a peace with France, 367. PHILIP (prince of Spain) his character, *i.* 83. PINILLA (signor DE LA) of Arragon, writes a letter to ANTONIO PEREZ, *i.* 281. Has a design against the life of ANTONIO and HENRY IV. 282. Seized, 298. PLAGUE at London, *i.* 79, 87, 90. PLESSIS (madam DU) exasperated against mr. BACON, *i.* 54. PLESSIS (PHILIP DE MORNAY, seigneur DU) prejudiced by his wife against mr. BACON, *i.* 54. POPHAM (sir JOHN) lord chief justice of England, designed to be sent high commissioner to Ireland, *ii.* 227. Sent to the earl of Essex, and made prisoner by him, 465. PRICE (MATTHEW) his letter to the earl of Essex from Prague, *ii.* 258. PRIMAUDAIE (mons. DE LA) dedicates to queen ELIZABETH the third volume of his *Academie Françoise*, *i.* 300. PUCKERING (sir JOHN) lord keeper of the great seal; his cold answer with respect to mr. FRANCIS BACON, *i.* 123. Makes scruple to equal him with others, whom he recommended for preferment, *ibid.* His sincerity questioned by mr. FRANCIS BACON, 129. Sends word to him of the queen's intention to fill up the places in the law, 147. His insincerity complained of by mr. FRANCIS BACON, 271. Dies, 479, 481, 482.

The INDEX.

R.

RALEGH (sir **WALTER**) chased by the earl of **Essex** from the court, i. 56. Procures favour for mr. **UDALL** the puritan, condemn'd, 62. Confin'd on account of his having debauch'd mrs. **ELIZABETH THROCKMORTON**, 79. Still in disgrace on several accounts, 93. Expects to be made a privy counsellor, 151. His delay of going to the fleet at Plymouth suspected to be designed, 486. His delay stays the fleet at Plymouth from their expedition to Cadiz, ii. 6. Arrives at Plymouth, 10. Quarrels with sir **FRANCIS VERE**, *ibid.* 11. Reconciled to him, 11. His carriage to the earl of **Essex** at Plymouth full of respect, 15. His opinion of what should have been done to prevent the Spanish invasion in 1588, 45. His share in the victory at Cadiz, 53, 54. Declares for returning home, 59. Blamed by the earl of **Essex**, *ibid.* Much attributed to his service at Cadiz, 95, 96, 97. Goes to the Downs, 103. Blam'd for dissuading the lord admiral from joining with the earl of **Essex**, and insisting upon their untimely return, 122. Mediates a peace between the earl of **Essex** and sir **ROBERT CECIL**, 282. Reconciled with the earl of **Essex**, 341. Commands a Squadron of ships in the fleet sent against the Spaniards, 344. Restored to the queen's favour, 345. Reconciled to sir **FRANCIS VERE**, 352. Lands at Fayal without the earl of **Essex**'s orders, 360. Employed by the queen to reconcile the earls of **Essex** and **Nottingham**, 365. Charged by the earl of **Essex** with a design of taking away his life, 465. His advice to sir **FERDINANDO GORGE**, *ibid.*

REAUX (monf. **DES**) the French ambassador his letter to secretary **CECIL**, ii. 123. Treated with great neglect by the court of England, 169, 170. His letter to mr. **BACON**, 184. Visits that gentleman, 198, 203. His letter to him, 201. Leaving England, 203. Disliked at first, but afterwards pleases queen **ELIZABETH** and her council, 231, note (x). Waits at Dover six weeks for a passage to France, 234

REYNOLDES (**EDWARD**) secretary to the earl of **Essex**; his letters to mr. **BACON**, i. 301, 309. Justifies himself with regard to mr. **HENRY WOTTON**, *ibid.* His letters to mr. **BACON**, 366, 368, 440, 441, 459. His conference with the duke **DE BOUILLON**, ii. 4. His letters to mr. **BACON**, 79, 80, 88. To the earl of **Essex**, 95, 98. To mr. **BACON**, 103, 104. Draws up a memorial to the earl, 105, 106. Letters to mr. **BACON**, 107, 108, 119, 187, 203, 233, 234, 242. Desires to have a grant of the clerkship of the avery, 242. Letters to mr. **BACON**, 266, 289, 290, 295, 296. Prefers mr. **NAUNTON**'s letters

to **ANTONIO PEREZ**'s, 293. Recommended by mr. **BACON** to secretary **CECIL**, 348, 349. By the lord **HENRY HOWARD** to the earl of **Essex** for the clerkship of the small stores, 359. Left by the earl of **Essex** in England to solicit such business, as related to his lordship's charge in Ireland, 396. His letter to the queen concerning his lordship, 397

RICH (lord) attends the English ambassadors to France, ii. 145

RICH (**PENELOPE** lady) her letter to mr. **BACON**, i. 475. Solicits in favour of her brother the earl of **Essex**, ii. 441. Her letter to the queen, 442

RICHARDOT (president) has an interview with monf. **DE VILLEROY**, ii. 367. His discourse with monf. **DE SILLERY**, 373

RICHARDSON (**THOMAS**) his letter of intelligence to the council, ii. 214

RODOLPH II. (emperor of Germany) his character, i. 3

ROGERS (**DANIEL**) made clerk of the council, i. 57. Sent ambassador to Denmark, 76

ROLSTON (**ANTHONY**) resolv'd to return to England from Spain, i. 76, 80. Recommended by mr. **STANDEN**, 76, 84. Apprehensive of suffering for his religion, if he shall return to England, 85. Suspends his resolution of returning to England, 89. Gives up his pension in Spain, 90. Which is disapproved of by the lord treasurer **BURGHLEY**, 93. Writes intelligence to mr. **BACON** from **FONTARABIA**, 107. His advertisement disgrac'd to the queen, 183. His letter to mr. **BACON**, 199. His account of the state of Spain, 200—204. His letter to mr. **BACON**, 222. Letter to him from mr. **BACON**, with a postscript by the earl of **Essex**, 223. His intelligence from Spain to mr. **BACON**, 263, 270, 284, 429, 442. His letter to sir **ANTHONY STANDEN**, ii. 7. Prevented by a pain in his side from returning to England, *ibid.* His letters to mr. **BACON**, 32. He thinks that a peace might be made with Spain, if the queen pleased, 33, 65. His letters to mr. **BACON**, 65, 109. To sir **ANTHONY STANDEN**, 110. To mr. **BACON**, 119. Returns to England, and committed to the Tower, 332

RUSSEL (**ELIZABETH**, dowager lady) her letters to mr. **BACON**, 129, 131. Her conversation with him upon the mutual complaints of him and the lord treasurer, 132, & *seqq.* Charged by mr. **BACON** with partiality in a certain case, 149. Sends mr. **BACON** word of the lord treasurer's good disposition towards him, 168

RUSSEL (sir **WILLIAM**) lord deputy of Ireland; his letter to sir **ROGER WILLIAMS**, i. 277. To mr. **BACON**, 302. Answer to him from mr. **BACON**, 308. Letter to him from the earl of **Tyrone**, 326. Not

The INDEX.

Not trusted much in the affairs of that kingdom, 327. His letter to the earl of Essex, 384. To mr. BACON, 430. His letter to the earl of Essex, ii. 224. Complains of sir JOHN NORREYS's conduct, 225
 RUTLAND (earl of) not yet passed the Alps in his return to England, 428. Recovered from a long and dangerous sickness, ii. 26. Relapsed 50. Returns to England from France, 369. Goes to the earl of Essex, 465

S.

SADLER (sir RALPH) his character, i. 9
 ST. LAURENCE (sir CHRISTOPHER) offers the earl of Essex, to kill secretary CECIL and lord GREY, ii. 433. Drinks confusion to the earl's enemies, 435
 SALCEDO (NICHOLAS) undertakes to kill the prince of Orange, i. 25. and note (x)
 SANCY (NICOLAS HARLAY, seigneur de) i. 241. and note (f). expected at Dijon with money for the payment of the Swifs, 256. That money paid them, 261. Goes to Lorraine to conclude a peace with the duke, 275. Sent by HENRY IV. to queen ELIZABETH, 461, 462. Arrives at London, 465. His conference with the lord Treasurer, *ibid.* and 466. Supposed to incense queen ELIZABETH against ANTONIO PEREZ, 474. Negotiates the league between England and France, ii. 1. Returns to France, 3. Visits mr. BACON, 4. His letters to that gentleman, *ibid.* and 178. To the earl of Essex, 270, 271. His conference with ANTONIO PEREZ, 292, 293, 317
 SANDYS (dr. EDWIN) archbishop of York; conspiracy against him by sir ROBERT STAPLETON and others, i. 34
 SANDYS (lord) goes to the earl of Essex and joins him, ii. 465. Encourages the earl to force his way out of Essex-house, 467
 SAVILE (HENRY) at Paris, i. 25. Made secretary of the Latin tongue to the queen, i. 441. Importunes her for the provostship of Eton college, *ibid.*
 SAUNDERS (dr. NICHOLAS) dies in Ireland, i. 18
 SAVOY (duke of) has a design against Geneva, i. 26, 28. Offers to treat for a truce with mons. LESDIGUIERES, 255
 SCALIGER (JOSEPH) departs from Poitiers, i. 44. His book *De Emendatione Temporum* published, *ibid.*
 SCROOPE (THOMAS lord) his letter to the earl of Essex, i. 137
 SEMPLE (sir WILLIAM) agent for the Scots affairs at the court of Spain, i. 89. Sent from the king of Spain to the king of Scots, i. 321

SENHOUSE (SIMON) his letter to mr. BACON from France, i. 401
 Sessa, (duke of) ambassador from the king of Spain at Rome; his letters to that king, i. 408, 413, 416, 418
 SHAKESPEARE (WILLIAM) his compliment to the earl of Essex, ii. 488
 SHARPE (LIONEL) chaplain to the earl of Essex, in his expedition to Cadiz, ii. 17
 SHERLEY (sir ANTHONY) some account of him, i. 455. His letters to mr. BACON, 456, 457, 458, 489
 SHERLEY (sir THOMAS) his letter to mr. BACON, i. 458
 SHREWSBURY (GILBERT earl of) appointed ambassador to France, ii. 68, 76. Goes thither, 120. Some account of him, *ibid.* Departs towards France, 145. Lands at Dieppe, 151. His letter to the lord HENRY HOWARD, 154. His advertisements from France, 155. Return'd, 194.
 SIDNEY, (sir HENRY) his character, i. 9
 SIDNEY (PHILIP) marries the only daughter of secretary WALSINGHAM, i. 35
 SIDNEY (sir ROBERT) at Paris, i. 18. Made governor of Flushing, 57. Sent to France, 135, 137. Detained by contrary winds, at Dover, i. 146. Appointed to follow HENRY IV. to Chartres, 149. On his way thither, 151. Writes to the earl of Essex from that town, 158. Expected in England, 169. Arrives from France, 170. Visits mr. BODLEY, 248. Desires to succeed him, 249. Letters between him and an English fugitive at Antwerp, 303,—306. His letter to the lord treasurer, 306. Sent by the queen to HENRY IV. 465. Ordered to depart to his government of Flushing, ii. 100. His letter from thence to the lord treasurer, 174. To the earl of Essex, 175. To the lord HOWARD, 176. To the earl of Essex, 207, 209. To the lord treasurer, 215. To the lord HENRY HOWARD, 251. To the earl of Essex giving an account of the victory of Turnhout, 252. The wardenship of the cinque ports endeavoured to be procured for him by the earl of Essex, 283. Besieges Essex-house, ii. 467.
 SMITH (OTWELL) his letter to the earl of Essex from Dieppe, i. 278. To sir ROBERT CECIL, 310
 SMITH (THOMAS) secretary to the earl of Essex and Clerk of the council: account of him, i. 112. Promises mr. BACON to present dr. HAWKYNs's advertisements to the queen, ii. 39
 SMITH (THOMAS) sheriff of London, expected to assist the earl of Essex, but retires, ii. 466. Knighted by king JAMES, i. 494
 SOISSONS

The INDEX.

SOISSONS (CHARLES DE BOURBON, count de) has the promise of HENRY IV's sister to marry him, i. 120

SOISSONS (count de) leaves HENRY IV. discontented, i. 238, 251.

SOISSONS (count de) the king's sister desires to marry him, but refused the king's consent, ii. 154.

SOLMES (count DE) blamed for the surrender of Hulst, ii. 148.

SOUTHAMPTON (HARRY earl of) endeavours used to bring him into the queen's favour, i. 313.

Quarrels with the earl of Northumberland, ii.

274. Appointed general of the horse in Ire-

land. 396. Ordered by the queen to be remov-

ed from that post, 421, 423. Assaulted by the

lord GREY, 463. Goes to the earl of Essex,

465. Committed to the tower, 468. His prac-

tices in favour of the earl of Essex, 470, & seqq.

His trial, 473. Restored by king JAMES I. to

his liberty and honours, 494

SOUTHWELL, (sir ROBERT) his share in the victory at Cadiz, ii. 53, 54

SPAIN, state of it, i. 80, 81

SPENCER (RICHARD) his character, i. 35. Re- turns to England, 40

SPENSER (EDMUND) a favourite of the earl of Essex, ii. 487. His services to his lordship,

Ibid. A new authority produced for the necessi-

tious circumstances, in which he died, *ibid.*

note (g)

STAFFORD (sir EDWARD) appointed embassador to France, i. 40. Some account of him, *ibid.*

Sent for to court, 92. At court, i. 212.

STANDEN (sir ANTHONY) some account of him, i.

66. Engaged by sir FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM to

give intelligence, *ibid.* imprisoned at Bourdeaux

as a spy from Spain, *ibid.* Obtains his liberty,

68. Returns to Spain, in order to send intelli-

gence from thence, 69. Writes to mr. BACON,

70, 75, 76, 80, 88. Advises, that the rigour

against the roman catholics in England should be

abated, 83, 84, 86, 89. Sends mr. BACON an

account of his travels in Turkey, Italy, and

Spain, 85. His letters read to the queen, 93.

Comes from Madrid to Fontarabia, 95. Ar-

rives at Calais, 100. Detain'd there some time,

101—105. Arrives at London and lodged by

the queen's order in mr. FRANCIS BACON's

chambers at Grays-inn, 105. Presented by the

earl of Essex with a chain of a hundred marks,

ibid. Writes to his lordship an intelligence of

importance, 106. Attaches himself to the earl,

108. Neglected by the lord treasurer, 114,

115. Requests of his lordship access to the queen,

115. Ordered by his lordship to come to court,

ibid. Introduced to her majesty by sir ROBERT

CECIL, 116. Comanded by her to draw up

an account of himself during his residence abroad,

ibid. Recommended by the earl of Essex to mr. RICHARD WESTON, 117. Returns to court

with the account, which he had drawn up of

himself; but on his arrival being seized with an

ague, sends that paper to Mr. FRANCIS BACON,

117, 118. Returns from court to Twickenham

park, and thence to his brother's in Berkshire,

122. Receives a letter from a principal secre-

tary of the duke of Florence, 123. Returns to

the court at Windsor, 128. Declared by the

queen to be so devoted to the Scots party, as

not to be trusted, 133. His conversation with

sir ROBERT CECIL, 134. Learns more at

court in matter of malice than in all the foreign

ones, i. 135. Commended by the queen, 136.

Writes a letter to mr. BACON full of cyphers

139. His interest obstructed by the lord treasu-

rer and sir ROBERT CECIL, 144. Conversation

between the lord treasurer and his son about him,

154. His interview with his lordship, 164. His

conversation with the earl of Essex, 168. The

queen's discourse about him, 170. Makes a new

application to the lord treasurer, 188. His

lordship's answer, *ibid.* His letters to mr. BA-

CON, 229, 238, 245. Solicits the lord treasu-

rer, 249. His letter to mr. ROLSTON, 252.

To mr. BACON, 269, 294, 295, 312, 354.

Solicits the lord treasurer for the place of garter

king at arms, 356. Knighted by her majesty,

443. His letter to mr. BACON, 448. Designs

to attend the earl of Essex in the expedition to

Cadiz, 470. His letter to mr. BACON from

Exeter, ii. 6. From Plymouth, 10, 11, 14.

From Cadiz to the lord treasurer, 48, 49. To

mr. BACON, 49, 104. His message to a friend

of his at the court of Spain, 125. The intima-

cy between him and mr. BACON disliked by

the lord treasurer, 129, 133, 135. His letter to

mr. BACON, 144. Account of him after the

death of the earl of Essex, 502. & seqq.

STANHOPE (EDWARD) his letter to mr. FRANCIS

BACON, i. 195

STANHOPE (JOHN) made treasurer of the cham-

ber, ii. 61. Letter to him from a gentleman in

the fleet concerning the expedition against Cadiz,

96, 97.

STANLEY (sir WILLIAM) appointed colonel of

1000 horse, i. 321.

STAPLETON (sir ROBERT) conspires against arch-

bishop SANDYS, i. 34

STUART (JAMES) formerly earl of Arran, kill'd, ii.

206

STUART (sir WILLIAM) sent embassador from the

king of Scotland to queen ELIZABETH, i. 33.

Sent by the king of Scotland to the States Ge-

neral, ii. 204. His conference with mr. BOD-

LEY, 207, 213. His coming disliked by mr.

DENNISON the Scots embassador leiger, 216.

Reputed

Reputed a papist and a Spaniard in heart, *ibid.*
His business with the States General, 219, 220,
221, 225. Answer of the States-General to his
proposition, 233. His letter to mr. HUDSON,
ibid. Gives new hopes to the Earl of Orkney
of marrying count MAURICE's sister, 244. His
embassy begins to be disliked by the king,
ibid.

SUSSEX (HENRY RADCLIFFE, earl of) dies. i.
140

SUSSEX (THOMAS RADCLIFFE, earl of) his cha-
racter, i. 6

SUTCLIFFE (dr. MATTHEW) made dean of Exe-
ter, i. 61. Writes against BEZA, *ibid.*

SYLVESTRE (JOSHUA) recommended by the earl
of Essex to be secretary to the merchants adven-
turers at Stode, ii. 341.

T.

TAXIS (JOHN BAPTISTA) Letters of his to the
king of Spain intercepted, i. 333, 334

TEMPLE (WILLIAM) one of the earl of Essex's se-
cretaries, ii. 106

THOMAS (VALENTINE): debate, whether he should
be arraign'd or not. ii. 389. Charges the king
of Scots with ill designs against queen ELIZA-
BETH, *ibid.* note (e)

THROCKMORTON (ARTHUR) a hot-headed youth,
ii. 10. Quarrels with sir FRANCIS VERE, ii.
Imprisoned and dismissed the army, *ibid.*

THUANUS, some mistakes in his account of the
conference between the earl of Essex and duke
DE BOUILLON, i. 467

TOLTO (cardinal) said to be designed for legate to
the French king, i. 352. Dies, ii. 156

TOPCLIFFE (mr.) a zealous prosecutor of papists,
i. 160

TREMOUILLE (CLAUDE seigneur dela) demands the
office of admiral of France. i. 275. Sent by
the French king into Angoumois and Xain-
tonge, i. 394. His letter to the earl of Essex,
396

TROTT (NICHOLAS) his letter to mr. BACON com-
plaining of ill treatment from his brother FRAN-
CIS, ii. 354, 357

TRUCHSES (GERARD) archbishop of Colen; mar-
ries, and the consequences of it, i. 30. note (h)
41, 44

TYNDALE (mr.) his letter to the earl of Essex from
Paris, ii. 12

TYRONE (earl of) his letter to sir WILLIAM RUS-
SEL, Lord deputy of Ireland, i. 326. Obtains
a truce, *ibid.* His conference with sir HENRY
WALLOP and sir ROBERT GARDINER, 379,
380, 381. His letter to them, 381. Refuses
the queen's pardon, ii. 60. Outwardly pro-

fesses obedience to her, 76. Meets and offers
submission to sir JOHN NORRIS, 273. His suc-
cesses in Ireland, 394. His conference with the
earl of Essex, 429

V.

VAIR (monf. DU) assists in negotiating the league
between England and France, ii. 1. Returns
to France, 3

VALETTE (BERNARD DE NOGARET DE LA) bro-
ther to the duke d'ESPERNON, married, i. 19.
and note (x)

VAUGHAN (dr. RICHARD) bishop of Bangor, re-
commended by mr. BACON to the earl of Essex,
for the bishoprick of Salisbury, ii. 198

UDALL (JOHN) a puritan minister, condemned to
be hanged, i. 62

VERE (sir FRANCIS) knighted, i. 57. At court,
i. 146. Sent for from Holland to England, i.
387, 388, 391. Made lord marshal in the ex-
pedition to Cadiz, 468. Quarrel between him and
ARTHUR THROCKMORTON, ii, 11. Reconcil'd
to sir WALTER RALEGH, *ibid.* Assists the earl
of Essex in drawing up articles for the use of the
army in the expedition against Cadiz, 21. Coun-
tenanc'd by the earl, *ibid.* His share in the
victory at Cadiz, 53. Claims the chief merit
of all actions, in which he was concern'd, 58.
offers to stay and defend Cadiz with 4000 men,
ibid. Impatient to return home, 59. His
share at the victory at Turnhout, 252, 253, 254,
255, 256. Commands a thousand veteran troops
embarked on board the fleet, 344. His conver-
sation with the earl of Essex, 345, 346. Recon-
cil'd to sir WALTER RALEGH, 352. Justifies
to the queen the earl of Essex's conduct in the
Island voyage, 361. Sent by the queen to Hol-
land, 383

VILLEROY (monf. de) sent by the duke of Anjou
to HENRY III. of France, i. 21. Some account
of him, 149. His conference with mr. ED-
MONDES, 194. Jealous of ANTONIO PEREZ,
340. His letters to monf. DE LA FONTAINE,
392, 398, 426, 427, 450. His letter to monf.
DE LA FONTAINE, ii. 231. Has an interview
with the president Richardot, 367. His letters
concerning sir ANTHONY STANDEN, 502. &
seqq.

UNTON (sir HENRY) us'd with bitter speeches by
the queen, i. 131. Going ambassador to France
342. Secret instructions to him from the earl of
Essex, 353. His reserve complain'd of by AN-
TONIO PEREZ, 374. The French king's opi-
nion of him, *ibid.* His audience of that king,
392. His letter to the earl of Essex, 397. To
the lord treasurer. 402. To sir ROBERT CE-
CIL,

CIL, 422. To the lord treasurer, 436. Dangerously sick, 449, 450. Visited by the French king, 451. Dies, 459, 460

W.

WAAD (WILLIAM) attends lord WILLOUGHBY of Eresby in his embassy to Denmark, i. 24. Sent to the emperor of Germany, 31. To Spain, 45. Some account of him, *ibid.* Returned from Paris, 48. Gives mr. FAUNT an account of dr. LOPEZ's plot, 155. Very able and in great credit, 155, 156, 158. Letter of intelligence to him from Antwerp, ii. 196. Another from Spain, 213

WALLOP (sir HENRY) letters of him and sir ROBERT GARDINER, i. 379, 382, 385.

WALMESLEY (judge) his speech at York-house, ii. 453

WALPOLE (EDWARD) an Englishman in Spain, his letter to mr. ROGER BENET, i. 320, 321

WALSINGHAM (ELIZABETH) married to PHILIP SIDNEY, i. 35

WALSINGHAM (sir FRANCIS) his character, i. 7. Letters of his to mr. ANTHONY BACON, 13. Goes ambassador to Paris, 17. To Scotland, 39. Indisposed, 46. His letters to mr. BACON, 47, 51, 53. Writes to mr. BACON by the queen's command to return to England, 53, 54

WARWICK (AMBROSE DUDLEY, earl of) his character, i. 6

WBEMES (lord) attached to the interests of queen ELIZABETH, i. 194, 195, 447. Applies to her for the grant of a sum of money, *ibid.*

WENTWORTH (PETER) draws a bill for entailing the succession of the crown, i. 96. Sent to the Tower, *ibid.*

WENTWORTH (sir WILLIAM) marries the daughter of the lord treasurer BURGHLEY, i. 27. Dies, *ibid.*

WHITGIFT (dr. JOHN) archbishop of Canterbury, i. 35, 40. His sermon against the puritans, 42. Continues his severe course against them, 46, 47. His letter to mr. BACON justifying his own conduct, 50, 51. Procures a thanksgiving for the victory at Cadiz, ii. 97

WILLIAMS (sir ROGER) receives of the queen a friendly public welcome, i. 269. Letter to him from sir WILLIAM RUSSEL lord deputy of Ireland, 277. Dispatched by the queen to HENRY IV. 294, 296. Some account of him, 296. Arrives in France, 297, 298. His death, 315, note (r). Lamented in Scotland, 355

WILLOUGHBY of Eresby (PEREGRINE, lord) sent ambassador to Denmark, i. 24, 36. His letter from Venice to the earl of Essex, 322. Some

account of him, 325. At Venice, 377. Recover'd from a dangerous sickness, 428. Relapses, 453. Reported falsely to be dead, ii. 34. At Stode, 60. Arrived in England, 61, 137. Written to by the queen, 145. His letter to mr. BACON, 152. His discourse about the means of preventing an invasion from Spain, 164. His letters to mr. BACON, 167, 173, 196. Reflected upon by sir THOMAS CECIL, 197. Appointed governor of Berwick, 382. His letters to the earl of Essex, *ibid.* and 392. Letter to him from the queen, 500. Dies, 501

WILSON (dr. THOMAS) secretary of state, his character, i. 7

WOLLEY (sir JOHN) chancellor of the garter, dies, i. 441

WORTHINGTON (dr. THOMAS) president of the English college at Doway, i. 145

WORCESTER (earl of) his speech at York-house, ii. 454

WOTTON (sir EDWARD) i. 157. note (g). Visits ANTONIO PEREZ, 157

WOTTON (HENRY) secretary to the earl of Essex, i. 309. Displeased with mr. REYNOLDES, his fellow secretary, *ibid.* Some account of him, 310. Sent by the earl of Essex to ANTONIO PEREZ in France, 346. Returns to England, 347. Has some cross words with mr. REYNOLDES, 441. Conceives a secret resentment against mr. BACON, *ibid.* and 443. A great traveller, and well skill'd in the languages, ii. 106, 243. His sincerity questioned by mr. BACON, 144, 149, 152. Secretary to the earl of Essex for Transylvania, Poland, Italy, and Germany, 243. A story related by him of mr. BACON examined and confuted, 371

WRIGHT (THOMAS) a jesuit, returns from Spain to England with important intelligence, i. 252, 308. Entertained by the earl of Essex, 252, 264, 309. Obtains leave by his lordship's means to visit his friends in the north, 307, 309. Lodged by the queen's orders with dr. GOODMAN, dean of Westminster, 309. A conference between him and the archbishop of York, *ibid.* Letter to him from father GARNET, 358. His answer, 359. His letter to the earl of Essex, 405, 406. His enlargement from his restraint opposed by the lord treasurer and sir ROBERT CECIL, ii. 70, 71. More strictly confined, 71, 101. His letters to mr. BACON, *ibid.* and 72. The intimacy between him and mr. BACON disliked by the lord treasurer, 129, 133. Complains of his confinement, 162. His letters to mr. BACON, 179, 187. Impatient of his confinement, 197

WYLKES (sir THOMAS) knighted by HENRY IV. of France, i. 113. Sent again to that king, *ibid.* Some account of him, 114. One of the commissioners

The I N D E X.

commissioners sent by queen ELIZABETH to
HENRY IV. ii. 372. Falls sick of a fever,
373. Dies, ibid.
WYLTON (capt.) attends ANTONIO PEREZ to
France, ii. 229. His letter to the earl of Essex,
ibid.

Y.

YATES (EDWARD) his letters to mr. BACON, i.
190, 401, 463. His letter to mr. BACON from
Roan concerning the occurrences in France, ii.
9. From Dieppe, 29.
YELVERTON (CHRISTOPHER) queen's serjeant,
his speech against the earl of Essex at York-
house, 447

YORKE (EDMUND) sent by the queen to HENRY
IV. of France, i. 64.
YOUNG (PETER) returned from his embassy from
the king of Scots to the king of Denmark, ii.
158

Z.

ZEIROTINE (baron of) comes to England, i. 441.
Falls sick at Cambridge, ibid.
ZOUCH (EDWARD lord) designed to be sent embassa-
dor to Scotland, i. 140, 144. Gone thither, 146,
148. Letter to him from Edinburgh, 345.
His hard speeches complained of by the king of
Scots, 424. His speech at York house, ii.
454

ADDITIONS and CORRECTIONS.

VOL. I.

P. AGE 3. line 1. for 157⁷/₈, read 157⁸/₉.
19. note (w), l. 1. for ARMOND, r. AR-
MAND.

140. Parag. 2. l. 6. son of GONZALO PEREZ.
Add the following note.

So he is called by THUANUS, *L. civ. Vol. v. p. 172.* and by dr. GEDDES in his *Tracts, Vol. ii. p. 241.* But it appears from a letter of GONZALO to cardinal GRANVELLE, published in the *Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire du cardinal DE GRANVILLE, par dom. PROSPER L'EVEQUE, Religieux Benedictin, de la congration de sainte Vanne, Tom. i. p. 85. Edit. Paris, 1753.* that ANTONIO was only nephew to GONZALO.

143. l. 15. for 1510, r. 1610. Ibid. note (o).
for Le Ling, r. Le Long.

146. parag. 2. l. 22. for sent, r. sent.

156. l. 4. from the bottom, for STANDEN, r. FAUNT. Ibid. note (e). for epistolorum, r. epistolarum.

169. l. 2. for CECIL, r. SIDNEY.

191. l. 26. for vou, r. vous.

235. parag. 6. l. 1. for from, r. for.

286. l. 9. for myf r. myself.

308. l. 21. for impostorem, r. in posterum.

319. l. 13. after also, insert sent.

369. l. 6. for comparere, r. comparare.

l. 8. for deerant, r. deerant.

l. 23. for in quam, r. inquam.

373. l. 3. for reurn'd, r. return'd.

420. parag. 2. l. 3. for Kinolfs, r. Kinlofs. L.
12. for disposition, r. deposition.

442. parag. 3. l. 5. for HULME, r. HUME.

VOL. II.

P. 18. l. 7. after him, add [probably sir JOHN CONWAY, who had been appointed goveroor of Ostend in December, 1596, and was father of sir EDWARD CONWAY, afterwards secretary of state.]

19. l. 4. dele as.

63. l. 2. from the bottom, for cooks, r. books.

83. l. 5. for 1592, r. 1582.

100. parag. 2. l. 8. for their designs, r. his enemies designs.

158. l. 5. from the bottom, for that lordship, r. his lordship.

228. paragr. 2. l. 4. after actions, insert a comma (,) instead of a full point (.)

264. paragr. 2. l. 14. for Ecayer, r. Ecuyer.

326. l. 2. for quærimoniarum, r. querimoni-
arum.

328. paragr. 3. l. 3. from the bottom, for ferois, r. ferois.

329. l. 4. for propes, r. propos.

488. l. 2. from the bottom, after hospitality rather, insert than.

494. l. 11. After the word father, add [In another letter he mentioned the earl of Essex's insurrection in these terms: "What interpretation the sway of
"the time may make of this action I know not,
"but I protest before God, and in my soul I do
"believe it, that he had no disloyal thought to her
"majesty or his country, but constrained, out of
"the apprehension of his own dangers, and to
"avoid the violence of his enemies, was com-
"pelled to seek succour, and appeal to the pro-
"tection of the city, which he took for friends,
"that would defend him. For mine own part, I
"will believe, that my friends and all the world
"in general must so far justify my judgment, that
"I would never have made myself one of an hun-
"dred naked hands, that should have declared
"against the queen of England, nor have follow'd
"any enterprize against a state, armed only with
"a rapier and dagger. Manifest therefore it is,
"that it was a private action, undertaken for de-
"fence of a private man against the attempts of
"private enemies; and no man's reason or judg-
"ment reaching so far as once to imagine, that
"the queen would have made herself a party, or
"the state interposed between private persons in
"their particular quarrels."]

P. 496. l. 4. from the bottom, after did, insert
now.

497. l. 1. for or, r. and.

